
T H E
TURKISH
HISTORY.

WITH
Sir PAUL RICAUT's CONTINUATION.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TURKS.

BEGINNING

With the Year 1679.

Being a full Relation

Of the Last Troubles in *Hungary*, with the Sieges of *Vienna*, and *Buda*, and all the several Battles both by SEA and LAND, between the *CHRISTIANS*, and the *TURKS*, until the End of the Year 1698, and 1699.

IN WHICH

The Peace between the *Turks*,

AND THE

Confederate *Christian Princes and States*, was happily Concluded at *Carlowitz* in *Hungary*, By the Mediation of His Majesty of *Great Britain*, and the *States General* of the *United Provinces*.

VOL. III.

With the Effigies of the Emperors and others of Note, Engraven at Large upon Copper, which Compleats the Sixth and Last Edition of the *History of the Turks*. In Two Vol. in Folio.

By Sir *PAUL RYCAUT*, Kt. Eighteen Years Consul at *Smyrna*, now his Majesty's Resident at *Hamburgh*, and Fellow of the *Royal Society*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Robert Clabell*, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, and *Abel Roper* against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleetstreet*. M DCC.

TO THE
King's Most Excellent MAJESTY
WILLIAM III.

King of Great Britain, France and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, &c.

Great SIR,

THE Dedication of this following History of the *Turks*, may most justly be Addressed to the Clemency and Patronage of Your Majesty for Two Reasons. *First*, Because the greatest Part of this Treatise was Written at *Hamburg*, whilst I was actually employed for the space almost of Eleven Years in the Service of Your Majesty, the which, I hope will not be looked upon as a Point of my Demerit, or Neglect in my Duty, to have taken out so many Hours as this Work might Require from the Service of Your Majesty. For I can safely say, and that Your Majesty's Secretaries also in *England*, and Abroad, can Attest for me, that I have been diligent in my Office, and have neglected nothing therein, which my Duty and Services to Your Majesty might require, and expect from me; for it was Written at my Vacant Hours, when nothing of my other Services could give me the least Avocation.

But what may chiefly oblige me farther to this Dedication, is the Healing, Powerful, and Successful Hand which Your Majesty hath Applied by Your Ambassadors, in making that Peace at *Carlowitz*, between the *Christians* and the *Turks*, which will ever be remembered in Future Ages, and which (as Your former Actions shewed the World You were a great Captain in the Arts of War)

The Dedication.

War) so this will give good Proof You were a Wife and Prudent Governor in the Exercifes of Peace; And may deserve to have that Motto inferted in Your Efcocheon, *Beati funt Pacifici.*

And fo may Your Majesty be always Blessed and Prosperous in this Life, and Your Great Good Works Rewarded in Heaven. Which are the moft Devout Prayers of

Your MAJESTY'S

Moft Obedient Subject, and moft Humble,

Devoted, and Dutiful Servant,

Hamburgh Jan 17.
1700.

Paul Rycaut.

T H E

T H E
P R E F A C E
T O T H E
R E A D E R.

Courteous Reader,

I Would not have Thee entertain a worfe Opinion of this History, by Reason of the Place where it was Wrote and Finifhed, being at a far diftance both from Conftantinople and Vienna: Though perhaps it might have been more lively, had its Colours been laid on in the Places themfelves, where the Actions were performed; and at a time when the Humour of the Turks, and the Idea I conceived of their Ailings, had taken fo ftrong an Impreffion in my Mind, that whilft I was upon the Place, I could fuffer nothing to pafs my Pen, without its due Obfervation. Being thus accuftomed to fuch Contemplations as thefe, in my more Youthful Days, I could not let pafs the continual News, and the conftant Intelligences I received from Hungary, and other Parts which were the Seats of War between the Chriftians and the Turks, without making fome Reflexions thereupon.

After

The Preface to the Reader.

After which, I might justly challenge the Privilege of an Exauctorate, or of a Miles Emeritus: And I think I need not Blot any more Paper for the future on any Subject relating to the Turks; for having arrived, at that great Period of the last Wars, concluded between the Emperor of Germany, and all his Allies against the Turks; It may appear how much the Ottoman Force is able to avail, when it is put into the Scale and Ballance against all Christendom.

It hath been an ancient Custom, and Policy amongst the Turks, in the time of their prosperous Successes by which their Empire was enlarged, never to continue a War longer than for three Tears, in which time they always advanced considerably, and would make no Peace with their Neighbours, until their Triumphs and Acquisitions would answer the expences, and effusions of their Blood, and Treasures: After which they commonly fixed Twenty Tears for the Settlement, and Security of those new Conquests and Plantations; in which time many young Soldiers being Born and Bred up in Arms, they not only took those Habitations for their Native Soil, but esteemed them also to be by the Mahometan Religion obliged ever to defend and maintain them. But these last Wars, have quite put the Turks out of their Ancient Methods; for instead of maintaining a War no longer than Three Tears, they have been forced to continue it for more than Twenty, to the great Ruin and Destruction of their Empire. I have always been of Opinion, That the Turks could never maintain a VVar for longer than Three Tears, I mean with benefit, and profit to the advancement of the Ottoman Empire, of which I once made very perspicuous Observations. Whilst I was in the Camp with them, I found the Timariots very poor, and wanting at the end of that Term, so that they stopt from each other their Bridles and Saddles, Lances, and all other necessaries of War, and would excuse themselves by saying, that they could not do otherwise in so long a War of more than their Three Tears: And in like manner the Janifaries by their ancient Constitution might challenge a Privilege to quit the Service at the end of the Month of October, and in case they were not called, they might then Disband themselves, on St. Demetrius's Day, which is the 28th Day of October, at which time the Janifar Aga, could not without danger of his own Life in some mutiny deny them dismissal for that Year's Campaign: Which the Janifaries esteemed always a Privilege due to their Order, but the Asiatick Timariots called Timar Spahicclar were always sooner dismissed, in consideration of the long Journeys they were to make to their VVinter-Quarters, some of them being as far distant, as Bagdat or Babylon, as Damascus or Scham, as Aleppo and Iconium, and other Parts, which to Travel backwards and forwards would take up commonly four or five Months time:

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time: After which to pass a Summers Campaign, was very Laborious for the Asiatick Forces to undergo, (who commonly are esteemed a soft People) which yet they were obliged to do on Forfeiture of all their Hereditary Estates; in which the Turks by their ancient Constitutions were so Rigorous, that they would admit of no excuses for their absence, even of Death it self; for in case the Father died leaving an Infant Son of a Year old, even then he was obliged to the VVar, though he was carried in the Arms of his Nurse. The Hungarians consequently, being always in Action, and obliged to a perpetual Duty against the Enemy, were never excused from a strict vigilance over all the Motions of their Neighbours, whom in the times of Peace we might properly call Enemies; for they Fought very often, and yet without VVar so called; for in case they met, and engaged in the Field with a less number than Five thousand Men on a side, and without Cannon, it was not called VVar, but a Martial Exercise in the times of Peace; and that is the reason, why we find so many Palancas raised over all Hungary on one side, and the other, which are designed to give a stop to any sudden Irruption of an Enemy, within which Palancas (so called) the Poor Inhabitants on either side, Shelter their Wives and Children, their Horses and Cattle, with all their Faculties and Substance, it being not lawfull for the Enemies on either side to possess them.

Besides, on their High-ways and Roads to a Market, every thing was to be secured, and neither side could touch the same without Justice performed upon due Complaints made to the Pasha, or Christian Governour of the Province. This was the Ancient Constitution whilst the Turks prevailed in Hungary: But since the last VVar and Peace concluded, things no doubt have been set upon another Foot, and other Provisions have been made to secure the Christian Cause and Interest; for before this time the Turks were become the most Insolent People in the VWorld, and would never do Justice to a Christian; for unless it were consistent with their own Interest and Design, they would shew themselves Proud, Haughty and Supercilious, expecting Gifts, and returning none, expecting for a Flower a piece of Gold, or some piece of Cloth of the finest Dye and Spinning we have in England; and to this Pass were the Turks come, that they called the Presents made to them by the Christians to be their Tribute, and the Ambassadors sent to them, they acknowledged for no other, than for Mahapous (as they called them) which signified Hostages given for Peace, and the Security of the Good-behaviour of their Masters towards the Port: Their Pride was also so extraordinary, that they would never vouchsafe, to require any Counterpart from the King, or Prince with whom they treated, or Copies, unless such as were conferred amongst their Archives, or Office of the Reis Effendi, or Chief Secretary; insinuating that the Power of the Grand Seigneur was able to make good, whatsoever

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*he should require on the Score of the Royal Signature ; which no
Sovereign Prince will now receive from a Proud and Insolent Turk :
For praised be that God of the Christians, who hath brought down
that Imperious Spirit of the Turks to such a Degree, That they can now
own their Weakness and be ashamed of their former Follies, which
render'd them insupportable in their Conversation with Christians.*

THE



THE HISTORY OF THE TURKS

From the Year 1678, to the Year 1699.

Anno
1679.

WE have in our preceding History represented the Ottoman Empire for several years past, under many Circumstances of Happiness and Glory. The *Turks* had been successful in their Wars abroad, having increased and enlarged their Empire by adding *Newbasel* in *Hungary* therunto, with the Countrey belonging to it. They had gained and conquered all the Island of *Candia*, with that invincible Fortrefs, and thereupon had put an end to a War with the *Venetians*, which had continued for the space of Twenty six Years. After which they carried their Conquering Arms into *Poland*, where they took the strong Fortrefs of *Caminiec*, which is the Key of that Kingdom; and thence marched into that Countrey as far as *Leopolis*, which they brought under the Tribute of Eighty thousand Crowns a-year, and so returned back again into their own Dominions without any Opposition, or so much almost as the Appearance of an Enemy: And to render this Action the more obfervable, it was attended with the least Expence of Blood and Treasure, of any Enterprize of so bold and daring a Design; and proved an Expedition so profitable and beneficial, that scarce a *Janizary* or Horseman returned without Spoil, or Plunder, or Slaves of both Sexes. All which Wars were acted within the space of Thirteen Years, during the Government of *Achmet Kuperli*, with such Intervals also of Peace, that War seemed but an Entertainment to exercise the Soldiery, and amuse their Minds, lest they should fall into Mutiny and Sedition; all the Particulars of which we have already at large related. And here I cannot but observe, and say; That Justice is the proper means to render a People flourishing and happy;

an Instance whereof we have through all the Government of *Kuperli*, who being a Person educated and skilful in the Law, administered Justice equally to the People; his Eyes were not blinded with Avarice, which might bias or thwart him in giving Judgment; he was not cruel, or bloody, or inclined to take away Mens Lives for the sake of their Riches; nor more ambitious than what served to make him jealous of his Honour, and zealous to conserve and keep up his Fame and Reputation in the World; which is necessary for Ministers in his sublime Station. Wherefore let us look on those Times which were as quiet, calm and peaceable as any that ever had smiled on the Ottoman State, and justly attribute those Blessings to the Favour of Heaven, which was pleased in those Days to behold so much Justice and Equity dispensed to a People unaccustomed thereto, and perhaps in Reward thereof, to make the Government more easy and pleasant, than either before or since those Halcyon Days. But now that *Kara Mustapha* comes to succeed in the Place of so just and equal a Governour, a Person of Violence, Rapine, Pride, Covetousness, Falfe, Perfidious, Bloody, and without Reason or Justice; we have nothing to represent at the beginning of his Government, besides his Oppression, Extortion, Cruelties and Acts of Injustice beyond any thing that was ever practised before in the Reign of the most Tyrannical Princes; and in Processes of time becoming vastly Rich with the Spoils and Ruine of many thousands of Families, he accomplishes the full Measure of his Iniquity by the perfidious Breach of the Truce between the Emperor and his Master the Sultan: For tho' it wanted only three Years of being expired, yet trusting to the Power and Force of his

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1679. ill-gotten Wealth, he had not Patience to expect so long a Term, being pushed forward by his own Desires, and incited thereunto by covetous and ambitious Desires, journeyed to a Scorn, and a mean Opinion of the Christians, to whom he would scarce allow either Understanding, or Courage, or Conduct in War: In which vain Confidence and Presumption of his invincible Power, he precipitated the whole Ottoman Empire into a dismal and direful Condition and State, from whence proceeded nothing but Slaughter, and Tragedies, fatal both to his own self, and to his Master, as will appear in the Progress of this History. But before we enter on those greater Matters, let us first consider this Grand Vizier in his Behaviour towards the Turks, and others who were Subjects to the Sultan. It is certain, that he had his first Rise from *Kuperli* the Father, and married his Daughter, and was afterwards on the score of that Alliance, favoured by the Son: he was made Captain Pasha, or Admiral of the Fleet; but being as it were out of his Element, and not pleased with the Sea, he was constituted Chimacam, and placed with the Grand Seignior, and at all times next his Person when the Vizier was absent, and employed in the Wars: In which Capacity and Condition (as we have before related) he behaved himself with that gentle and affable Behaviour towards all Persons, as gave Hopes and Expectations of better and more temperate Government when he should come to be Vizier. But being raised to that sublime Station, he soon changed his Humour, and began to shew the Fierceness of his Nature, which he had long suppressed. In Evidence of which, we have so many Influences and Examples of his Cruelty and Injustice to produce, that had we no other matter than his Management of Affairs in the time of Peace, without Regard or Reference to Foreign Wars, his Proceedings were so irregular and unreasonable, as might for the Extravagancy of them, deserve to be kept in Memory: But they are too many to be recounted, and therefore we shall content our selves with some few which have relation to the *English* Nation, and to the Subjects of other Princes in Peace and Alliance with the Turk.

The Case of Mr. *Samuel Pentlow*, who lived about Thirty Years a Merchant at *Smyrna*, will never be forgotten by the *English* Factory of that Place: The matter is so extraordinary as might deserve to be related at large, with all the Circumstances of it; but I shall confine my self to a short and brief Narrative, which was this.

Mr. *Pentlow* had by a long Trade, in tract of time, gained very considerable Riches, besides an Estate in Land left him by his Father in *England*; to inherit which, being desirous to have Heirs of his own Body, he married a *Greek* Woman of mean Extraction. The Grand Vizier having received intimation thereof, and of the Riches of *Pentlow*, which were magnified to him, according to the Account made on Rich Men, whose Fortune it is to have their Estates always over-valued; he immediately swallowed in his Thoughts all his Wealth and Estate, as if he had been a Pasha, or some other Subject who had grown fat and wealthy to a degree worthy the Grand Seignior's Notice and Acceptance. And to bring him within the compass of such a Seizure, he declared, That whosoever had married a Woman, who was a Subject to the Grand Seignior, did by Virtue of such a Match become, *ipso facto*, a Subject, and yield himself to the same Condition with his Wife; which being a Law never before made or declared, was levelled only at *Pentlow* to hook in his Estate; having never before been practised, and perhaps will never be again, unless the same Circumstances concur of such a Vizier, and such a Person as this our Merchant was.

Pentlow had notice of this new Law which the Vizier had promulgated, and was not unenfranchised that it was levelled at his Estate: But yet I know not what Star guided him, or what Charm affixed, or wedded him to the Countrey, he provided not against the Snare laid for him, which he might easily have avoided by exporting his Estate, as Merchants commonly do, into other Countries; but instead thereof, he keeps all about him, and finding himself sickly and decaying, he made his last Will and Testament in a formal manner, and constituted two Merchants to be his Executors, without Reflection or Thoughts how the Vizier had decreed the Grand Seignior to be his Heir, which accordingly succeeded in a short time afterwards: For *Pentlow* being dead, the News was speedily carried to the Chief Customer at *Adrianople*, who had laid the Plot to seize his Estate; and by him the Grand Vizier was informed of the great Wealth fallen to the Sultan by the Death of his *English* Subject. The covetous Desire of so vast Riches, which was magnified five times beyond its real Value, caused the Vizier with all Expedition to dispatch a *Capugi-Basha* to *Smyrna* to take all the Estate of the Deceased into his Hands, for the Use of the Grand Seignior; and in case the Executors refused to make

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1679. make a free and clear Resignation accordingly, then to bring them up Prisoners to *Adrianople*. The Executors not complying as the Officers required, were carried up by him to *Adrianople*: Where to extort from them a confession of the whole Estate, they were threatened with the Gallies, with the Rack, the Wheel and other Tortures. In fine, after an Imprisonment of some Days, with a Collar of Iron about their Necks, to which a Chain was fixed and rivetted to a Post with Manacles on their Hands; and after a thousand menaces of farther Punishment, they were forced so far to comply, as to Promise, and give Obligation to pay unto the Vizier, or his Order, the Sum of Ninety thousand Dollars within a certain time after their Arrival at *Smyrna*. To raise this Money against the Term prefixed, such haste was made, that the Goods of the Deceased were Sold at such low Rates, that they amounted not within Five or Six thousand Dollars of the Sum, for which the Executors had Engaged; which they refusing to pay out of their own Estates; were again Imprisoned at *Smyrna*, where they lay for the space of five or six Months, until such time as a Composition was made, and Expedients found for their Enlargement. Many other passages occurred of the like injustice, thro' the whole course of this matter, which for brevity sake we purposely omit: In regard that what we have said already, is sufficient to give the Reader an instance of this Vizier's avarice and injustice: Of which the Turks, as well as the Christians were so sensible; that *Solyman*, the late Vizier's *Kiaja*, or Steward, and then *Imbrador* or Master of the Horse to the Grand Seignior, demanding one day concerning the *Avania* of *Pentlow*, could not suppress his Thoughts (tho' much a Courtier) but said, *In this Man's time the Musselmis or Believers, cannot expect better Usage or Treatment than the Gauris or Christians*. But this single instance is not sufficient to express the unjust, and rapacious Humour of this Vizier; who in an unparallel'd manner of proceeding did ever incline to the Plaintiff; in whose favour having given Sentence against the Defendant to the utmost Asper demanded, his method was to cause the Money immediately to be paid; and took it to himself, giving the Plaintiff some small share thereof, not worthy the Trouble or Expence of the Suit: In this manner he dealt with another Merchant of our Nation, on whom one *Fizzamano* an Italian made a false pretence of Six thousands Dollars, which Cause being brought before the Vizier, he readily condemned our *English* Merchant; and having forced the payment by a rigorous Imprisonment, he appropri-

He was of towards Grand Vizier, and cut off with the Grand Seignior.

Mr. Gabriel Smith and Mr. John Ashby.

priated the whole Sum to his own Use; giving the Plaintiff about Thirty Dollars, as a gratuitous Reward for turning Turk; he having in compliance with the Vizier, and to gain his favour, renounced his Faith, and Sold his Religion at so vile a Price. In a short time after which the Vizier extorted from our Turkey Company Fifty thousand Dollars, and demanded an increase of the usual Presents which at certain times were made to him, and to all the Officers of the Court: The which, and the like manner of Proceedings, tho' they gained him the hatred of all Men, yet the constancy of the Grand Seignior to his Ministers, and his method in making his Master shewer with him in all his Rapines, seemed to secure him from all apprehension of Danger: For when the Grand Seignior upon Complaints made to him, told him of the ill Reports he had received; The Vizier answered, *That his Majesty might be pleased to weigh the Benefits he had received by his Administration of Affairs, which would appear by the Increase of his Treasury; and that if he desired to have his Empire well Governed, he must suffer him to use the means proper for that end; otherwise his Head was at his Command, which he might take off, and supply the Office with a better Minister*.

Many and frequent were the Examples of his unheard of injustices, as well to the Turks as to the Christians.

The *Valide Kiaja*, or the Queen Mother's Steward, whose place was always esteemed quiet, and free from danger, and Independent of the *Meri*, or the Grand Seignior's Treasury; and their Estates permitted to go to their Children without any Interruption: Yet dying very Rich by the benefit of his Office, which he had enjoyed 18 Years; The Vizier was desirous to partake of the Estate, and taxed his Heirs at 1200 Purpes, for Payment of which the Grand Seignior at the Instigation of the Vizier caused a *Vakuf*, or an Estate given to the Church to be seized; which was such a piece of Sacrilege, as was never known, or heard of before in that Empire.

Draco Bey, a late Prince of *Moldavia*, *Draco Bey* falling short in the Payments he was to make to the Grand Seignior for Tribute of that Principality, had the Torture given him in Prison at least six times with Fire, and other ways, which caused the acutest pains; during which, they forced his Son to stand by him, and threatened to put him into his place, in case the Father dy'd under the Torture.

But more hard and severe than all this, seems the Case of the *Ragusean* Ambassadors, from whom, besides the Annual Tribute demanded

from them, besides the Annual Tribute demanded

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demanded of that Republick, the Vizier requir'd 300 Purfes as a Fine for what they had receiv'd on account of Customs, which the Turks Trading into their Ports had pay'd them during all the time of the *Venetian* War; the benefit of which was esteem'd so great, and their Town so much enrich'd by the grand acquisitions of Trade, that 300 Purfes, or 150000 Dollars, seem'd a mean exaction from a People so well improv'd and enrich'd as the *Raguseans* were adjudg'd to be. It is true, their City being advantageously Situated in the Gulf of *Venice*, did for a long time during that War reap a considerable benefit by Trade, it being made the chief Mart or Scale for all the Commodities which *Bulgaria*, *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, and the Countries thereabouts, yielded for the supply of *Italy*: To advance which, the *Raguseans* had erected a Factory at *Sophia*, which as I remember, (for I was at that Place three times) consisted of about 30 Merchants, whose Employment was to buy Hides, Tallow, Wax, and the like, and send them by Caravan to *Ragusa*, from whence they were transported to other parts of the World. The Vizier hereupon making up an account of the Profit which this little Republick could, or might have gain'd in so many years, esteem'd it reasonable, that the Grand Seigneur, by whose Wars they had gain'd, should partake of a share in their Profits, which by a Computation he made out of his own head, or with the help perhaps of his Jew-Broker, or of the Customer of *Constantinople*, he valued at so high a Rate, that 300 Purfes were esteem'd a moderate allowance to the Grand Seigneur out of such vast Riches which they had acquired. With this notion of the matter the Vizier called the two *Ragusean* Ambassadors to his presence, Commanding them immediately to write unto their Principals to provide with all speed the 300 Purfes which the Grand Seigneur required from them in return of the favour and protection he had given them, during his Wars with *Venice*. The Ambassadors who were well acquainted with the Poverty of their State, which had for several years past labour'd under great difficulties to pay the Annual Tribute which the Turks exacted from them, endeavour'd to persuade the Vizier with a true sense of the impossibility of raising such a Sum within the compass of their narrow Dominions; alleging that in the Year 1666. their whole City had been subverted by an Earthquake, in which all the Inhabitants perish'd, excepting 5000 Persons only, who by God's Providence being directed to the Fields, or Streets, were preserv'd from this Universal Ruine: The which Desolation was so grievous,

that two Ages could not repair their Losses, nor increase their People to their former numbers. But the Vizier who could endure no contradiction, nor excuses in opposition to his covetous desires, Commanded the Ambassadors immediately to write to the Government to send the Money, for payment of which no more than 3. Months would be allow'd; at the expiration of which, the *Raguseans* being in no Capacity to comply, the Ambassadors were sent Prisoners to the *Seven Towers*, and threatn'd with Tortures, and drubbing on the Feet, unless speedy payment were made. After more than a Years Imprisonment, at the beginning of the Year 1680. by the Mediation and Interposition of Friends, the Business was Compounded for 120 Purfes, but broke off again upon the time of payment, which the Vizier required to be satisfis'd, together with the Annual Tribute in one Payment in *August* following: But they alleg'd the impossibility thereof, by reason of the extreme poverty of the Place, which had now for two years been deprived of all Commerce, and the benefit of the *Saline*, from which their chief Revenue did arise, and therefore humbly desired to pay it at thrice; that is, 40 Purfes the next *August*, and as much the Years following, with the usual Tributes. But the Vizier not contented with these Conditions, commanded them in his rage to be cast into a Dungeon of the Prison, and threatn'd to have the Torture given them. The *Mufti* interceded in their behalf, and laid before the Vizier the injustice of the Act, but in vain: The *Kadilgher* or one of the Chief Justices refused to Sign a *Felget*, or Sentence in the Cafe, without positive command from the Grand Seigneur. Howsoever they were remanded to Prison without other legality of Sentence than the Vizier's *Boyardi* and Command, where they remain'd until the time that the Vizier march'd into *Hungary*, when with some mitigation of the Sentence, together with some drubs, they were set at Liberty.

We shall only add one instance more to demonstrate the manner and method of this Vizier in his Judicial Proceedings, which was in the Cafe of Monsieur *Debroffes* Secretary to the Ambassador of *Holland*, who having a Demand on the *Metropolitie*, or Greek Bishop of *Scio*, for a Debt of one thousand Dollars, upon non-payment of the Money call'd his Debtor to Justice; the Patriarch appear'd at the *Divan* to defend the Cause, with several other *Metropolitans*, some of which might resemble the Debtor; *Debroffes* being asked whether he knew his Debtor, he not having seen him in several years, made answer, That perhaps he did,

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did, or perhaps he did not, and pointed to a wrong Person; whereupon the Vizier call'd him *Tellis*, or Robber, to which he reply'd, That Franks were not Men of that Profession, or who made false Pretences: The Vizier enrag'd with this Answer, order'd him immediately in his presence to have 300 drubs given him; of which having receiv'd 193, he lay stunn'd, and for dead; and then upon the humble intercession of the *Boskangi-Bafsee* a remission was granted of the remainder. Nor did the Patriarch and his Bishops carry off their Cause so clear and easie, but were forc'd to pay unto the Vizier a good part of that Sum which the Plaintiff demanded, in reward and acknowledgment of that justice which was done them.

He that made at this time the greatest Figure at Court next to the Vizier, was *Kara Kiaja*, of whom, to know him, we need give no other Character, than that he was the Vizier's great Confident, and intimate to all his Counsels; for having all the ill qualifications, and mischievous Arts of the other, he was the most likely Person to succeed the Vizier, which we shall find verified some years hereafter. He was *Capitan-Pasha*, or Admiral of the Gallies, which is esteem'd one of the greatest Places of Trust and Honour in the whole Empire; but he was remov'd from that Station, not in disgrace, but by favour of the Vizier, who knowing him to be a Person like himself, and of his Humor and Principles, plac'd him near the Person of the Grand Seigneur, with Title of *Chimacani*; and in recompence for the Commission which he had laid down, he was gratified with the Revenue of three *Passalicks* in *Anatolia*, which had been given to the late Vizier after his return from *Candia* in his Place. *Capitan Passa* (of whom we have formerly made mention) was made *Capitan Pasha*, and this year dispatched with Sixty Gallies into the *Black-Sea*, for building the two Castles upon the *Boristhenes*: Other Preparations were not made this year for the War of *Moscovy*, for the Turks intending for this Campaign to remain on the defensive part, design'd only to build those Forts which were to Command the passage of that River, and for the future to stop the Excursions and Pyracies of the *Cossacks* into the *Black-Sea*. The *Moscovites*, tho' desirous of a Peace with the Turks, yet out of dulness, or ignorance, made faint applications for it, by the means of a single Letter only, which was sent from *Mosco* by the hands of an *Armenian* who was rum'd *Ruffe*, that is, one who had reconcil'd himself to the *Russian* Church, and had no other business than only to deliver this Letter; the Contents

of which was, That the Turks should quit *Verania*, and desist from Building their Forts on the *Boristhenes*, both which Proposals were rejected, and no Answer return'd unto the Letter.

So that now the Thoughts and Preparations for War giving no disturbance at the Port, the Grand Seigneur apply'd himself to the most soft Pleasures. He was not now so eager in his Huntings as formerly, but attended to the more common Delights of the *Seraglio*; he had gotten together a parcel of Dancing and Singing Girls, which had been presented to him, for he would not be at the expence to buy them; tho' he was so kind to them, as to have three of them at the same time with Child by him, and kept in the *Seraglio*; where hereafter they may prove a reserve to the *Ottoman* Line, when the Souldiers shall become more wantonly profuse of the Blood of their Emperors. At this time likewise *Kul-Ogli*, Favourite to the Grand Seigneur, who (as we have before related) had in the year 1675. Married the Grand Seigneur's Daughter at *Adrianople*, a Child then of 7 years of Age, being now become ripe for her Husband, he Bedded her at the beginning of this year.

And farther to increase the Pleasures of the Court, the Grand Seigneur for his Divertissement caus'd a *Dunalnab* or Triumph to be made, which was represented on the Water by multitudes of Boats hanging out Lights, and Fire-Works on the Walls of the *Seraglio*, and a Float was made in the Sea, representing the Island of *Malta*, which was batter'd on all sides by a Fleet of Gallies.

But for all these Triumphs *Constantinople*, which hath ever been infested by Pestilence, and grievous Incendiations, was greatly afflicted this year by many Fires; the greatest was on *Christmas-Eve*, which, by common compute burnt down 2000 Houses, all that quarter called the *Fanar*, with part of the Greek Patriarchs Church, the remainder being with much difficulty saved. After which, another Fire happening near the Old Palace of *Constantine*, a Boy found in the Rubbish a Diamond that weigh'd 96 Carats, which he sold for 3 *Parasus*, or about two pence half-penny; and the Buyer re-sold it again for a *Zelot*, or about half a Crown, to one of those Shops near Sultan *Bajazet's* *Mosch*, which sell Stones for Seals, and pieces of Chrystall for Rings; and there it lay for some time unregarded, until at length the Owner not finding a Chapman, brought it to an *Armenian* to fet in Silver. The *Armenian* being a Jeweller, soon apprehended the nature of the Stone, but the largeness of the fize causing him to mistrust his own judgment, he Consulted two others, and

The Character of Kara Kiaja.

Fire on Constantinople.

1679. and upon Trial, it proved to be a real Diamond; so when the Owner came for his Stone, it was pretended to be lost, and with a Dollar and half they contented him. But the Jewellers disagreeing in the division of so great a Purchase; and one fearing to be betray'd by the other, he that had it in Possession discovered it, and sent it to the Grand Seignor. 'Twas said to be the most perfect, and best Water that ever was seen. It was very old, and given to be new Cut. It was judged to have been a Jewel belonging to the Greek Emperors; it not being entered into the Register of the *Seraglio*, where all Jewels of value are Recorded.

ANNO 1680.

1679. **T**His year began with the most solemn Council that was ever known to have been held at *Constantinople*, within the memory Man. Those present at it, were all the *Pascha's* of the Bench, the *Janissar-Aga's*, *Topog-Bashee* or Master of the Ordnance, the Chief of the *Spahies*, the two *Kadjudgers*, or Chief Justices; in short all the Great Men, then present; of the Empire. The Council was summoned at the motion of the Grand Vizier, who having a Breach with the Christian Emperor then in prospect, had a desire to feel the Pulse and try the Inclinations of the great Men, how they stood affected to such an Enterprise. But it seems the Proposal did not very well relish; for that a *Moscovite* Ambassador being on his Journey to the Port, the Issue or Event of his Negotiation was first to be expected: And in the mean time, it was concluded most safe, and prudent not to Engage in another War. Besides, the Emperor was then actually in Treaty to renew the Truce with the Grand Seignor, which in few Years terminated; and to that end, had sent an Envoy extraordinary to the Port, but he dy'd before his Negotiation was accomplished, as did also three other Residents in less than the compass of one Year, who were all employ'd to converse, and renew the Peace.

1680. The preparations for War this year being thus laid aside. The Vizier was at leisure to Marry his Daughter to the Grand Seignor's *Hazna-Kajasee*, or Privy-purse, who thereupon was promoted to be a *Pascha* of the Divan, or Vizier of the Bench; he was esteemed the Richest Man in the Empire; which the Grand Vizier found to his high Advantage; for he dying 40 Days after his Marriage, the Vizier in right of his Daughter entered into a vast Inheritance. The Widow remained not long in her desolate Condition, before she was

promised to *Osman* then *Pascha* of Grand *Cairo*, who had formerly been *Bostangi-Bashee*, or Chief of the *Gardieners*, and *Chimacem* of *Constantinople*.

By these means the Vizier was grown so Rich, and Great, and Insolent, that he created many Enemies; but the most dangerous to him, was a Faction at Court, the Chief of which were the *Kuslir-Aga*, or Prime Eunuch of the Women, and *Solyman* the *Imbrabur*, or Master of the Horse, the which made it their business to cross the Vizier, in all his Proceedings; and disappointed him of preferring a favourite of his, to the place of second Master of the Horse, which was lately become vacant by the death of that Officer; and one preferred thereunto at the recommendation of *Solyman Pascha*, who was his Friend, and had been Treasurer to the late Vizier. Upon which defeat the great Vizier fearing that he lost ground, and decay'd in his power and interest, thought fit to halt in his own Marriage with the Grand Seignor's Daughter, a Child of 8 years of Age; who like other Sultanas was Married to no other end, than that her Husband might have the Honour to maintain her a Court, and Equipage agreeable to a Lady of her Degree and Quality.

This near Alliance to the *Ottoman* Blood, and familiar Conversation with the Sultan, could not be procured and maintained without a vast expence to the Vizier; who was commanded by the Grand Seignor to Treat him once, and sometimes twice a Week, and at every Meal, it cost him 25 Purles of Money, besides other presents to the *Valide*, or Queen Mother, and other powerful Persons at Court to an incredible value: To support which Charge, Rapine and Violence were necessary, and nothing but a share in the Booty and Prey could stop and fortify the Ears of the Sultan, and Ministers of the Court against the Cries, and Groans of oppressed Wretches.

One of the ways to Raise Money, (and that effected none of the meanest) was by *Avanias*, or false pretences to be made on the Ambassadors, or Residents of Christian Princes, then actually residing at the Port; the violation of whose Character and Office the Vizier esteemed to be no Sin or Offence; being in his Opinion but Gaurs and Infidels, and such as were sent for Pledges, and Pawns for the Fidelity of their Masters to the Turks: Besides which, he conceived for mean an esteem of all Christian Princes, and undervalued their power and courage in War; that he believed no Indignities or Dishonourable usage could provoke them to a Retaliation, or a Revenge for any injuries received: And so far had this

1680. this belief generally prevailed, that the *Paschaes*, and Governors who lived at a distance from the Port, would tell the Merchants, that in case their Estates were seized, and one of their Hands cut off, and expelled the Country; yet so wedded were they to their own Interest, and to the Delights of the Turkish Air, that the next Year they would return again, and adventure the like Treatment rather than forego the hopes, and fivepence of that profit, which they had tried, and expected in the Dominions of the Grand Seignor. The Vizier had certainly thoughts like these, and the same poor and contemptible esteem of Christian Princes in comparison with the *Ottoman* Force, which was no doubt one of his chief Motives to commence that fatal War, which in a few years afterwards he unhappily begun. And in the mean time acting on these Principles, he treated all the Christian Ministers at the Port with equal Scorn and Contempt.

To begin with the *French*, he deny'd to that Ambassador the Privilege of Sitting on the *Soffra*, when he admitted him to Audience, an Honour formerly allowed to Christian Representatives; but now out of the height of Pride over-looking all the World, and not enduring to see a Christian to sit either so near or equal to him, the Vizier made it a standing Rule, That no Ambassador whatsoever should have his Stool placed on the *Soffra*: But his most Christian Majesty, who was always tender in Points which concern'd his Honour, gave positive Commands to his Ambassador: Not to accept of Audience on any Terms derogatory to the ancient respect; and the Vizier as Resolute on the other side, procured the Grand Seignor's command, to confirm that method of receiving Ambassadors, so that it was no longer an act of the Vizier's but of the Sultan's Determination: In which resolves on both sides the Vizier went to *Adrianople*, intending never to retract his Words; which afterwards proved true; for greater Thoughts, and Employments diverted him from other Treaties on that Matter. But before things proceeded thus far, the Vizier called this Ambassador to an Account for what the *French-men* of War had acted against the *Tripolins*, by violating the Grand Seignor's Port of *Scio*, for that People having committed many Pyracies on the *French* Nation, and then actually in War with them, were Roving in the Seas of the *Archipelago*, and there unhappily meeting with their Enemy, the *French*, they took Refuge and Shelter under the Castle of *Scio*: The *French-men* of War being animated against their Enemy, and tempted with the sight of their Prey to near, and within their view,

1680. entered the Port and made several Shot at the *Tripolins*, some of which coming a Shoar and doing some little Damage to the People; it was interpreted as a Breach of the Peace, and Violation of the Grand Seignor's Port. Complaints whereof being brought to *Constantinople*, the Vizier sent for the Ambassador to his *Seraglio*, and without seeing him, committed him Prisoner to the Custody of the *Chaus-Bashee*; Demanding Two hundred thousand Crowns for reparation of the Damages which the *French* Ships had done at the Port of *Scio*, and also in satisfaction for the affront which they had done to the Grand Seignor in the Violation of his Port, which amounted unto no less than an absolute Breach of the Peace. The Ambassador remained some Nights under this restraint with menaces, and threats of being removed thence to the Seven Towers: During which time the Customor (*Husein-Aga*, who was always made the Agiator between the Vizier, and the Frank Nations) pressed the Ambassador with much earnestness, to an accommodation with the Vizier: And indeed there was Reason for it, because it was the first time, that ever the Vizier had right in his demands; for certainly the Actions of the *French* Ships at *Scio* were not to be justified, nor otherwise to be judged than as Acts of Hostility. The Agreement was carried so privately between the Ambassador and the Customor, that after a confinement of three Days and Nights, the Ambassador was set at Liberty, with a Rumour over all the Town of being acquitted and cleared without any payment, or engagement whatsoever. But time, which brings all things to light, did by the event discover about three or four Months afterwards, that the great Sum demanded was to be paid tho' in such a manner, that the Payment seemed notional and figurative only, by which a tenth part was taken for the whole. And not to concern the King's Honour therein, the tender of this Satisfaction was not to be made in Presence of the Ambassador, but by the Secretary and some Merchants; who were to give it out to the World, as an Act of their own, and as if they had paid the price at their own expence, rather than their Trade should be obstructed by an open Rupture. But whatsoever was rumoured abroad, and what Tricks were juggled under Hand, the Grand Seignor took it for granted, that the Money or the value thereof in Goods was to be laid down, and that the King by his Ambassador or Agents under him, was to be concerned in the Atonement which was offered in Satisfaction for the late Treasons: And that he might not be deceived herein; the Grand Seignor contrary to his usual Custom, which was

The Vizier
Treats the
Christian
Ministers
with Scorn.

1679.
Council
held at
Constantinople.

1680.

The Vizier
Marries his
Daughter.

1630. was to refer all such Negotiations as these to the management of the Vizier, would himself be present at this submission; perhaps because he would fancy that Great King actually at the foot of his Throne, offering his Presents and Sacrifices for a Reconciliation. And indeed the Scene open'd not much unlike it, for when the Curtain was drawn up, behold the Grand Seigneur seated in Majesty on his Throne, and beneath him the Secretary and Agents of the French Nation, prostrating themselves with their Presents before him; and then the Usher of the R. Presence Proclaim'd with an audible Voice, Behold the Agents sent from the King of France to humble themselves before our Myſterious Emperor, and in the Name of that their King to offer their Presents in Satisfaction for that Allsort and Inſult which the French Ships off'd at the Port of Scio. After which the Presents were produc'd according to the List, and an Estimate set upon them. As namely, Here is a Piece of Sattin value so much, a Piece of Cloth of Gold so much, a Clock at such a Rate, all Priz'd and Estimated at ten times more than their worth; which the Grand Seigneur did either little understanding, or at least was willing to overlook; having perhaps other more secret Intrigues then in agitation between himself and the Court of France, things at that time tending to a Breach between the Turks, and the Emperor of Germany. Or perhaps the Grand Seigneur was well enough satisfied in gaining his Point, which was to see Agents from France humbling themselves before him in that submissive Address.

Travellers as the English Merchants.

Nor did the English Ambassador receive much better treatment, for besides several preceding *Avanias*, one whereof was cast on the Turkey Company in general, on occasion of a vast Sum of Lion Dollars imported to *Aleppo*, which at that time was the most hopeful Trade. Upon notice of the Importation of so immense a Sum in ready Money, the Vizier's heart was enlarg'd, so that he swallow'd down a great share thereof within his imagination and desires; and to bring the substance nearer to him, he pretended that they were false Money, and brought into the Grand Seigniors Dominions to Cheat and Defraud his Subjects with Coy'n of a low and base Alloy. To prove the truth of this Allegation, Commands were sent to *Aleppo* to try the Money, which accordingly was done, in the presence of the Chief Officers; and tho' they receiv'd a full demonstration of the true intrinsic value, according to the legal Standard of that Money, yet there was need of Presents to obtain such a favourable Report as might satisfy the Vizier, and make the Money current in the Country. But be the *Hogst*

or Report what it would, it could never content the Vizier, who insisted that the Certificates were false, and gain'd by Bribery and Corruption; and therefore for his better assurance, he would send for the Money to *Constantinople*, or at least for a great part thereof, that an assay or proof of its goodness might be made in his presence. In short, to avoid so great a loss and mischief to the Merchants, 170000 Dollars were presented to the Vizier and his Officers to take off farther pretences from that Money; which, with the Presents and Charges at *Aleppo*, amounted to more than 200000 Dollars.

Some Months after this, the Vizier wanting a new Pretence to draw more Money from the English Nation, he signified to the Ambassador, Sir John Finch, his desire to have the Capitulations sent to him by the hand of his Interpreter, on pretence of reading some particular Articles therein for his own Information, and Instruction. The Vizier accordingly having them in his hand, detain'd them, saying, That there were several Articles therein, which being contrary to the Turkish Law, and prejudicial to the Grand Seigneur's Power and Revenue were to be made void and null, which he would take care to expunge, and would afterwards return unto the Ambassador another Capitulation. This new Method of proceeding was very surprizing to Sir John Finch, then Lord Ambassador, and the whole English Nation; who being diverted of their defensive Arms, and of those Articles on which all their security in that Country was establish'd, look'd on themselves and their Estates as expos'd to the will and arbitrary pleasure of the Turks. It seem'd now as if our Nation remain'd in a state of War, or in a Condition of Out-lawed People, being deprived of our Law and Privileges. The Consuls did usually carry the Authentick Copies of the Capitulations with them, whensoever they appear'd before the *Kadies*, or Justices; but the Original Exemplar being taken away, the force of the Copies ceas'd, and those Articles could not be produc'd, in Plea for us, as formerly they were. This Matter relating to a state of War and Peace, was transmitted home to his Majesty's Consideration; who was humbly intreated by the Turkey Company to take notice thereof in Letters directed to the Grand Seigneur, and the Vizier. But in the mean time the inconveniences were so great, and the obstructions to Trade so insupportable, that it was thought fit to ransom our Capitulations out of Captivity at any rate, rather than to hazard all our Interest by the want of them. So that a Treaty being commenc'd, it was agreed, that upon payment of 50 Purſes of Money, being 25 thousand Dollars, the Capitulations

A Trick put on the English Ambassador.

1680. pitulations should be restor'd, which was accordingly perform'd.

In this Condition things stood, when the Lord *Chandois*, another Ambassador from his Majesty, arriv'd at *Constantinople*, bringing, besides his Credentials, Letters to the Grand Seigneur and Vizier, containing no other matter than Complaints of that unworthy Seizure of the Capitulations, and of the Price and Ransom paid for them; an Action so strange and new, that an Example of the like nature was never known, or heard of in the World. The Vizier, contrary to his usual Custom, being touched with a sense of shame for so mean an Action; did desire that the Letter of this Tenure from our King to the Grand Seigneur might be smothered, and not deliver'd; promising to make restitution of the Fifty purſes, he had taken on that occasion. This offer from the Vizier seem'd a thing incredible, and as impossible to redeem a Soul out of Hell, as a Purſe of Money out of his Coſſets: Howsoever, he touch'd he was with the sense of this Act, of which the Grand Seigneur had as yet no knowledge, nor taken any share in the Booty, that he order'd Twenty nine purſes of the Money to be restor'd; but with fo ill a Grace, and so unpleasant a Countenance, that our Merchants apprehended some other Contrivances, and Machinations to be repaid again with a severe interest; which might probably have been expedited, had not the Vizier been diverted from these low acquisitions to matters of higher concernment in *Hungary*: Howsoever, before his departure he left those menacing promises behind him, which threatned no less than Ruin and Destruction at his Return. We might here recount several other Acts of injustice pass'd on our Nation: As the encouragement of the *Pasha of Tunis*, to make demands on our Ambassador for what Goods the Corsairs, or Pirates had taken from him, on one of our English Ships: And tho' out of the respect and deference which the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, and the Great Master of *Malta* bore to the Majesty of our King, and by the industry and good management of Sir John Finch, then Ambassador at *Constantinople*, the greatest part of the Goods and Money taken were restor'd, for which the *Pasha* declared himself satisfied; yet this *Pasha* receiving countenance and encouragement from this Vizier in his pretensions, demanded 450 Purſes to be paid him by the Ambassador, for the remaining Goods which were not recovered. And tho' this pretension in the late Vizier's time, (a Man of more Justice and Reason than this present) was cast out, and qualsh'd; yet the *Pasha* looking on this conjuncture, as the most reasonable of any, when the most extrava-

gant demands would be heard and favoured, renewed his Suit, and pleaded it before the Vizier with as many Lyes, and false Testimonies as were required, or could be invented to give colour to an evil Cause. The Vizier hearkned most devoutly to all the Allegations, and with a bended Brow, and a stern Countenance told the Ambassador, That he was to answer for the Blood and Estates of the Turks, which were left Aboard our English Ships: And again turning to the *Pasha* told him, That his Demands were too unreasonable and extravagant; and so mediating, as it were, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, with design to take on both Hands, he at length fairly dismissed the Audience: And in the Afternoon made a proposal by his *Kaja* or Deputy absolutely to supersede the Cause, provided that Fifteen purſes, were given to him, and Seven to his *Kaja*, and *Reis-Effendi*, who is Secretary of State. In short, after divers Treaties on this Subject, an Accommodation was made with a great Sum, other business being entred and pass'd in the same Agreement.

The next which comes into play is the *Venetian Bailo* or Ambassador, who about the beginning of this Year 1680, was sent by that Republick to reside at *Constantinople*, his name was *Gurani*, a Noble *Venetian*, and one who had formerly been General in *Dalmatia*; he was esteemed an Avaricious and a self-interested Person, a great Merchant, and a great Politician, and one made up of Intrigues and Designs. His first Enterprise, which was to Cheat the Turks, proved unlucky: For having brought a great quantity of Cloth of Gold with him, which was his own Merchandize and Adventure, he endeavoured to fave the Custom by Landing it under the notion of Presents, which were to be made to the Grand Seigneur, and the Officers of his Court. The Goods were privately convey'd a Shoar in the Night by Boats belonging to the Ships of War, which had brought the Ambassador, and defended by a Guard of *Albanians*, who are a company of lusty Fellows, to the number of Thirty, maintained by the Republick only to carry Letters to *Zara*, or *Catara* in *Dalmatia*, from whence by a *Felucca* they are Transported to *Venice*: A Party of these Men I saw conducted these Goods, and in despite of the Customers Officers carried them to the *Bailaggio*, or House belonging to the *Venetian* Ambassadors. The Customers *Uſaine Aga*, who had notice of all that pass'd, dissembled at first his knowledge thereof, and contrived with the High Treasurer to send one of his Servants to Buy a considerable parcel of the Cloth of Gold for the use of the *Seraglio*; And

1680.

The Venetians are treacherous.

1680. And in regard different Sortments and Colours were demanded, it was necessary to open and unpack divers Chests; by which means they came to a full discovery of all those Goods, which had privately been conveyed away by Night. When these Chapmen had concluded their Bargains, and agreed on the Prices, which amounted unto 3500 Dollars, they gave an Assignment for the Money on *Ufaine Aga* the Chief Customer; who willingly accepted the Bill, but to abate it out of the Customs due for those Goods, making up the Account after his own fashion: But not content herewith, he obtained a Warrant from the Vizier directed to the Judge of *Galata*, to examine the manner of carrying these Goods a-shore in the Night by Force and Violence; which being made out by several Witnesses, a report thereof was sent to the Vizier, who immediately thereupon gave Orders to the *Vaivod*, and Captain of *Galata* to make Search in the House of the Customer for those Goods, which had not paid the Custom. Seigneur *Ciurani* Alarmed at this manner of Proceeding, and not willing to give an occasion to the Turks to violate the respect due to the House of *Venice*, (which until that time was ever esteemed a Sanctuary, and place of Refuge) fearfully compounded for his unjustifiable mis carriage by the Payment of 30000 Dollars.

But this trouble was no sooner ended, before another of worse Consequence began, arising from certain Slaves to the number of about Fifty, which had saved themselves aboard the *Venetian* Men of War which had brought the Ambassador, of which Complaint being made by the Masters unto the Vizier, Orders were given twice to make search aboard the Ships for them; but by help of a little Money, Inquisitions were made so superficially, that Returns were given of none to be found. But the Complaints daily increasing, new Orders were given to renew the Search, the execution whereof was committed to a *Coppage* and a *Hafakee*, who are Officers belonging to the *Sevaglio*, together with a *Naip* or *Kadee*'s Notary, who was to write down and record the proceedings. These persons being come aboard, and rudely making search after their manner, the Soldiers arose against them, and beat them off, wounding some and throwing the *Naip* and others into the Sea. Upon report whereof the Vizier was so enraged, that he would have had the Ships brought to the Arsenal, there to be laid up and confiscated to the Grand Seigneur's Service. The two *Venetian* Ambassadors fearing also some violence to their Persons from these disorders, betook themselves to their Ships, there to remain until Matters were a little

pacified; and to make the business more easy, the Slaves (about whom was all the controversy) were privately conveyed a-shore: And a Search of the Ships submitted unto by consent, and Proposal of the Ambassadors themselves. The Vizier being a little mollified with this compliance, the *Chiaus-bashee* (or Chief of the *Pursuivants*) with 200 Men were sent aboard the Ships to make a search, where being received without opposition, they left no corner of the Ships unfought and unlooked into, and none being found, the *Chiaus-bashee* gave them a favourable report upon payment of 300 *Chequins*: After which the *Bailos* or Ambassadors returned a-shore, referring a farther Accommodation of their Matters to *Ufaine Aga* the Customer, who was a most dexterous Person, both in raising *Avanias* or false Pretences, and in the Ways and Arts of composing them. And he accordingly managed the matter, that with payment of Seventy purses to the Vizier, and Ten to the *Kaja*, with other petty rewards to *Ufaine Aga* himself, and other inferior Officers, which might in all amount to about 50000 Dollars, all Displeasures were reconciled, the new *Bailo* was friendly admitted to Audience, and the old one suffered fairly to depart: The Masters lost their Slaves, and the Vizier got the Money. But the Troubles of the *Venetian* Ministers did not end here: For not long afterwards, some Disturbances arose in *Dalmatia* between the *Turks* and the Subjects of that Republick, in which above a Hundred *Turks*, as was reported, being Cut off, the Vizier in a Rage sent the *Bailo* *Joan Bello* Prisoner to the seven Towers, Threatening to put him to Death; but with the Atone ment of 200,000 Dollars, the Vizier's gentle Heart was melted, and all things salved up and reconciled again once more. But the Republick of *Venice* to whose expences the Sum of 300,000 Dollars was charged, could not so easily digest this Extortion; and knowing that with the *Turks* there was no other remedy but patience until such time as opportunity happened to revenge it, did in the interim show their resentment, by their displeasure against Seigneur *Ciurani* their Ambassador, whom they recalled speedily from his Employment, and constituted the Secretary in his place; and afterwards levied a great part of the Money paid unto the *Turks* out of his Estate, and out of the Estate of *Morofini* the old *Bailo*. *Foscari* formerly Consul at *Aleppo* was made Inquisitor to examine the matter, who upon enquiry thereto found, that the Goods which *Ciurani* brought were to the value of 60,000 Dollars, and others which had not paid Custom at *Venice*, were in *pena di contrabando*, condemned in 30,000 Ducats: such

1680. success as this have such old Politicians, who pretend to a craft and cunning above other Men. And thus we have given a Relation of the Treatment which the Vizier used towards the *Venetians*, in which we have been the more large, to inform the World of the beginnings and grounds of the War, which soon afterwards ensued, and the Reasons which moved the *Venetians* to joyn themselves in League with the Emperor against the *Turk*.

The next Foreign Minister which must taste of the Vizier's kindness, was the *Genoese* Resident. And tho' neither the Business, nor the Actions of that Nation did Administer any ground of pretence to extort Money from them; yet, the Vizier made an *Avania* of 5000 Dollars upon them, for what cause no Man knows, nor do the *Genoese* themselves declare any. It is conjectured he would not suffer their Resident Seigneur *Spinola* to depart without payment of that Sum, upon pretence that during all the time of his Residence, he had never seen the Grand Seigneur.

The new Resident who succeeded to *Spinola*, had been the *Sopra-cargo* of a Ship, and was rather a Factor than a Publick Minister; for the State of *Genova* had refused to have any concernment in *Turky*: Howsoever, they lent their name to certain Merchants for 6000 Dollars a year, who in Consideration of the Contolage to be confirmed to them, were to maintain a Resident at *Constantinople*, and a Consul at *Smyrna*. After which the Camera was to know nothing of any expence, but all sorts of Charges and *Avanias* were to be born by the Undertakers; who allowed their Resident 1500 Dollars per annum, which with the benefit of making Strong-waters, and selling of Wine in his House, and with ways of Thrifty living, was esteemed a good subsistence for a Person of his quality.

The *Dutch* Minister which had for a long time escaped Troubles, and *Avanias* rather by good fortune than any good cunning, did at length, on occasion of an unavoidable Dispute with *Ufaine Aga* the Customer, fall into the reach of the Vizier's Hand: And tho' the Resident foresaw the Mischiefs, and would have avoided the Blow by submitting every thing to the Judgment of the Customer himself; yet, to gain the Merit of bringing such a Client before the Vizier, who could never depart from before his Tribunal without paying roundly for his Justice, he immediately preferred his Memorial against the *Dutch* Resident; saying, That he would not be Judge and Party, lest he should be partial to himself, but would rest content and submit to any Sentence which the Vizier should pronounce in publick Divan. Accordingly a

Boiardee, or Warrant was sent by a *Chiaus* to cite the *Dutch* Resident's Druggerman, or Interpreter to appear in Divan with the Capitulations; which being brought thither, were there detained after the manner of the *Englisb*, on pretence that the Vizier would peruse them; tho' as appears by the sequel, his Intentions were to make them pay their Ranom as our Capitulations had done before; which the *Dutch* objected against us, as a leading Card to them, and that our easiness in yielding to such an unparallel'd Extortion, had given the Vizier Encouragement to enterprize the like upon them. It was in the year 1673, when the *Dutch* first made their Capitulations with the *Turks*; since which time they were but once renewed, about Forty six years ago in the time of *Sultan Morat*; and then their Articles were not described at large in many Points, only in general it was declared, That they should extend to all the Particulars as largely, and in as ample manner, to all Privileges and Immunities, as did the *Englisb*. The Vizier upon Consideration of the matter, was not willing to find particulars in generals, nor to interpret Articles with such vast Comprehensions as divers *Caters* would imply; and therefore told the *Dutch*, That they must either receive their Capitulations back, with such Concessions only, as were expressed in open Terms; or otherwise be contented with the expence of renewing of them, in such an Explicite manner as might refer nothing to an interpretation out of Generals. The *Dutch* who were contented with their old Capitulations, and affronted with the Charge of new ones, knowing how apt the Vizier was to inflame the Reckoning, kept off at a distance for some time, Arguing the unreasonableness of such a Constraint, and the validity of their present Articles, than which they desired no others. Howsoever, the Vizier kept the Capitulations, and the Customer interpreted them after his own Sense, and in his own Favour. The *Dutch* had at that time several Ships under Convoy of their State's Men of War arrived at *Smyrna*, to which they gave Orders not to enter the Port, but to lie off without the Castle, as if they intended to break off all Commerce; and in case their Capitulations were not reformed, to cause their Fleet to return back to the Ports from whence they came. But the Vizier and the Customer were not moved with this Bravade; for tho' they were not very well versed in Maritime, or Mercantile affairs, yet they were not ignorant how far a Master of a Ship was obliged to deliver the Goods laden on his Vessel at the Port, to which they were designed; nor did they unreasonably calculate the Charge of returning the Con-

1680. voy, with the loss and overthrow of their
 Voyage, to be far greater than the Bar-
 gain which was to be made for Restitution,
 or renewal of their Capitulations. How-
 ever, the Dutch were of Opinion, That this
 Suspension of Trade would mortifie the
 Culmometer, and incline the Vizier to better
 Terms; when after Fifty days hanging off,
 and that divers great Ships of their Convoy
 had lain almost all that time upon an ex-
 pensive and heavy demorage; at length the
 Resident being sooner weary thereof, than
 the Turks were sensible of the failure of
 the Trade, became desirous to Treat about an
 Accommodation. The person employ'd here-
 in was the Vizier's own *Jew Broker*, (for
 all the great Men in Turkey have one of
 this Race depending on their Families, who
 serve them for Settlers and Pandors to their
 interest and pleasures.) This Jew being dex-
 terous in his mystery of making Bargains,
 concluded with the Dutch to have their Ca-
 pitulations renewed; and to have all the
 dubious Points explained and distended at
 large, in the same manner as the *English*
 are: And then in satisfaction, and return for
 so favourable an Indulgence, Fifty purles of
 Money were to be paid to the Vizier, Ten
 to his *Kaja*, Three to the *Reis-Effendi*, or
 Chief Secretary, and Eight to *Usaine Aga* the
 Customer: After which Orders were sent to
 the Convoy to enter within the Port of
Smyrna, which might have been done at
 first without expence or loss of time; for
 certainly the detention of the Convoy ser-
 ved nothing to the easier, and more ready
 Accommodation of this Affair. I have
 known many Examples of this nature in
 my own time in Turkey; and could never
 find that the stopping Ships from entering
 into Port, did ever Operate upon the Tur-
 kish Officers, and only served to increase our
 Expence, and add to the Afflictions of our
 other Aggrievances, which we received from
 the Turks.

Thus did the Vizier Treat all the Mini-
 sters of Foreign Princes with a Scorn, and
 Contempt as became such as were his Vaf-
 als, or Tributaries to his Master, neither
 showing them Respect or Honour, nor af-
 fording them Justice: as when at any time
 an injured Ambassador asked of him the Rea-
 sons why he was so severely used, and what
 Crime he had committed, he would readily
 answer, *Do you not Breath in the Grand Sei-
 gnors Air, and will you pay him nothing
 for it?* Wherefore upon the Provocations be-
 fore-mention'd, should in so few years after
 the Conclusion of a long War, break out
 again with the Turk, and join with the Em-
 peror against this Common Enemy, whom
 neither Articles, nor Solemn Promises could

keep within the Bounds of Common Hu-
 manity. And when we consider, how the
 just God doth humble the Proud, we may
 not wonder to see how manifestly, the Di-
 vine Providence hath appeared in Defence
 of the Christian Cause, even to a Miracle
 against the Turks, who at that time had
 exalted themselves to such a pitch of Pride,
 and Opinion of their own Force, as if they
 had been Omnipotent and Invincible, and
 were minded to verifie their own saying,
*That God had made the Earth for their Domi-
 nion, and Enjoyment, and the Sea only for the
 Christians.*

Thus had Pride, Rapine and Avarice ari-
 sen to their Zenith and highest Sphere unto
 which they could reach, and all those Cor-
 ruptions and Irregularities in Justice, which
 usually overthrow Kingdoms and Empires
 seem'd now to be consummated, and the
 Governors to have fulfill'd the measure of
 their Iniquity. Luxury and Lasciviousness
 may weaken and enervate a People, but
 Tyranny and Injustice most commonly Sub-
 vert the whole Fabric of Government.
 Avarice, which is the root of all Evils, and
 which provokes and incites to Tyranny and
 Violence, was the ruine of the Ottoman Em-
 pire; of which we shall produce a most
 pregnant Example in the Conduct of this
 Vizier, when we come to Treat of his Con-
 duct in the succeeding War, before he laid
 Siege to the City of Vienna.

ANNO, 1681.

WE are enter'd now into another year, A. D.
 and still the Visier continues un- 1681.
 changeable in his violent Resolutions of
 getting and amassing vast Sums of Money.
 He had for some time given a little respite
 to the Christian Ministers, from whom he
 had diverted his exactions to exercise them
 on the Turks themselves; he laid an Imposi-
 tion of two *Aspers* upon every Oke of Flesh
 eaten within the City; of which an Old
 Man complaining, who was employ'd to buy
 Flesh for the *Janizaries*, as being dear and
 bad, the Vizier turn'd him out of his Of-
 fice, with a Reward of 300 blows on the
 Soles of his Feet.

The Grand Signior having built a Se-
 nario on Galata side, near the *Bosphorus*,
 many of the Workmen, and poor Labourers,
 both Turks and Christians not being pay'd,
 gave a Petition to the Grand Signior for
 their Money; the Grand Signior readily
 gave them an Assignment under his own
 hand for their Payment, directed to the
Treasury or Lord Treasurer; but he sent
 them to the Vizier, who clapp'd twenty
 three of them into Prison, and next day in
 publick Divan, order'd them to be drubb'd;
 telling

1681. telling them, *That if he heard more of their
 Complaints, he would fend them to the Gal-
 lies.*

But all these were petty Matters in Com-
 parison with that greater Design he had of
 raising Money; which was by laying a Tax
 on all Lands throughout the Empire, call'd
 the *Sorsat*, whereby it was propos'd to levy
 at least fourteen thousand Purles, of which
 the Vizier made an account of at least two
 thousand for his own share; (the *Sorsat* is
 the greatest Tax the Turks impose on their
 People, being laid on every Acre of Glebe
 Land where the Plow goes.) The pretence
 for which was, the Grand Signior's Remo-
 val to *Adrianople*, for adjusting the Limits
 of Poland. But this Design was disappoint-
 ed by the contrary Faction of the *Kusler
 Aga*, and *Solyman Kaja*, who by the Queen
 Mother represented to the Grand Signior,
 that this Journey being only of Pleasure,
 and not design'd in order to a War, he
 could not without an oppression of his Peo-
 ple raise such a Tax, which in former times
 was never Levied by their Wisest Emperors,
 but on great Emergencies, and on occasion
 of pressing Exigencies; so the Grand Sei-
 gnior, like a good Prince, gave answer to the
 Vizier, *That he would spare his Subjects for
 the present, in regard that he, and the Valide
 Sultana, had sufficient in the Treasury where-
 with to defray their own Expenses.*

Howsoever the Vizier still insisted on this
 Point, arguing that the intent of removal to
Adrianople was not a Journey of Pleasure;
 but (if the Grand Signior so pleas'd) in
 order to a War against the Emperor of Ger-
 many; for never was there a Conjunction
 more favourable than at present, when the
 Rebels under the Command of Count
Teckelej invited them to a Conquest of all
 that Country; and particularly of *Raah*,
 which having been formerly under the Do-
 minion of the Turks, could not without
 dishonour to the Empire, and scandal to Re-
 ligion be relinquish'd, and suffer'd to remain
 in the hands of the Christians, when it
 might without much blood or expence be
 recover'd. To which the Grand Signior
 made answer, *That Raah had not been lost
 in his days, nor in the Reigns of his Father,
 or Uncle, and therefore that the recovery
 thereof did less concern him; and that for his
 own part, he had sufficiently enlarg'd his Em-
 pire by the addition of Newhawfel, Candia,
 Caminie, Ukraina, and the appurtenances
 thereto belonging; the which Conquests had
 so harass'd his Soldiers, and burthen'd his
 People, that he was resolv'd to put an end unto
 his Wars, and give repose and ease unto his
 Dominions.*

At present there was neither Peace with
 the *Moscovites*, nor open Wars; the Treas-

ties were in a manner ended, no great Pre-
 parations were making for the following
 year, but every thing remain'd in a kind of
 suspense; and in this Condition of Affairs
 the Vizier advis'd the Grand Signior to re-
 move with his Court unto *Adrianople* in a
 Warlike posture, which might alarm the
 Articles of Peace. The Grand Signior
 assented thereto, and about the beginning
 of November arriv'd at *Adrianople*.

But before the Vizier was well settled in
 that City, he was forc'd for his own safety
 to cut off his belov'd *Kaja*, a Creature of
 his own, who was admirably fitted for his
 purpose; for he was grown so scandalously
 avaricious, and so publicly rapacious,
 without any fear or shame, that he was
 hated and detested by all Mankind. And
 here, if ever, the Curse of *David* was re-
 ally fulfill'd of him and his Master; *Let a
 Wicked Man be set over them, and let Satan
 stand at his right hand.* And tho' the Vizier
 had no great need of a Tempter to pro-
 voke or incite him to catch at his Prey,
 yet this Devil being most excellently Sagi-
 cious in finding out and Intriguing Game,
 and skillful in all the Arts of flattery, he was
 most intimate and dear to his Master, and
 esteem'd the more useful Instrument, be-
 cause he was so bold as to be content to
 bear the disgrace, and to stand between the
 Vizier, and the Clamours of the People;
 which were now become so common, and
 general by the out-cries of the multi-
 tude, that the Vizier to save himself, was
 forc'd to offer him a Sacrifice to their tu-
 multuous rage. The occasion was this.

The last Summer the Grand Signior at
 the instigation of the Musli, and of other
 Zealots of the *Mahometan-Law*, had issued
 out divers severe Edicts against Taverns,
 and *Boza-Shops*. This *Boza* is a certain sort
 of Liquor made of that Grain which by us
 is call'd *Millet*, which is sumatic, and as the Cause
 that men'd the Pleasure
 to cut off
 his *Kaja*.
 incbrating as our strongest Ale; and with
 which the Turks would be as drunk, and
 more quarrelsome and mutinous than if they
 had drank of the juice of the Grape; and
 therefore the *Ulamah*, or Expolitors of their
 Law, gave their Opinions that it was as
 unlawful as Wine; for that since it was
 their Prophet's intention to prohibit Drun-
 kenness, it was an illusion of his Precept to
 forbid Wine, and at the same time to allow
 of other more intoxicating and incbrating
 Liquors; wherefore as often as the Grand
 Signior renew'd his Decrees against Wine,
 he enjoynd the same Penalties against drink-
 ing *Boza*, which was a very heavy and
 grievous Lesson to the People; for *Boza-Shops*
 were become almost as common in Turkey, as
 Ale-houses are in England, and to suppress
 them,

1681. them, would be a like inconvenience. Wherefore upon return of the Grand Seignior last year unto *Constantinople*, the *Boza-Houskeepers* made their Addresses to the Vizier for a Dispensation with the Sultan's Decree and License to sell *Boza* publicly as before; the *Kaja* boldly enters into a Treaty, and concludes with them for sixty Purles, which so soon as the Grand Seignior was departed were paid, and the License given, and the *Cape*, or Chief of that Trade was with Ceremony vested by the *Chimacam*, who came also into a share of the benefit. But this matter could not long remain a Secret before it was made known to the Sultan by the contrary Faction to the Vizier, who having the good fortune to have *Kara Kaja* his Friend then present when the Complaint was made; at which he observing the Grand Seignior to grow very angry, immediately interposed in behalf of the Vizier, excusing him as ignorant in the matter, and that none was guilty therein besides *Hassan* the Vizier's *Kaja*, who was the sole Actor and Contriver of the Offence. The Grand Seignior, who had always been constant to his prime Minister, was willing to see him covered with such a screen, and without farther delay sign'd a Command to take off the head of the *Kaja*, which was dispatched away by the *Salahor*, or Chief of the *Queerries* belonging to the Stables. *Kara Kaja* a very bad Man, who was Friend to the Vizier, dispatch'd with all expedition this Advice unto him; which he having receiv'd, and fearing lest his *Kaja* should be carried away alive to the Grand Seignior, and betray the whole truth of their Combination, not staying for the Command, immediately order'd him to be frang'd. It was early in the Morning when the Letter came, and at the same moment the Vizier sent for *Ali Aga*, who had been *Talkishgee* to the late Vizier, (that is the Officer who carries Messages to the Grand Seignior) and then Agent at the Port for the *Tartar Han*, and bid him go to *Hassan Kaja* and take his Place. *Ali Aga* surpriz'd and confus'd with this direction, went as he was order'd, and whilst he was speaking to *Hassan*, and telling him that he did not well understand the Vizier's Pleasure, in came the Master of the Ceremonies with a Vest, with which (after the *Turkish* fashion) he Cloathed *Ali Aga*, bidding *Hassan* to retire into the inward Chamber; where being entered, two lusty *Arnouts*, who were selling Cinnels in the Streets, were brought up and order'd to strangle him; the Cord was thrown down before him, which seeming stiff, and not prepar'd to slip easily, he desir'd his Executioners to make use of his own Girdle. But before he dy'd, he

1681. instantly urg'd that it might be permitted him to see the Vizier, to whom he had many things of Importance to Communicate. But it would not be granted; and as the Cord was putting about his neck, he Curst the Vizier, saying these last words; *O Treacherous World, now I know thee!* Being a strong Man he was long in dying; and some few hours after his Execution being observ'd to move, the Vizier order'd the Principal Gaoler to watch him until he was Enter'd. And so was the Grand Seignior's Sentence forestall'd, for he was in his Grave before that arriv'd.

After his death, the next thing was to ransack his Houses, where great Riches were found, both in Furniture, Clothing, Jewels, and Money; he had four hundred and twenty Horses in his Stables; to the *Meri* or Exchequer fifteen hundred Purles of his Money were brought, but his Houses and Lands were assign'd to pay his Debts, all which he had gain'd in the space of three years. In one of his new Houses he had enclosed forty thousand *Chequins* within a Wall, which his Steward discover'd, and that he had murder'd the poor *Mafons* whom he had employ'd in the Work. When this Vizier was *Chimacam*, (as he was for several years) this Man was once his *Kaja*, but he was so shameless a Villain, that his Master drubb'd him, and turn'd him out of his Service. Howsoever, being now Vizier, and knowing that he had need of such an Instrument, he took him again into the same Office; and calling to Mind that when he was *Pasha* of *Silistria*, in the time of Old *Kuperlee*, he sav'd himself by cutting off another *Kaja*, he reserv'd this Rogue for the same purpose.

The new *Kaja* was a much better Man, and therefore little confided in by the Vizier, and consequently made no great Figure at his Court; his Chief Confident now was the *Reis-Effendi*, or Principal Secretary, by whose hands all Treaties and Negotiations pass'd. In short, by these Arts and Means the Vizier kept up his Credit with his Master, and in despite of the Faction which was against him, he stood firm in his Basis, such was the favour and constancy of the Sultan to his prime Ministers.

On the twenty third of November, *Caplan Pasha*, who had for some years been *Capitan Pasha*, and of whom we have had occasion to make mention often in our former History, died at *Smyrna*, being grown almost to a Dotage; he had just fash another *Kaja* as the Vizier had, who miserably pillag'd and oppress'd the poor Islanders in the *Archipelago*, from whom he extorted two hundred Purles; such another Sum would totally have ruin'd them.

1681. A Page of the Grand Seignior's, who was *Selidit-Aga*, or Sword-bearer succeeded in the great charge of *Capitan-Pasha*, or High Admiral of the Naval Forces, he was a Creature of the Viziers, and Born in the same Town with him; by whom his Party was strengthen'd against the contrary Faction.

At this time the Vizier was meditating a War against the Emperor; but having differences with *Poland* and *Moskovy* on his Hands, as yet not decided, there being neither an open War nor a declar'd peace as yet with either, he resolv'd so soon as possible to bring Matters unto an Accommodation with them both: And having made Peace with all the World, and super-induc'd a calmness over the Face of all the Ottoman Empire, he might then have a pretence to break out into a new War against the Emperor; to which tho' he might meet an aversion in the Grand Seignior for the Causes before mention'd, and in the *Musti*, and Viziers of the Bench, upon the Truce which wanted Two years of being expir'd; yet having such a favourable conjuncture of Affairs to offer, than which nothing could be more inviting, he assur'd himself that he should prevail with the Grand Seignior and his Chief Ministers; and herein he mist not his aim, for laying before them the Successes of the *Malcontents* in *Hungary*, who were powerful and strong, and had of themselves worsted the Emperor's Forces in all their Battels and Skirmishes: And that these People declar'd their intentions to throw off their Obedience and Allegiance to the Emperor, and offer'd themselves Subjects, and Tributaries to the Grand Seignior, on the easy and reasonable Condition only of affording them his Assistance, and granting them his Protection: So that to let slip this favourable opportunity, on the Nice point of a Truce not yet expir'd, were, said he, to give up the *Mahometan* Cause; the advance and increase of which were a sufficient ground to hallow any thing, which may stand in opposition to it. There were other things also alludg'd, in reference to secret Encouragements given from *France*, which tho' they carried not such weight with the Council, so as to depend on them, yet they serv'd for probable inducements to incite forward unto a War. With which Reasons the Grand Seignior and the Council being convinced, a War was determin'd, and great preparations made in order thereunto. And now in regard we are come to a Crisis of time, which gave a turn to the success of the Turks, and hath shaken and almost subvert'd the whole Fabrick of the Ottoman Empire; it may not be an impertinent digression to look back to the Troubles of *Hungary*, which were the Causes

1681. and Original of that War, which hath prov'd fatal to the Turks, and brought the Kingdom of *Hungary* under the entire and absolute Dominion of the Christian Emperor: We shall therefore give a succinct Account of the beginning of those Troubles, as reported by the Author of that Tract call'd *Vienna Oppugnata*, adjoin'd at the end of the History of *Istivanus* formerly Vice-Palatine of *Hungary*, whose words are to this purpose.

The Turks having in the Month of *August* 1664, receiv'd an Overthrow by the Slaughter of 10000 Men near *St. Gothards*, in *Town* in *Hungary*, by the Imperial Army, under the Conduct and Command of *Raymond Montecuculi*, a Peace or Truce rather was immediately concluded thereupon, to continue for the Space of Twenty years: During which time the Kingdom of *Hungary* long harass'd with War, might have recover'd its pristine happy Estate, had not certain Mifcreants, the barbarous and degenerate offspring of that Country, disturb'd the Tranquillity and Quiet thereof; and by Machinations and Plots against the Life of their Sovereign, drawn upon themselves that destruction which they design'd for others. But God be praised, their Treason was detected, and the chief Conspirators, namely, *Francis Count Nadaffi*, Chief Justice of *Hungary*, *Francis Marquis* of *Frangipani*, and *Peter Serini* a Count of *Croatia*, all of them Eminent both for Arms and Letters, were taken, arraign'd, and being found Guilty were put to Death, and their Goods and Estates confiscated to the use of the Emperor. But so soon as this Rebellion was suppress'd, another of more dangerous consequence was rais'd, being fomented by the Nobility, and Persons most considerable for their Estates and Power in *Hungary*, of which *Emericus Count Tekeli* was declar'd the Chief; the Causes and Grounds of which they deliver'd under these Heads.

First, That contrary to the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, a Palatine had not been constituted to supply the vacancy of the former deceased.

Secondly, That the Hungarians were excluded from all Offices and places of Trust, and Strangers introduced into their stead.

Thirdly, That the German Troops were forcibly quarter'd upon them, and the numbers daily increased: And all the Forts, Castles, and places of defence garrison'd by German Soldiers, and no Trust or Confidence repos'd in the Hungarians, to the great oppression and discouragement of that People.

Fourthly, That by the Counsel and Advice of the Jesuits, the free exercise of their Religion was not only taken from them, but they were also ejected out of their Churches and places where they worshipp'd God: For which Reason

The Vizier design'd a War on the Emperor.

The Origin of the end of the Troubles in Hungary.

1681. Reason they desired, that the Jesuits might be banished out of Hungary.

And tho' the Emperor did in his Wisdom fore-see all the mischiefs which did ensue, and with a gracious Clemency endeavour'd to apply those Lenitives, which might appease the Spirits of his discontented Subjects; and in order thereto called a Diet to be held at Caffovia, where he offer'd to condescend unto all the Propositions which the Malecontents did demand: And afterwards summoned another Diet to be held at Presburg, at which, before the Coronation of the Queen, he assisted and presided in Person, and there made new offers to grant Liberty of Conscience, and a free exercise of Religion to all Protestants, and to restore to them their Churches taken from them, with as many other Privileges and Favours as could be desir'd: So that there was all appearance imaginable of Peace and a fair Accommodation. But matters were permitted to go too far before they received a Check: For the Malecontents were engaged with the Turks beyond any power of retraiement: And having received Assurances from them of Assurances which were daily expelled, and Promises (as it is said) of Money from the French, all thoughts of accommodation were laid aside, from whence that terrible War hath ensued, fatal to the Turks and pernicious to Christendom.

All this is a short Epitome of the Troubles and Unquietnesses in Hungary, for the space of about Eighteen years, which having been the occasion of the great War, which hath alter'd the state of the whole World; We shall not content over selves with this short Relation, but shall proceed to render an Account of the rise of these Troubles, the continuance of them, with the several Successes, until the Entire conquest of Hungary by the Emperor.

The People of Hungary are naturally of a mutinous and unquiet Temper, complaining of War, and not well contented with Peace. The Emperor towards the end of the Campaign 1664, had gain'd a Victory (as is said) over the Turks, and made the good use thereof, as with that opportunity to clap up a Peace. The Hungarians who before that time, and even during the War with the Turk, had been unseasonably incited by many Insults and Outrages committed on them by the German Soldiers; but more sensibly touched by having their Churches taken from them by the Council, and advice of the Jesuits and Clergy of Rome; were not content with the Peace made by the Emperor with the Grand Seignior: Alledging that they ought to have been made Parties to the Treaty, it being their Country which was chiefly concern'd: That after to Signal a Victory, better and more advantage-

ous Articles might have been obtain'd from the Turk, and perhaps Newbawfel it self might have been Surrender'd and Restored, but by default hereof their Condition was render'd far worse than before, for by virtue of the new Articles lately concluded: The Palsha of Newbawfel pretended to bring all the Villages on the Frontiers of Moravia under Contribution; and to add unto the new Conquests all the Country and places on this side the Danube, which are nearly adjoining to Gran, Alba-Regalu and Kanisfa, where-in was comprehended the greatest part of the lower Hungary: Which they exclaimed against as Terms so disagreeable unto them, that a War had been much better; and therefore to prevent and disappoint all farther proceedings thereon, they seized on the Secretary of the Imperial Resident then remaining with the Vizier, on the way as he was carrying the Articles of Peace to be Ratify'd by the Emperor, and took from him his Horses and Money with his Dispatches, which they for some time detain'd, and restored not without much difficulty.

The Emperor being inform'd of this Affront, cited the Chief Lords of Hungary to appear at Vienna: Where the Prince Lukovitz President of the Imperial Council told them, That the Conditions of Peace which his Master the Emperor had concluded with the Turk, were not so disadvantageous as they imagin'd; for that the first overture of Peace came from the Turks themselves, with whom it was agreed and concluded, that Transilvania was to continue in its ancient Liberty, and not subjected to the Government of a Palsha in nature of a Mahometan Province. That the Counties of Zatmar and Zambolish, which were anciently esteem'd dependencies on Transilvania, were to be transferr'd into the power of the Emperor. That the better to secure the Frontiers of the upper Hungary, and to prevent the Incursions of the Turks on the other side of the Danube, it was provided in the Capitulations, that the Emperor might Build Forts on each side of the River Waagh; which would very much annoy and restrain the Turks of Waradin and Newbawfel from making Depredations, or Incursions on that side of the Country. Now considering that this Peace was thus advantageous, as well to Hungary as to the Hereditary Dominions; his Imperial Majesty judg'd it convenient to embrace so fair an opportunity; expelling that the Hungarian Lords would likewise concur with him in Confirmation of the Treaty, and restrain their Soldiers from committing farther Outrages on the Frontiers. That his Imperial Majesty as to his part, was resolv'd to withdraw all his German Regiments out of Hungary; Provided, That they themselves would take care to furnish, and supply those Garri-

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sons with Soldiers of their own, and at their own charge repair the Fortifications of Levents, Schentra, Neutra, Schella and Gutta, which are Neighbouring places to Newbawfel, and to furnish them with all sorts of Ammunition, and Provisions necessary for their Maintenance and Defence.

The Hungarian Lords returned no present answer to this Discourse; having not Authority to do so, until they had first consulted with the Nobility of the Upper Hungary, who had often protested that they would never agree to any thing, which was concluded without their consent, and revenge themselves on their Palatine, in case he should engage them in matters without their Privy or Concurrence first obtain'd.

In fine, after Consultations had with the Estates, an answer was giving in Writing to this effect. That to conclude a Peace without the Privy and Concurrence of the Estates, was against the Statutes, and Privileges of the Kingdom. That in case they could flatter themselves so far, as to believe that true Tranquillity and Ease would be the effect, and consequence of the late Truce made with the Turk, which would be the greatest blessing that could befall a Nation, (which above all the People in this World had been barrag'd with War;) Yet it was difficult, and almost impracticable for them to build the Fortresses intended upon the Waagh, and in the mean time restrain the Turks from their Incursions; and let them do what was possible for them, yet still Hungary would lie open, and exposed for at least 60 Leagues spire to the Incursions of the Turks, and to the extortions and insolences of the German Soldiers: In short therefore, they resolv'd to Ratify nothing; they would neither exchange the Garrisons nor Build new Forts, nor Repair old ones; but leave every thing to his Majesty to provide what was necessary for the defence, and conservation of that miserable and unfortunate Kingdom.

This memorial being given in with a kind of sad and a discontented behaviour, despairing (as it were) of the welfare of their Country; the Hungarians were retiring from the Emperor and his Council, when the Prince Lukovitz reassum'd in a calm and sober manner his former Discourse, which he press'd on them with new and persuasive Instances: Telling them, That he could not imagin upon what Grounds or Reasons they did desire a continuance of War, the Stage and Theater of which was to be their own Country. That out of a sense of those Miseries which were to ensue, and from a pious and gracious regard he conceiv'd for the repose of Hungary, the Emperor had concluded a Peace with the Turk, which he was contriving to secure against

all violence and irruption of the Enemy. And that entire satisfaction might be given to the Hungarian Lords, his Imperial Majesty declared, That he would build those Forts upon the Waagh, which were design'd to restrain all Incursions from the Garrison of Newbawfel, at his own expense and charge: That he would withdraw the German Troops from burdening the Country, and quarter Hungarians in their places; That whilst those Forts were in Building, the Guards thereunto belonging should consist of Hussars and Heydukes: That all places of Trust and Profit, both Civil and Military, should be put into the Hands of Hungarians. And that they might at their own will and pleasure, put what Forces and Commanders they pleas'd into the Garrisons of the Mountain Towns and other places.

These Concessions from the Emperor being so gracious and free, as nothing could be desir'd more ample and satisfactory; the Hungarian Lords acquiesced and signed the Treaty with the Turks: So that all things began to put on a Face, and clear aspect of Tranquillity and Repose, as well in reference unto Foreign Wars, as to civil and intestine differences: And thereupon the Crown, wherewith the Hungarian Kings were usually Crown'd, and which the Lords had removed from Presburg, to prevent the Emperor from taking it upon him with Right of Inheritance, was again return'd by them, and restor'd to its former place.

But these fair promises and assurances given by the Prince Lukovitz in behalf of the Emperor, proceeded no farther than to words; for neither were their Churches restor'd; Nor the German Forces recalled out of the Country; Nor the Towns of Nitria and Levents, lately taken from the Turks deliver'd into their Hands, as was promis'd: But instead thereof, German Garrisons were put into Tokai, Zatmar, Kalo and Onod, Towns which are bordering on Transilvania, and were belonging to Prince Ragotski.

In short, nothing being perform'd as was promis'd, the Spirits of the Hungarians were so exasperated, that they desponded of any good from the Imperial Court, but rather beheld it as a Cabal, contriving and meditating only to bring them under an Arbitrary power, and an unsupportable Slavery. And this general Humour of discontent, so spread it self in the Minds of the People; that they grew Sullen, and Angry in an Instant; and both the Roman Catholics and Protestants, and all sorts of Religions in that Nation became to concern'd for the Liberty and Privileges of their Country; that they freely and openly declar'd, That they would rather subject themselves to the Turks, than become the Slaves of the Germans.

1681. The consequences of which War have been so dismal, and even the Imperial Victories gain'd at the expence of so much Blood and Treasure, as all Germany as well as Hungary, has felt the fatal effects of it: So that Men are apt to look back with Indignation on the Authors of these Troubles, and to think them worthy of the extremest Punishments, that have brought their Country to such Ruin and Desolation. The greatest part of which Censures will without doubt fall upon the Protestants, whose Arms have wanted even Success; that popular justification, and whose Cause labours under two such fearful appearances, as a defection from their Prince, and the joining with the Common Enemy of Christendom, tho' perhaps a considering Man will be apt to reflect on that Cruel severity, which forc'd them to take shelter in the Arms of an Infidel; at least he will see a fatal instance, of the unhappy Consequences of driving Men to Despair, by subverting their Laws, Liberties and Religion. I shall therefore give an impartial Account of the Causes, that exasperated the Protestants of Hungary to this degree; and leave them to the Readers judgment, either to be condemn'd or acquitted. And therefore let us hear what Account the Protestant Writers give of this matter; when the Protestant Religion began first to insinuate itself into Hungary, under the Reign of King Lewis, it met there with the same fate it did in other Countries, *viz.* Opposition and Persecution. But this King unhappily engaging himself in a War against the Turks, fell in Battle, and leaving no Heir Male, the Hungarian Nobility were divided in the choice of a Successor; one part Electing John Zapolya Vaivode of Transylvania, and the other Ferdinand the first. But John dying soon after his Election, Ferdinand remained in the better possession of that Kingdom; who the better to gain the affection of his Subjects, granted free exercise of Religion to *Caluvia, Bartphia, Eperias, Leuchenia* and *Likinia*; the five free Towns of upper Hungary, and afterwards to several of the Towns of lower Hungary, besides the same Privileges which he gave to divers of the Nobility. Notwithstanding which, there being several Commotions and Disturbances on account of Religion, still remaining in the year 1606. at the Pacification of Vienna, made between *Rodolph* Emperor and King of Hungary, and *Stephen Botkai-Kis-Maria*; in the first Article it was said, *That as to the business of Religion, that notwithstanding the first Constitutions, and the last Article of the year 1604, according to the Resolution taken by his Imperial Majesty: All the Inhabitants and Persons of what Order or Con-*

dition soever within that Kingdom, as well the great Lords, as the Cities and Privileged Towns immediately belonging to the Crown, or upon the borders of that Kingdom; as likewise all the Soldiers of Hungary, shall have free and entire Liberty of Conscience, without being troubled or molested: Nevertheless without prejudice to the Roman Catholic Religion, so that that Clergy, the Churches, and the Temples of the Catholics may remain in the State wherein they are, without Violation or Molestation: And that those which had been taken by one side or other, should be restor'd to their lawful owners. Afterwards the Emperor *Matthias* himself explain'd that Clause, (nevertheless without prejudice to the Rom. Cath. Religion) by assuring them *That it was put in upon a good design, and that it only meant that neither Party should be disturbed in the exercise of their Religion.* This liberty was afterwards often confirm'd, as you may see in the Grievances presented to the Emperor, which are affix'd to the end of this History. The now Reigning Emperor *Leopold* solemnly confirm'd this Article at his Coronation; *Vide* the sixth Condition in the Imperial Patent running thus: *Ordered, That the exercise of Religion granted to the States of Hungary, according to the Constitution of Vienna, and those Articles establish'd before our Coronation shall remain entirely free, as well for the Barons, Lords, Gentlemen, as free Cities; and all Orders and States of the Kingdom of Hungary; as likewise for the Towns, Villages and Hamlets that will accept of it, so that no Person of what Condition soever, shall be hinder'd in the exercise of his Religion, in what manner, or under what pretence soever.* Given in the Royal Citadel of *Pozonium*, June the 25th, 1655.

In despite of all these Edicts made in favour of the Protestants; the Clergy, especially the Jesuits, had so much interest in the Court of Vienna, as to get a Manifest publish'd there; and Entitled, *Truth declared to all the World*, or a Treatise wherein is proved by three Argument, that his Cæsarean Majesty is not obliged to tolerate the *Lutheran*, or *Calvinist* Religion in the Kingdom of Hungary: Writ by *George Barzon* titular Bishop of *Waradin*, Priest of the Society, and Councillor to his Sacred Majesty. The first Argument was drawn from three Conditions, under which the liberty of Religion was granted at the Pacification of Vienna. The first, *That it should be without our prejudice to the Protestant Religion, which Condition being impossible ought to pass for nothing.* The second, *That the Clergy, and the Catholic Churches should remain in their former Condition without being touch'd, which was viola-*

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1681. "red by *Bethlem* and *Ragotski*. The third, "That what was taken either by one side "or the other should be restor'd, which the "Protestants had not perform'd. To this was answer'd, "That it did by no means "follow, that if one Condition or Clause "was lookt upon as impossible, and so null, "that the whole Treaty should be so also; and "besides, that the Emperor *Matthias* himself "had explain'd the Condition by declaring, "that it was not to be made use of for "the ruining of that liberty which was "granted. That whatsoever *Bethlem* or "Ragotski had done, this Liberty was not "withstanding confirm'd by the Edicts and "Ordinances of the Emperor: That if it "had been so, that Protestants, who being "daily provok'd by the Papists, had gone a "little too far, yet the innocent ought not "to suffer. That the Destruction of Temples, which were made use of during the "Troubles only regarded those, that *Botkai* "had taken in the War, and not such "as had been for a long time in their "Hands. The second Argument is, "That this liberty was not establish'd by the "unanimous consent of the States of the "Kingdom, to whom it belongs to make "Laws with the Consent and Approbation of his Majesty, and consequently "that those Articles ought to be abolish'd. "But it was urg'd, that this was extremely "injurious to those Kings, who had consult'd and ratify'd them, and who no "firmness were not so ignorant of the rights "of the Kingdom of Hungary. That when "this Affair was manag'd at *Lintz* 1645. "Tho' the Arch-Bishop of *Surigomium*, *George Lippai*, and some seculars oppos'd it, yet "Count *Palfy* President of the Chamber, "and divers Catholic Lords consented, notwithstanding that opposition; so that the "Affair, being extremely hinder'd by that "Arch-Bishop and his adherents, the Protestants were upon the point of complaining to his Majesty, had they not been stop'd by the Declaration that was made, "that they voluntarily subscribed to the "Articles of the Pacification of Vienna, "which they called the Foundation of the "Kingdom: So that this Edict of *Lintz* "was ratify'd and infer'd in the Articles "of the year 1647 with this Clause, Notwithstanding the opposition of the Clergy "and other Seculars, which shall have no "force or vigour for the future. Besides the "Subscription of the Pacification of Vienna, "made by all the States both Ecclesiastick "and Civil, runs thus: We underwritten do, with common consent, in the name of all the States and Orders of the Kingdom of Hungary, and the places annex'd to it, promise freely and voluntarily, &c. The

third Argument was, "That if the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* must be tolerated, then "those only must be tolerated, which "are of the Confession of *Augsburg*, and "the Confession of the *Swiss*. But "both one and the other had abandon'd "those Confessions; and they influenc'd "several Articles from which they had deviated. But this last seems only a frivolous shift, and shews the Resolution the Clergy had taken to oppress the Protestants; and indeed this they had always done, when they thought themselves the stronger, and notwithstanding, that this Liberty was often confirm'd, as particularly in the Treaties with *Botkai*, *Bethlem* and Prince *Ragotski*; yet the Roman Catholic Lords and Gentlemen, and especially the Arch-Bishops and Bishops, persecuted them with Fire and Sword, murther'd them in their Churches; and used all manner of Cruelties towards them, as far as their Power and Authority could reach; so that there remain'd scarce any place of Refl, or Security for the Protestants, but in the free Cities, and those too quickly after were involved in the same misfortune: For *Nadasti, Serini, Frangipani*, and other Catholic Lords taking part with Prince *Ragotski* against the Emperor, in the year 1670. the *Austrian* Troops enter'd Hungary and carried all before them, and with them Troops of Bishops, Arch-Bishops and Jesuits, whose Actions out-did the Fury of the Soldiers; and took this opportunity of disposing the Protestants of their Goods, Churches, Ministers, and constrain'd a great part of the People to change their Religion: The Protestant Lords were tax'd at immense Sums, Soldiers quarter'd upon them, and by these means several forc'd to turn Catholics. In short, all Upper and Lower Hungary with all the Free Towns, fell into the Hands of the Catholics, whose Severities and Cruelties, as they found nothing to oppose them, so they suffer'd nothing to escape them: And this miserable Kingdom labour'd at once under the Licence and Rapine of the *German* Soldiers, and the Rage and Fury of the Jesuitical Converters. The Protestants were hang'd up at their Church Gates, and several of their Towns burnt. One *John Backi* a Minister, was burnt alive at *Comarin*, and the Widow of *Laurent le Sur*, who was of the same Profession, had her Head cut off in the same Town: And multitudes of both Sexes, and all Ages and Conditions were banish'd.—To Authorize these Cruelties, at least to give them a fair gloss, they constituted a Chamber of Justices at *Pozon*, compos'd of Ecclesiastics and Seculars, all sworn Enemies to the Protestants; where

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1681. it was first order'd, That the most considerable Persons should be cited to appear, and clear themselves of the Crime of Rebellion laid to their charge. They began with those of the Nobility, which they thought the easiest to be wrought upon. They which made their appearance were thrown into Prison, without being judicially heard, condemn'd to great Fines, and were each minute solicited to change their Religion. A Declaration was presented to those whom they found most firm and constant, whereby they were required, that to satisfy his Imperial Majesty of their Loyalty and Obedience, they should no longer protect their Ministers, and should promise not to hinder the Priests from saying Mass in their Churches, or performing other Ecclesiastical Functions, till they were enlighten'd from above, saw their Errors, and were converted to the Catholic Church.

But the greatest Storm fell upon the Ministers, at whom they chiefly aim'd; and that they might get rid of them the better, they establish'd three Courts of Judicature: One at *Tirnavia* for those of *Pofon*, and two at *Pofon* for the rest of *Hungary*: Nor were they all cited for fear of making too much noise, but a few and those of the *Ausbourg* Confession, to try what success they were like to expect from the Prosecution of the rest: And, because they chiefly design'd to ruin the Protestant Religion, under pretence of Rebellion, they presented those that appear'd these following Articles to sign. 1st, "That all the Ministers of both Confessions, School-Masters, Readers, Students, &c. to escape the Punishments which they had incurred for their Rebellion, should promise under their Hands to renounce all their Functions both publick and private, and pass the rest of their Lives peaceably and quietly, upon pain of Death if they disobey'd." Or 2^d, "That they should be banish'd for ever, with promise never to return to their Country, or to any of the Hereditary Lands, or other dependencies on the Empire, nor yet to go over to their Enemies." Or 3^d, "That they should change their Religion, which his Majesty chiefly wish'd and design'd, and which would be most agreeable both to him and to the Courts of Justice.

The 25th of September 1673. Some Ministers to the number of 32 or 33 appear'd, and being threaten'd to be sentenc'd to die, if they sign'd not the foregoing Articles; some consented, others chose to be banish'd, and one chang'd his Religion. This lucky beginning encourag'd them to proceed, and finding fear to be the strongest motive to work upon them; they cited all the Mini-

sters, Regents, School-Masters, &c. of *Hun-* 1681. gary to appear before them, which caus'd a strange conformation amongst them, and produced very different effects; some of them the Nobility would not suffer to appear, others fled, some again abandoned themselves to the care of Providence, made their appearance at *Pofon*, to justify their Innocence from these horrible Calumnies, with which they were blacken'd, to testify their obedience and submission to the Magistrate, and to satisfy their Churches, who earnestly begg'd of them not to forsake them in that calamitous Condition. There were 250 Ministers that appear'd, and by their Tryals (two long to repeat) it appears, That their Religion was the chief Crime, and tho' other things were laid to their Charge; yet all was but pretence; they used all means to intimidate them, and to shake that great constancy which they shew'd for their Religion; they sentenc'd them to death, imprison'd them, threaten'd them with the Gallies, and employ'd all the pernicious arts of torment and vexation, that a persecuting spirit could contrive, to shake or surprize the Frailty of Man; dragg'd them into their Churches, forced them upon their Knees to adore the Host and their Images, let loose the fury of the Soldiery upon them, and encouraged them to torment them; in the midst of this barbarous usage, they would sometimes pretend to shew a glimpse of Pity, and endeavour to allure them by the promises of the Imperial favour and protection, offering them preferments, upon Condition they would change their Religion; at length finding them proof against all their arts, they stigmatiz'd several and fold them to the Spanish Gallies, from whence afterwards they were redeem'd by the famous *Ruyter*, Admiral of *Holland*; others were thrown into vile, loathsome Prisons in which some perish'd, the rest who our-lived their misfortunes, were released by the importunities of the States Ambassador at the Imperial Court. These matters of fact are too publick to be denied, and the Reasons that are given, seem by no means sufficient to palliate such Barbarities. Those Letters in Cypher which were produc'd against them, to prove them Guilty of Treason are justly suspected; but grant them true, they were but from particulars, and one or two Mens Guilt cannot render a whole body of Men liable to punishment. As for those Accusations which were laid upon them of being Murderers, Robbers, Ravishers, &c. they were only alleged, not proved, and consequently likely to be meer Calumnies. To conclude, that they were Rebels because some fled from the Persecutions they saw pour-

1681. pouring upon them, seems to be no very good consequence, and to shew not so much their guilt as their fear; at least, this cannot be urg'd against those that made their appearance; and that there were several which sign'd the Paper that was presented them, argued, they indeed weak but not criminal; and the rigours that were used to bring them to sign it, do extremely diminish, if not absolutely take away all the force of that Argument: So that I doubt not, but it will appear to the impartial Reader, that the conduct of the Popish Clergy has had too great an influence on these last Troubles, and that their persecuting Maxims, are as ruinous to the interest of a State, as contrary to the Spirit of our Christian Religion.

And from this Original began that War, which has ever since continued with great effusion of Blood, and strange vicissitudes of Fortune; which not only reduced *Hungary* to the pit of despair, but even *Germany* itself to the brink of Destruction; until God was pleas'd to take the Cause into his own Hands, and avenge Christendom from their Enemies, whose Sins (it seems) were more ripe for the Divine vengeance, than those of the Christian people. The dissentions on both sides grew so high, that the Emperor resolv'd to perform nothing on his part, of what he had promised to his *Hungarian* Subjects, nor they any thing on theirs, which respect'd Duty and Allegiance to their Prince. Both Parties stood in defiance to each other; the Emperor would not lose the benefit of the charge and expences he had been at, to fortify the frontier Garisons against the *Turks*: Nor would the *Hungarians* restrain themselves from their usual Incursions, notwithstanding the Treaty so lately sign'd by them: By which the Emperor received frequent complaints from the *Turks*. So all was now private Machinations and open Defiances.

1665. It was now in the Month of September, That the three years were expir'd, at the end whereof according to the Statutes of that Kingdom a Diet was to be Assembled at *Fresburg*, for redress of those aggressions of which the Subjects complain'd. It was usual for the Emperor to be present there, but some jealousies being whisper'd of a Plot to seize his Person, his Majesty refrain'd from making his appearance at that Diet; which being by that means put off, the Sovereign Chamber of the Kingdom, taking all matters into their Consideration, sent their Deputies to complain unto the Emperor, That Colonel *Spar* Governour of *Zatmar*, had extorted Money from the Citizens, upon pretence of paying his Soldiers, tho' in reality to appropriate it to

his own benefit and service. That the Ger- 1681. man Soldiers were still quarter'd in the Countries, notwithstanding all the Promises and Engagements given to the contrary; that which aggressions together with that of taking away their Churches, was such a Scandal and block of Offence, as caus'd great Commotions in that Kingdom, whenever that matter came into dispute. Hence it was, That the Protestants chose three Leaders, or Chiefs of their Faction and Party; against which Prince *Ragorski*, and *Apafi* oppos'd their Forces in favour of the Palatine *Wesselini*; and Count *Palaffi Imbre* appear'd as one of the Chief of the *Malcontents*; but having not sufficient Force to sustain his party and interest, he crav'd assistance and succour from the *Turks*, to whom he offer'd his Son for a Hostage, and the Town of *Debin*, with the dependencies thereunto belonging, as a farther security for performance of Articles.

All was now divided into Sects and Parties: Count *Peter Serini*, of whom the Emperor had not the least jealousy, entertaining secret consults with the *Malcontents*; and with *Nadafti* rais'd Forces upon pretence of giving a stop to the *Turks*, in their passage to *Dalmatia*; but with real design to seize the Person of the Emperor at *Pustendorf*, a place appertaining to Count *Nadafti*; as he was Riding post with Prince *Lukowitz*, Chief Steward of his House, and with about 12 Gentlemen of his Retinue to meet the Emperors; but that Plot took not effect, for their Ambuscade missing the Emperor, he happily met the Emperors on her Journey out of *Spain*.

This Conspiracy being thus disappointed, 1667. Count *Nadafti* desired the Emperor, that he might be made Palatine of *Hungary*, in the place of *Wesselini* lately deceased. But the Emperor not being well satisfy'd of the Faith and Integrity of that Person, refus'd to confer it upon him or any other, until he saw the Tranquillity and Peace of that Kingdom better secur'd: At which *Nadafti* being enrag'd, corrupted a *Carpenter* in revenge to set fire to the new Apartment, which was building in the Palace for the Emperors *Eleanor*: In expectation that in such an afflictment and confusion, the Conspirators might seize on the Person of the Emperor: But God preserv'd his Imperial Majesty; tho' that Plot was not detected until *Nadafti* received the reward of his demerit.

The Deputies of the upper *Hungary* made new Addresses to the Emperor, to have the Office of Palatine supplied according to the Constitutions of the Kingdom; but in those times of Sedition and Discontent, his Imperial Majesty not finding a Person equally grateful to the *Hungarians*, and loyal to himself,

The Hungarians complain.

1681. himself, to whom he could confide that Important Charge; did for some time keep the Office in his own hands; which with the refusal made to restore the Protestant Churches, was so generally displeasing, that the Nobility deny'd to be present at the Coronation of the Emperors, until they were a little mollify'd and appeas'd, by having the Revenue and Rents of their Churches releas'd to them.

Besides the Office of *Palatine*, the Government of *Carlsbad* became vacant by the decease of the Count *Xaverberg*, which being in *Croatia*, and lying commodious for *Serini*, he immediately made applications for it, by means of his Lady; who with her good air and address, and the vivacity of her Spirit, and fluency of her Language, thought nothing difficult for her to obtain; but missing thereof, for Reasons best known to the Emperor, who judg'd it not good policy to add greater Authority to a person who was Vice-King of *Croatia*, and posses'd already more Power and Interest than he could willingly afford him, the Lady was forc'd, much against her Nature, to acquiesce in a denial; but not being able to suppress the violent commotions of her Spirit, she openly breath'd out her menaces against the Emperor; and finding an humor in the People generally inclin'd to a Revolt, easily perfwaded her Son-in-Law Prince *Ragotski*, and the other principal Nobles of *Hungary* to enter into an Association and Conspiracy against the Emperor.

Count Serini's Lady dissatisfied.

The Deputies make their Complaints to the Emperor.

The first thing they did, was to complain of the German Garrison in *Tokai*; and being assembled at *Zemlin*, they sent their Deputies to represent unto the Emperor, that according to the Laws and Privileges of that Kingdom, all their Forts and Places of Strength ought to be Garrison'd with no other than Soldiers of their own Country. That the Protestants receiv'd all sorts of ill treatment and discountenance, their Churches were taken away, and not restor'd, as was promis'd and agreed; besides several other Aggravances which they laid before the Emperor, supplicating his Imperial Majesty to grant them ease and redress therein, according to the Constitutions and Privileges of that Kingdom, which his Majesty at his Coronation had Sworn to maintain. To all which, the gentle and sweet temper of his Imperial Majesty, and the sense of his Conscience was inclin'd to yield a benign and gracious Answer, had not Father *Emeric* a Jesuit, and his Confessor, inflill'd other Principles and Motives into his Mind; giving him to understand, that it had always been the Prerogative of the Kings his Predecessors, to dispose Garrisons in all places of that Kingdom, consisting of

Emeric a Jesuit inflill'd into the Emperor's mind.

such Nations as he should judge most for the safety and security thereof. And that whereas at present the *Hungarians* were inspir'd with an humor of Rebellion and Revolt, there was no reason to trust or confide in them, but in the *Germans* only, whose Loyalty and Duty was sufficiently known, and approv'd by his Majesty. Farther he added, that the *Hungarians* had in the late War against the *Turks* suffer'd *Wardun* to be lost; and at the Battle of *St. Gothards* upon the River of *Raab*, had appear'd in such small numbers for defence of their Country, as if they had intended to have betray'd it; had it not been for the *German* and other Foreign Forces, the whole Kingdom had become a Prey to the *Turks*.

With such Discourses as these the Deputies were entertain'd, and disposch'd away without other satisfaction; at which the Nobles and People were so displeas'd, that they gave a stop to the Payments they had begun to make towards building the Forts, and cut all the *Germans* in pieces which they found quarter'd about the Country; and particularly they kill'd forty Soldiers of the Regiment of *Spaar* near *Xants*; the which piece of Blood and Slaughter was again return'd by the *Germans*; and Force repell'd again by Force. So that now all was open defiance, War, and Massacre.

To carry on the Great Designs in hand, the Malecontents assembled at the Castle of *Kivar*, upon the Frontiers of *Transylvania*, about two Leagues distant from *Ghibania*, where the Gold and Silver Mines arise. The Principal Persons there present, were *Ladislas Giulaf*, *Gabriel de Kende*, *Benedict Seredey*, *Jonas Veradi*, the Calvinist Minister of *Cassovia*; also *Derus Banfi* General of the *Transylvanian* Forces; *Janos Bethlen* the Chancellor, *Michael Talha* Governor of the Frontiers, with some others; where a League was form'd between the *Hungarian* and *Transylvanian* Protestants, to drive and expell the *Germans* out of the Kingdom, to demolish *Zatmar*, and to arm themselves in defence of their Religion. In this accord the Wife of Prince *Apafi* appear'd extremely zealous, being a Woman of a Masculine Spirit, a fierce Protestant, and one who had a hand in all Matters, whilst her Husband apply'd himself to Hunting, and to the Conversation of Learned Men.

In the mean time Count *Nadasti* having fail'd in his late Treason against the Emperor, contriv'd to Poyson him at a Magnificent Banquet, which he had prepar'd for him; at which the Persons present, were the Emperors, the two Imperial Princesses, Prince *Charles of Lorain*, with all the Court. The fatal Dish prepar'd for the Emperor was

The Deputies return with dissatisfaction.

The Malecontents assemble at Kivar.

Count N. fails in his Treason.

1681. was a Pidgeon Pyc, which he extremely lov'd; but God preserv'd his Sacred Person, by means of the Lady to the Count; who being endow'd with greater Sentiments of Honour and Religion than her Husband, beseech'd him on her knees to desist from so black and so detestable a Wickedness; but not being able to prevail upon him, the Order'd the Cook to fear another Pyc of the same fashion before the Emperor, in the place of that which was poyson'd; of which he having eaten without any hurt, *Nadasti* apprehended the dealing of his Wife therein; and leaft the Cook should discover the Secret, he kill'd him the same day with his own hand.

Count *Serini*, tho' he was contriving all this time, yet it was not in Matters of so black a nature as these. He entertain'd several Conferences with Count *Tassembach*, a Person of as Ambitious and unfeeling an humor as any whatsoever, and ready to enter into any League and Conspiracy with the other Malecontents. And in fine, after many Consultations, he concluded it necessary to engage the *Turks* with them in the whole Enterprize. But left it should come to be discover'd to the Emperor's Resident at *Constantinople*, by the openness of the *Turks*, who can keep no Secret, it was resolv'd that the Matter should be Negotiated by the *Transylvanians*; who being already Subject to the *Turks*, and under their protection, might with less suspicion propose this Treaty.

This Overture being made to the *Turks*, they immediately embrac'd it, being an Offer which at the first sight appear'd very advantageous; but then the next Condition requir'd by the *Chimacian*, who was *Kara Mustapha*, (the Grand Vizier being then at the Siege of *Candia*) was, That in Consideration of the aid and protection which the Grand Seigneur was to give unto the *Hungarians*, they were to become his Tributaries, in the same manner, and on the same Conditions as the *Transylvanians* were. This Demand, tho' it seem'd hard to the *Hungarians*, yet they resolv'd to pursue their Design; and accordingly sent their Agents to the Vizier at *Candia*, hoping by the lenity and moderation of his Nature to obtain more easie terms than those demanded by the *Chimacian*; and in the mean time to notify their intention of Revolt unto all the World, they caus'd a Standard to be erected, with two Scymeters died with Blood, and a Crescent or Half Moon over them.

The Grand Vizier being then labouring at the Siege of *Candia*, and in a doubtful Condition of Success, was not willing to entertain thoughts of a new War, until he

A Treaty held with the Turks.

The Turks hearken to the Hungarians.

The Grand Vizier at Candia dismisses the Agents from the Rebels.

had put an end to that which he had then in hand, and in which he was daily engag'd. Howsoever, not to seem distant of his own Successes, or negligent and cold in the entertainment of Propositions to apparently advantageous to his Master's Interest, thought not fit to dismiss them with a slight Answer; but causing their Propositions to be taken in Writing, and examin'd, he dispeach'd the Messengers with fair Words and Promises, referring their Matters to be farther debated by the Officers actually present with the Grand Seigneur, who had more time to consider their Affairs than he had, who was daily engag'd in Batteries, and continual Assaults upon the City.

The *Transylvanian* Messengers being come to the Port, the Conditions requir'd of them by the *Turks* were very severe. For the first place, they demanded of *Ragotski*, who was Chief of the League, that the five Towns in *Hungary* which belong'd to him should be deliver'd up into their hands; That Count *Serini* should cause *Copranitz*, an impregnable Fort in *Croatia* to be surrender'd to them; and that an Annual Tribute should be pay'd for the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

The Commissioners for the Malecontents, who thought these Proposals very hard, did yet endeavour to come as near an accord as was possible; for tho' they were unwilling to surrender up their own Towns and Demesnes to the *Turks*, yet they promis'd to fight for them, and deliver such Towns and Fortresses as they should take from the Emperor into their hands.

The Grand Vizier *Kuperlee* was by this time return'd Triumphant from *Candia*, having with the entire Subjection of that City, and the whole Kingdom, put an end to the War with the *Venetians*. Howsoever tho' the Propositions offer'd by the Malecontents were of such advantageous Consequence as the like could not be expected, yet they were rejected by the Vizier; for whether they were out of a sense of Faith to the Emperor, with whom he had concluded a Peace but five years before, and which he had no cause given him to break, or by reason of a War design'd against *Poland*; and some umbrages and Clouds of discontent, began with the *Moscovites*; he was not of a mind to enter into a War so soon with the Emperor; howsoever he underhand encourag'd it, and gave private Instructions to the *Palbas* on the Frontiers to aid the Malecontents in such fort, as that their union and actions with them might not amount unto a Rupture, or breach of the Peace.

During all this time the Imperial Court had only suspicions and jealousies of what was Plotting, rather than any certain advice

1670.

Kuperlee unwilling to break with the Emperor.

1681. vice or knowledge thereof. And the Emperor's Resident at *Constantinople* had as yet received but some obscure Notions; of what was treating by the *Transylvanian* Agents, which afterwards came to a clearer Light, by the means of an *English* Gentleman as we have before declar'd in our preceding History: And which being once made known, other things appear'd to put the matter out of all doubt or question. And as a particular Evidence to discover this Truth; the principal Servant of Count *Tassembach*, and one in whom he had reposed the greatest confidence, having been put in Prison by him for Robbing him; this Traitor that he might be revenged on the Count and obtain his Liberty, discover'd much of the Plot, by producing one of the original Papers, all written with the proper Hand of *Tassembach*, which contain'd a Scheme of the whole method of their intended proceedings, as agreed and concert'd between him and Count *Serini*, dated the 11th of September 1667. This Paper being Read in the Council at *Vienna*, serv'd to open the Eyes of the Emperor, and of the Government, and caus'd them to watch all the motions of *Tassembach*, and of *Serini* and the other Accomplices.

To evidence and farther confirm that there was a Plot, advices came from *Schickorino* in *Croatia*, that Count *Serini* was in Arms and had levied several Troops. The original Letter also appear'd which *Serini* wrote to *Frangipani*, giving him an account of the Resolutions and Proceedings of *Tassembach*; the which Letter (by what means is not known) was found with a Soldier belonging to *Frangipani*, who carefully made use of it, for a stopper to his Powder-horn: Another Letter was intercepted from *Frangipani*, directed to one of his Captains in whom he reposed his greatest confidence. Signifying the offers which he had made to the Turks of subjection to them; that the Germans intended nothing more than to ruin their Country; and therefore, that he should keep his Forces in a readiness to oppose them in case of necessity.

These and several other Evidences were a clear conviction of a Plot design'd; and a ground sufficient for the President of the Council of *Gratz*, to seize the Person of Count *Tassembach*, and commit him to safe Custody. After which his House was search'd, where was found a considerable quantity of Powder and Ammunition: And his Papers being also seized and examined, it thereby appear'd, that the Arms and Ammunition were design'd to furnish therewith 6000 Men, which he intended to raise: and upon farther enquiry into this matter, several questions being put to him; *Tassembach* own'd the whole Design and Conspiracy, and the Engagements which were between him and the Count *Serini*. Whereof Copies with the Process being sent to the Emperor, the whole Plot was discover'd, and no further doubt or question made of a Rebellion, and General revolt of the whole Kingdom.

This discovery was seconded by advices of the constant intercourse and correspondences held between *Serini*, and the *Pasha* of *Buda*, *Befina* and *Kaniffa*: And more particularly by a Letter, which *Marquis Frangipani* Brother-in-Law to Count *Serini* wrote to Captain *Tscholnitz*, containing the whole secret of the business, and serv'd to demonstrate the inveterate Malice, which the *Marquis* had conceived against the Emperor, and the whole *German* Nation. *Tscholnitz*, had at first entertain'd a correspondence with the *Malecontents*, but making reflections afterwards on the persons, with whom he was to engage; that they were rash and heady, and Men of no solid Foundation or good Temper, he retract'd from his former Engagements, and shew'd the Letter to the Emperor.

But matters were proceeded too far, to be wholly suppress'd or defeated: For those in the upper *Hungary* appear'd openly in the Field under *Ragotski*, who threat'ned to take *Mongatz*, where his Mother held her Court of Residence, and to seize on the Treasury, which his Father had amass'd during the time, that he was Prince of *Transylvania*.

The time being come in which the *Malecontents* had appointed to draw their Forces into the Field, on pretence of entreprising something against the *Turks*: For we must note, that in times of Peace, it is allowable for both sides either *Turks*, or *Christians* to make Incursions upon each other, to Rob and drive away Cattle, and to fight in the Field with strong Parties both of Horse and Foot, provided that the numbers of them do not exceed 5000, and that no Cannon be brought into the Camp. Such is the miserable Condition of that unfortunate Kingdom. The *Malecontents*, I say, having with this pretence drawn their Forces into the Field; convened a Diet at *Cassovia*, without the knowledge or authority of the Emperor; where the Nobility and the Deputies of the several Towns, and Cities in the lower *Hungary* were Assembled; to the end, that they might have an understanding together, how to raise Money, and how to manage the War.

The Emperor, tho' not ignorant of all these Motions and Consults; yet wanting a sufficient force to suppress these first beginnings of Rebellion, thought fit to temporize and use Lenity for a while; tho' in the mean

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1681. mean time he declar'd against the illegality of the Diet; which the *Malecontents* excus'd, and disguis'd under the colour of an Assembly, in which nothing more was intended, than only to raise 8000 Foot and 4000 Horse, to oppose the continual Depredations and Incursions into their manner of their actions, than to believe their words; for Princes have just cause to suspect the Loyalty of their Subjects, who take up Arms without the Privy and Consent of their Sovereigns: And therefore to try, and prove the Sincerity of their intentions, the Emperor cited the Chief of the *Malecontents* to appear at *Newsol*, there to render an account of their Actions to his Commissioners appointed to examine those matters, namely the Count of *Foratz*, the Archbishop of *Strigoniun*, *Zitzchi*, who was President of the Royal Chamber, and *Nadasti*, who had not as yet declar'd himself of the contrary party, which he under-hand encouraged and countenanced. The *Malecontents* yielded no obedience to this Citation, and refus'd to make their appearance; and instead thereof 13 Counties enter'd into an Association, and rais'd Soldiers, which were commanded by *Ragotski*, who therewith joyn'd 2000 Men of his own, whom he levied and maintain'd at his own expence.

1670. *Ragotski*, who thought it now time to call off his Disguise, invited Count *Staremburg* to Dinner, and in the mean time invest'd the City of *Tokai*, of which he was the Governour, with 8000 *Hussars*; but the place was so well defended by the watchfulness and valour of the Lieutenant Governour, that his Men were repul'd with a considerable loss. Nor was he more prosperous in his attempt upon *Mongatz*, which, at the news of his approach, was defended by his Mother, who caus'd the Bridges to be drawn and the Cannon levelled against him, preferring the Loyalty towards her Prince before the natural tenderness to a Son, to whom the first those Reproaches of his Treachery, as became a Lady of that great and generous Verue.

In the mean time the *Malecontents* in despite of the Emperor held their Meeting, which they call'd a Diet at *Cassovia*; and having concert'd all their matters, and agreed on a Scheme of their Affairs, they drew up a Remonstrance of their chief Aggravances, which they offer'd to his Imperial Majesty, desiring that the Churches taken from the Protestants might again be restor'd to them: That all their Towns and Fortresses might be freed and eas'd of *German* Soldiers, and that in place of them, their Garrisons might be supplied with *Hun-*

1681. garians: And Lastly, That they might have liberty to make War on the *Turks*, with their own Men, and at their own expence. These Propositions were reject'd by the Emperor at the intigation of his Chief Officers and Ministers of State, who swallowing in their desires all the Riches and Possessions of the *Hungarians*, hop'd to force them into a Rebellion, by which their Lands and Estates might be forfeited to the Emperor, that they might beg them for their own benefit and enjoyment.

The Emperor communicated all these matters to the Diet at *Ratisbon*, giving them to understand how necessary it was to suppress these Disturbances and Insurrections in their beginnings: And immediately before he sent his Forces into the upper *Hungary*, he thought fit to cause Major General *Spankau* to March into *Croatia* against *Serini* with 6000 Men. Upon the news of the approach of these Forces, *Serini* was greatly surpris'd, and in such a consternation that he knew not what to resolve. He was appointed of Money to pay his Army, which *Ragotski* had promis'd to supply him out of his Father's Treasury at *Mongatz*, but that failed as we have shew'd before. The *Valachians* had likewise desert'd him, and adhered to Count *Herberstein* Governour of *Carolstadt*. Nor was the time as yet come, that the *Malecontents* had appointed to stir in the upper *Hungary*; in the mean time his own Forces were weak and considerable, not exceeding 2000 *Morlakers* in his City of *Chiaterono*, and those ill provided either with Money, Ammunition or Victuals to maintain a Siege. What then was to be done? Why, nothing but submission to the Will and Clemency of the Emperor; which being resolv'd, Father *Forstall* an *Augustin* Friar, and an intimate Friend of *Serini*, was employ'd to *Vienna* to manage this Accommodation: Where being arriv'd, he plac'd himself to Prince *Lubkowitz*, the Emperor's principal Minister of State, to whom having imparted his Message; it was received by him with much kindness and joy; and was the more acceptable, because *Serini* was his Kinsman, and nearly ally'd to him: And therefore frankly told him, That two things were expected from *Serini*. First, That he should send his Son for a Hostage to *Vienna*: And Secondly, That he should subscribe a blank Paper, signifying, that he would accept of such Conditions as the Emperor should be pleas'd to impose upon him: Both which being performed, (as is here propos'd) Prince *Lubkowitz* did promise in behalf of the Emperor, that *Serini* should not only receive a General Pardon, but should also conserve his Liberty, Places and Offices of Trust, Dignities and Privileges only

A Plot des. to ruin

1670.

Count Staremburg surpris'd.

A Diet at Cassovia

1670.

The Malecontents offer their grievances to the Emperor.

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1681. only in case the Emperor should think fit to remove him from the Office of Vice-King of Croatia, he promised that in lieu thereof he should have the Government of *Carlofath* conferr'd upon him, or some other of equal importance. And farther, this Prince, to demonstrate his concernment and respect to this Family (of which he was a Member) offer'd out of his own Estate to pay the Debts thereof, which amounted to 400000 Florins, and for ever to epouse the interest of *Serini*, and of those related to him. Father *Forsthal* returning with this Dispatch, received at the Hands of Count *Serini*, his only Son, to be carried for an Hostage to the Emperor, with a blank Paper signed, promising to receive German Soldiers into all his Garrisons.

But before *Forsthal* could finish his second Journey to *Vienna*, *Spankau* arrived with the Imperial Army before *Chiacatona*. And tho' *Serini* sent him forth a Message, acquainting him of his Accommodation with the Emperor, and his Treaty now in hand negotiated by *Forsthal*; yet General *Spankau*, having received no such advices or directions from the Emperor, pursued the Tenure of his first Commission, and accordingly besieged *Chiacatona*, and so strictly pressed it, that *Serini* and his Brother-in-Law, the Marquis *Frangipani*, were forced to escape and abandon the City, and leave it with all that was dear and precious to them for a Prey to their Enemies. And so issuing forth by a secret Sally Port, with about 30 other Persons of quality, with intention to submit, and lay themselves at the Feet of his Imperial Majesty, they unfortunately committed themselves to the guidance and direction of Count *Keri*, who pretending great Friendship to them, received them into his Castle with 5 or 6 Servants, pretending that he could not receive, or entertain a greater number for want of Furniture, or Conveniences fit for their better Accommodation. So soon as these two Lords with their Servants were within the Walls of the Castle, *Keri* caus'd the Bridge to be drawn up, and his Soldiers to stand to their Arms, and placed Guards in all parts and avenues of the Castle. The two Counts tho' very sensible of the Treachery of *Keri*; yet dissimul'd their resentments thereof, and suffer'd themselves to be carried Prisoners without any resistance to *Vienna*; where they were at first Lodged in the Suburbs, in the Convent of *Augustin* Friars, from whence they were carried to the *Swan Inn*, where they stay'd until towards night, and then were separated, and carried to divers places; *Serini* was conducted to the House of Baron *Ugari*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment then in Garrison at *Vienna*; and *Frangipani*

1670.

Serini was
of
the
Emperor.

Are made
Prisoners.

to the House of Count *Dawn* Major of the Town, where they were both to civilly treated, that they were not sensible of being under any restraint; Being visited by all the Persons of Note and Quality in Town; but by degrees the crowds of Visitants became thin, and addresses faint and cold, which were sure Indications of some thing evil intended against them. For tho' his Imperial Majesty, out of his natural Clemency, was graciously dispos'd to have pardoned them; yet having his Spirit exasperated by such as had a mind to enter into their confiscated Estates, Process was made against them, and things carried on to the highest Severity.

In the mean time Count *Herberstein* Governor of *Carlofath*, seiz'd on all the places belonging to *Serini* and *Frangipani* without much difficulty or opposition; only at *Coade*, the Governor refus'd to surrender upon Summons, but instead thereof display'd two Bloody Flags on the top of a high Steeple; and return'd answer, That he would be buried in that place before he would tamely yield it up, and betray the charge committed to him; which accordingly follow'd the same Evening, for by that time *Herberstein* had by Force of Arms made his Entry into the Town and Castle, where taking the Governor and seven other Officers, he hang'd them up wrapped in the same Red Flags, which they had so lately display'd.

Thus were the measures of the Malecontents broke for some time, and the whole Party discourag'd. The Emperor on the other side prepares for War, and raises a considerable Army. The Duke of *Brandenburg* offers himself to serve in Person against the Rebels; the Duke of *Saxony* had already Commanded 600 Horle, 400 Dragoons, and a thousand Foot to march for the Service of the Emperor, under the Command of the Great Marshal *Christian Ernest*, a Captain in those days of great Reputation. The Count de *Vaudemont* offer'd moreover to contribute to his assistance with several Troops of *Lorrainers*; but his Imperial Majesty being provided with a sufficient force of his own Subjects, civilly refus'd their offers, intending to reserve the same for times of extrem and more pressing difficulties; for 'tis the policy of Wife and Cautious Princes never to admit Stranger Forces into their Dominions, without a violent necessity; to which the Emperor was not reduc'd, because as yet the *Turks* had not join'd their Forces with the Armies of the Malecontents. Howsoever both sides were in motion, and big with Design one against the other. *Ragotski* was preparing to Besiege *Tokai* and *Zatmar*, and the *Imperialists*.

Preparations for a War made by the Emperor.

1681. *lips* were making a Bridge of Boats near *Fresburg*, to open a passage into the upper *Hungary*. Count *Sporko* in the mean time with some Troops of Horle defeated a Party of 2000 *Hungarians*, killing 300 on the Place, and taking ten Colours, with the loss only of nine Men.

Ragotski also receiv'd a Repulse before *Tokai* and *Zatmar*, which tho' blockt up by him for some time, yet having receiv'd late Recruits both of Men and Provisions, they refus'd to surrender at his Summons, which put him out of all hopes of prevailing against those Places. And with these, and the like Successes, the Spirits of the Malecontents becoming more low and debafed, *Ragotski* the Chief of the Association entertain'd thoughts of submitting to the Emperor; and to make his way more easie thereunto, he freely set Count *Starembeg* at Liberty, which the other Officers whom he had detain'd Prisoners, desiring them to interceed with his Imperial Majesty for his Pardon. And farther, to evidence a true Repenitance for his late defection, and real intentions to return to his due obedience, he rais'd the Siege from before *Tokai*, and caus'd his Forces to march into *Transylvania*; and particularly he employ'd Count *Colonitz*, who had been his Prisoner, with others, to Negotiate in his behalf at the Court of the Emperor. But this Count not being able to obtain other than ambiguous and general Answers from the Emperors Council, it was not thought safe for *Ragotski* to rely on those terms and methods which had before fail'd in the Cases of *Serini* and *Frangipani*. And therefore the Princess his Mother, to play a surer Game, and to take off all jealousy, engag'd, in the name of her Son, that he should receive into all places of his jurisdiction such Garrisons as the Emperor should please to impose upon him, and maintain them at his own Charge.

Thus did the Troubles of *Hungary* seem to incline towards a Composure, caus'd indeed by the evil directions of the Emperors Council, who to introduce an Arbitrary Power into a Free Kingdom, and to make that Crown Hereditary which was Originally Elective, and to force a Religion on them contrary to their Principles, and Consciences, had taken away their Churches and places where they assembled to serve God, and compell'd them to receive German and Foreign Garrisons into all places and Fortresses of strength within that Kingdom. So that if any thing may be said in defence and excuse for a People who rebel against their Prince, certainly the *Hungarians* had all those Arguments which might be deduced from the Topicks of

Law, Natural Liberty, and Self-preservation to plead for them.

But notwithstanding this submission of *Ragotski* to the Emperor, by which the Troubles seem'd in some measure to abate, and the Malecontents to lay their Arms and Pretensions down, yet still the Animofities were high, and the minds of those who were Loyal and well-affected to the Emperor, griev'd and afflicted to see their Country over-run and haras'd with German and Foreign Souldiers; wherefore in a sense thereof, they sent their Deputies to the Emperor, representing their Fidelity and constant Allegiance to his Majesty, from which they had never suffer'd themselves to be feduced; and therefore they humbly pray'd that they might not be number'd with the guilty, nor their Towns and Lands made a prey to the Liberty and Licentiousness of Soldiers. In case any of their Country-Men had offended, they ought to be legally Cited before the Tribunals of Justice; but to make his Loyal Subjects equally noxious with the Disobedient, was a Severity unagreeable to the known Clemency of his Imperial Majesty. But all the moving Language which the Deputies could use in behalf of their Principals avail'd little; for General *Sporko* being recruited with a considerable Army which General *Heister* had brought out of *Bohemia*, was Commanded with all expedition to march into *Hungary*; the appearance of which not only troubled the *Hungarians*, but alarm'd the *Turks*, who assembling in great numbers about the Quarters of *Kanisfa*, dispatch'd several Messengers one after the other to *Vienna*, to know and to be satisfy'd of the Reasons and Causes, from which mov'd the Emperor in a time of Peace, to send so considerable an Army to lodge and encamp on the Frontiers of the Grand Seignior's Country. In like manner the *Pasha* of *Newbasel* and *Agria* being alarm'd with the near approach of this Christian Army, prepar'd for a Defence; and withal sent a *Chiaus* to General *Sporko* to assure him, that the Grand Seignior had resolv'd not to assist or afford Aid unto the Malecontents, nor to enter on the Emperor's Lands, or to do any thing to the infringement, or violation of the Truce some few years before concluded: And on the other side, the *Chiaus* told General *Sporko*, that the Grand Seignior did conjure him to let him know the Causes, and design which mov'd the Emperor to appear with a Force so considerable, and in the times of Peace so unusual on the Frontiers. To which the General return'd answer, That the Emperor his Majesty had no design, or intention to pass the Limits of his Dominions, or to act any thing

Ragotski labour'd to make his Point with the Emperor.

1681.

The *Turks* alarm'd at the coming of German Forces on the Frontiers.

General *Sporko*'s answer to the *Turks*.

1681. thing towards a Rupture, or to the Infringement of the Peace between him and the Grand Seigneur; and that the Commission he had received from the Emperor, was only to suppress the Rebellion of his own Subjects, who had taken up Arms against him. And thus much he supposed to be lawful, without any concernment of the Grand Seigneur therein. With these assurances the Chiaus departed, and Suspicions and Jealousies seem'd to clear up on the side of the Turks. And herewith did the Clouds in all quarters seem to disperse for a while: For Ragotski, who was chief of the League being brought into favour by the intercession of his Mother, and all things accommodated by a Treaty which he held with the Prince of Holstein and General Heister, a Passport or Writing of Safe Conduct was sent him by the Emperor, and all the Offences and Crimes which were past, were pardoned and forgiven to him. And Ragotski on the other side, that he might make a Return agreeable to so much Goodness and Clemency of the Emperor, published his Edicts in all parts of his own Dominions, forbidding his Subjects to Rise in Arms, or to favour the Cause of the Malecontents, either directly or indirectly, upon pain of losing their Noses or Ears, or being more severely proceeded against, by Punishment of Death.

1670. Ragotski had thus wisely made his peace with his Sword in his Hand; whilst poor Serini, and Frangipani had partly by their own Fears, ill Conduct and Treachery of others, fallen into the power of their Enemies: With whom at first they received a kind Treatment, and hopes of being set at Liberty with restitution to their Estates, Dignities and Privileges: But afterwards, time discovering many private Practices, which at first were unknown and lay concealed, the Chief Ministers of State, for the Reasons before mentioned, and to make some Examples of the Emperor's Indignation for the late Revolt, and to make his Caesarian Majesty proceed against them by Impachment of High Treason; which when Serini perceived, he wrote an Expostulatory Letter to the Emperor to this purpose.

That tho' the Hungarians had much to say for themselves in regard to their Laws, and their Country, which Nature and Religion obliged them to defend: And tho' the Provocation was high, when the House of Austria labour'd to make that Kingdom Hereditary, which was originally Elective; and to subvert the Laws and Liberties of the People, who were by their Constitutions free as any Nation of the World, and to introduce upon them Tyranny and Oppression, with the loss of their Privileges and

Religion; yet he would not justify himself upon any of those Topics, but rather insist on his Innocence, and Avow that he did never Enter into any League with the Turk, nor take up Arms against his Sovereign; against whom, neither by himself, or his Subjects he had committed any act of Hostility; but to the contrary had blindly obey'd the Commands of his Imperial Majesty, the which appear'd by the Negotiation of Father Forstall in his behalf; by whom he sent his only Son for a Hostage, and with him a blank Paper, that the Emperor might inscribe therein what Articles and Conditions he judged fit; moreover, that he had enjoyed his Son-in-Law, Prince Ragotski, to submit unto the Emperor, at a time when he was at the Head of an Army, and possessed the Narrow passes leading to the Mountains, and other advantageous places of great importance. He deny'd all Intercourse and Correspondence with the Turks, unless it were with intention to betray them; and that when they tempted his Faith and Fidelity to the Emperor with large offers of reward, he discover'd all to the Count of Rothal, to whom he Read the very Letters which were sent to him; and held no Treaty with any, but what he had made known to his Imperial Majesty. He highly insist'd on the promises made him by the Baron Oker Lord Chancellor, who assured him that the Disgrace into which he was fallen, should serve to raise him to higher Dignities; and that Prince Lubkowitz had, in the presence of Baron Oker, promised him great rewards, in case he could take off Prince Ragotski, his Son-in-Law, from the disaffected Party: Which he had accordingly done, and so well succeeded therein, that immediately upon the Receipt of his Letter, Ragotski had set Count Staremburg at Liberty, and entirely submitted himself with all his Forces to the Will and Devotion of his Majesty: After all which and much more, that he could allege in justification of himself, he might reasonably hope, that his Majesty, who was a Prince of unparallel'd Clemency, would deal with him after the generous Example of Julius Caesar, who burnt the Letters of Pompey and Scipio without Reading, tho' thereby he might have discover'd the Names, and Plots of all the Conspirators against him: And tho' he could not hope for, or desire such an implicate manner of proceeding; yet he expell'd so much Justice, as to have his Cause try'd before Wise and Impartial Judges.

This Letter had much availed with the Emperor, had not Count Nadasti, Brother-in-Law to Serini, insinuated to the Council, the Fictions and false Colours contained therein: To which discovery even Prince Ragotski his Son-in-Law much contributed, by resigning into the hands of the Emperor's Ministers, all those original Letters written to him

1681. him by his Father-in-Law, by which all the methods and measures of the Design were plainly laid open and exposed: And his Enemies supply'd with sufficient Crimes to lay unto his Charge, and to fill an Endicement against him. Such is the falsity of this World, in which there is no Faith either amongst Friends or Relations. In the mean time the General of the Imperial Army advanced his Forces against the Malecontents, who still stood out, and entertained thoughts of Retiring with their Families into the Dominions of the Turks: To prevent which he march'd with 15 Regiments against Padock, Mongatz, and Erschbet, places belonging to Ragotski: In the first of which the Princess Ragotski, going before, prepar'd a Magnificent Banket for General Sporke, to whom, after the Entertainment, the deliver'd the Keys of the place; and presented him with a Horse and Furniture rated at the value of about Eleven thousand Roman Crowns: And having here placed a Garrison, as also in Padock, Cezalos, Serentz and Mongatz, Lieutenant General Heister Marched to Erschbet, where many and the most considerable of the Malecontents were retir'd, and refused to receive any Garrison, either from the Emperor or the Prince Ragotski, until first a Pardon or act of Oblivion were given them in due form and manner; and herein they so resolutely persisted, that they levelled their Cannon against the Imperial Forces, by which the Landgrave of Hesse had his Horse killed under him; and would have maintain'd their Post to the last extremity, but that General Sporke being more willing to use Lenity than Rigour, sent to the Besieged a blank Paper, promising, on Condition of Surrender, to yield unto all the Articles that they should write therein; which being accepted, and the Capitulations drawn, the Town was deliver'd. The City of Cassovia following the Example of Erschbet, open'd their Gates to the Imperialists, and promised to give free quarters to the Soldiers, provided they might have and enjoy a free exercise of their Religion: This City of Cassovia, since the time it had acknowledged the Austrian Family for their Sovereigns, had never been violated, or saw entrance forcibly made thereinto: For which Reason, the General was pleas'd to make a Triumphant Entry; and to pass with his Army through the midst of its Street with Trumpets, Hautboys, and all sorts of Warlike Music; and having left a sufficient Garrison therein, he proceeded to take in other Towns and Countries, which for the most part submitted to the prevailing Power; tho' with much Regret and Displeasure to see themselves subjected by Foreign Forces, and by Garrisons stronger than the Inhabi-

itants; especially the County of Zemlin, highly contended, and seem'd resolv'd to oppose themselves against such masterless Guests, until General Sporke threaten'd to give them no Quarter, and in case of resistance, to enter their Country with Fire and Sword.

Baffery, and other Chiefs of the discontented Party, being affrighted with these Menaces, desired Apoff, Prince of Transylvania, to grant them Protection and Refuge within his Dominions: But he being forbidden by the Turks to receive their Persons, or own their Cause, absolutely refused to grant them quarters or safety within his Country: Upon which denial they fled into Moldavia and Valachia, where they dispersed and concealed themselves, until a more proper time presented to assert their Liberty.

Thus was all Hungary entirely subjected to the Command and Power of the Emperor; excepting only Muran, which was the City and Seat of the late Palatine Wessellini, and which was then guarded and defended by his Widow; and was, as believed, the place where the Consultations were held, and where the Plots and Factions were carried on. To take in this place Prince Charles of Lorraine appear'd before it, with a considerable party both of Horse and Foot, against which the Counts being not able to make any long resistance, yielded the place upon honourable Conditions. Amongst other Malecontents which were there seized, Nagierens who had been the Chief Confident of the late Palatine Wessellini, and Secretary of the League, was there secur'd with all his Papers, which made a discovery of the whole Plot, and of the Names of the principal Actors therein. These Papers were contain'd in five Chests, consisting of Letters, Instructions, Treaties, Acts, &c. which being sent to Vienna and there examined, it plainly appear'd thereby, what part Count Nadasti was to perform, and how far he was engaged: It discover'd farther, all the proceedings both of Serini and Frangipani, which furnished their Enemies with Articles against them: And several Letters were intercepted, which made the Counsellors of Wessellini to be one of the Complices, and concerned in the Conspiracy. Nadasti had all this time dissembled his Party, and seem'd zealous for the Emperor against the Malecontents, keeping himself quiet, and retir'd within his Castle of Patendorf: But so soon as he understood, that the Secretary with his Papers was seized, his Conscience smote him, so that he provided for his Escape, intending with 500 Horse to make his way for Venice; but before he could prepare to be gone, his Castle was Invested by the Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of Heister, and himself

himself seized in his Bed, and carried to *Vizenna*; where by order of the Emperor, he was lodged in the Common House belonging to the Nobility of *Hungary*, where after he had remained 3 days he acknowledged his Crimes, and humbly beg'd the mercy and pardon of the Emperor; but his Crimes were too black, and wrote in too large and plain Characters to deserve a remission. And besides, he was posses'd of vast Riches, having eight Millions of Livers in ready Money by him; which being a Prey that the Chief Ministers of State might vouchsafe to stoop unto, they colour'd his Actions with a dye more black than those Accusations which were objected against *Serini*, or *Frangipani*. Whilst these things were in agitation, and the Indictments drawing up against these three great Personages, the Assembly of *Hungarians* met at *Leusch*, represented unto the Emperor, That it was their undoubted Right according to the Constitutions of that Kingdom (to the observation of which the Emperor had religiously Sworn) to be the Judges themselves of the Nobles, and others of their Country who were accused of Treason, or other Crimes; and therefore they desir'd that a speedy day might be fix'd for the Tryal of those three Counts, whose Cause was only to be heard before the Palatine and Deputies of that Kingdom. Moreover they presum'd to represent unto his Imperial Majesty, That it was one of the Fundamental Laws and Constitutions of their Country, to have the Office of Palatine supply'd soon after the vacancy; which having now been void for a considerable time, all those Acts which have pass'd since, ought to be esteem'd null, and of no effect.

The Emperor who was well enough satisfy'd within himself that what was here alledg'd, was the true and undoubted Right of the People of that Kingdom (to observe which he had Sworn at his Coronation) was inclinable to gratify his People with a concession of these just Privileges; but his Chief Ministers and Counsellors dissuaded him from it, alledging that such a Condescension as this, would raise again the Spirits of the Malecontents to such a degree, as would blow up the fire of Rebellion into a flame: That it was improper and incongruous to put the Tryal of the three Counts into the hands of those who were Conspirators and Complices in the same Plur with them: That the People of *Hungary* had forfeited all their Charters and Privileges by their Rebellion and Revolt, having fought for aid and protection from the *Turks*, who are mortal Enemies both of the Emperor, and all Christendom. That *Serini*, and *Nadafsi*, were actually Officers

and Servants of the Emperor; the first being Vice-King of *Croatia*, and the other President of his Majesty's Privy-Council; and for that Reason could not decline the Jurisdiction of that Court, which his Imperial Majesty should erect for their Tryal.

These Reasons being given to the Assembly at *Leusch*, little reply could be made thereunto, nor knew they well how to proceed in other Matters; in regard that being compos'd of different Religions and Interests, their Meeting broke up abruptly without any Conclusion.

It will not be necessary in this place to enlarge upon the several Tryals of the Counts, *Serini*, *Nadafsi*, and *Frangipani*; as also of Count *Tassbach*, and *Nagisfer*, Secretary of the League; let it be sufficient for us, to say that they were all Judicially Arraign'd, and receiv'd Punishments agreeable to the blackness of their Crimes; only we shall add, that *Nadafsi* was Executed at *Vienna*, and the same day *Serini* and *Frangipani* at *Newstadt*. The Emperor out of his innate Clemency and Mercy restor'd their Estates in Land to their Children, with Orders only to change their Arms, and Names. And accordingly, the Children of *Nadafsi*, which were eleven in number, took the Names of *Czeuzenberg*, *Blamir*, and the Son of *Serini* was call'd *Gade*, who was a Gentleman of such Integrity, and of that Loyalty to the Emperor, that when his Father was living, and would have given him for a Hostage to the *Turks*, he refus'd to submit unto such a dishonourable Character, protesting that he would continue uncorrupt in his Allegiance to his Prince. Howsoever afterwards being provok'd, and resenting highly the death of his Father, he deserted those Principles, and in revenge joy'n'd himself with the Malecontents in their defection. *Tassbach* us'd such Arts and Subterfuges, supported by the interest of powerful Friends, as conserv'd his Life for seven Months after the death of the aforesaid Lords, tho' afterwards he was forc'd also to submit unto his Fate.

Notwithstanding all this Care and Severity of the Emperor, the fire of discontent could not be smother'd, but in other places under different Heads and Leaders burst forth into a flame. Count *Tekeli* the Father was one of those who appear'd openly in the Field; declaring, That tho' he had ever own'd all Fidelity and Allegiance to the Emperor, yet he desir'd to be number'd amongst those good Patriots, who were oblig'd both in Honour, Conscience, and Religion, to maintain and defend the Rights, Privileges and Liberties of their Country.

Count

1681.

The three Counts are put to death.

1670.

Their Children change their Names.

Count Tekeli the Father had Rebel.

Count *Tekeli* to maintain this Cause, fortify'd himself in his Castle of *Kus*, with a Garrison of 800 *Hessars*, and caus'd all his Subjects with the *Morlaques* to take up Arms for his defence. Col. *Heister* with a considerable Force was dis-sped'd to suppress this Party, which was the only open Enemy then appearing in the Field; but whilst preparations were making to Besiege this Castle Count *Tekeli* died therein, and resign'd up his Cause and Country to be maintain'd by his Son; who afterwards was the grand Incendiary that again kindled the fire of War, which continu'd for many years; and in conclusion miserably wast'd the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and prov'd fatal to the Ottoman Empire. And tho' in course of time the *Turks* were driven out of that Kingdom, and the Emperor gain'd an absolute Dominion therein, as of a Conquer'd Country, yet it was done with such an effusion of Christian blood, and with the loss of so many brave Captains, and valiant Soldiers, that the price or purchase thereof seems to have been gain'd at a dear rate.

In fine, I say, Count *Tekeli* the Father dy'd in his Castle, which being hardly press'd by the German Forces, was Surrender'd to Count *Paul Esterhazy* General of the Kingdom. But young *Tekeli*, together with his Kinsmen, *Kirin de Paragozi*, and *Petrozzi*, made their escapes, and retir'd to *Licioia*; but being also pursu'd unto that place, which could not long stand out, these young Lords made a second escape from thence by night, and fled to *Hesse* a very strong Castle in *Transylvania*, but *Paragozi* was taken Prisoner in his way thither, and carried to *Vienna*, and *Licioia* was Surrender'd.

Thus whilst all Commotions seem'd to have been appeas'd and quieted in *Hungary*, and that *Esterhazy*, the General, with Colonel *Heister*, were return'd to *Vienna*, fresh Advices were brought to the Emperor, that the Chiefs of the Malecontents with great numbers of People were fled into *Transylvania*, under protection of the *Turks*, and that Prince *Aspi* by Order of the Port, had given them assurance of Safety within his Dominions; upon condition that as Subjects, they should pay *Carach*, or Polc-Money, to the Grand Signior. But what Administrated the greatest apprehension, was the rumour that *Aspi* had been at *Constantinople*, and there concerted and agreed upon the methods of War; and that upon his return the Malecontents had held long Conferences with the *Pasha* of *Varadin*, and with the Ambassadors of *Tartary*, and the Agents from *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*; and that all the Troops which were in their Quarters near *Adrianople* had Orders to

march into *Hungary*, where the Garrisons were to be reinforced, and the Stores and Magazines replenish'd. 'Tis certain that *Aspi* being of the Protestant Religion, was affected with much compassion towards the poor *Hungarians*, who for that Reason, and for maintaining the Liberties and Privileges of their Country, were forc'd to yield up their Lands, and abandon their Habitations; and therefore it will not be strange, in case we find him abetting that Party, and using all his endeavours and interest with the *Turks* to engage them in this Quarrel.

The Emperor on the other side alarm'd with these Preparations, sends strict and severe Orders, enjoining all the Officers and Commanders of his Forces on the Frontiers, carefully to abstain from Incursions within the Dominions of the *Turks*: And a little to alluage the exasperated Spirits of his discontented Subjects, he resolves to treat them with more kindness, and gentle usage than formerly. And in the mean time, for fear of the worst, and to provide against the dangers so imminently hanging over their heads, he gave Orders that a Survey should be made of all the Magazines and Armens on the Frontiers, and an account taken of the Cannon and Arms. But the Emperor remain'd not long in these doubtful apprehensions, before he receiv'd Intelligence from his Envoy, lately dispatch'd to *Constantinople* to sound the minds and intentions of the Vizier, that the Grand Signior did not design a War against the Emperor, and that he had refus'd to hear or receive any Propositions made by the Malecontents. For whether it was, that this Vizier out of a Principle of Justice deny'd to side or joyn with Rebels against their own Prince, or out of a sense of Honour to that Peace which he himself having made, did esteem Sacred. Or whether it was, that he thought a War against *Poland* at that time would be more Honourable and Advantageous to the Empire; or perhaps all these Considerations together might divert him from designs against *Hungary*. The War was refer'd for another Vizier, and until the space of ten years afterwards, of which dismal effects we shall discourse in their due places.

In the mean time the Emperor dispatch'd Secretary *Perez* with Presents to the Grand Signior, and Grand Vizier, to confirm the Peace, and renew the Truce (for so it may be call'd, rather than a Peace) of twenty years, longer; the which Presents were accepted, and all matters establish'd to the satisfaction of both Princes.

Now had the Emperor time to seize on the forfeited Estates of the three Counts, who were lately Executed for High Treason;

1681.

Aspi maintain'd the Cause of the Malecontents.

1671.

The Emperor sent strict Orders to the Officers and Commanders of his Forces on the Frontiers, to abstain from Incursions within the Dominions of the Turks.

The Emperor remain'd not long in these doubtful apprehensions, before he receiv'd Intelligence from his Envoy, lately dispatch'd to Constantinople to sound the minds and intentions of the Vizier, that the Grand Signior did not design a War against the Emperor, and that he had refus'd to hear or receive any Propositions made by the Malecontents.

1671.

The Vizier out of a Principle of Justice deny'd to side or joyn with Rebels against their own Prince, or out of a sense of Honour to that Peace which he himself having made, did esteem Sacred.

The Emperor dispatch'd Secretary Perez with Presents to the Grand Signior, and Grand Vizier, to confirm the Peace, and renew the Truce.

1681. fon, fo their Jewels and Plate which were very valuable, together with the Treafure of *Nadafli*, who was Richer than all the others, were carried on 8 Waggon's to *Vienna*, and the Cattle of *Putterdorf*, with the Gardens and Houfes of Pleafure belonging to *Nadafli*, were given to General *Montecuculi*. Nor were the moveables of *Tekeli* the Father lately deceas'd, together with his Rich Furniture, Jewels, Plate, and Horfes of high price, lefs confiderable than thofe of the afore-mention'd Lords, all which were converted to the ufe of the Emperor.

The Prince *Ragotski*, who (as we have faid before) proceeded more warily than his other Associates, had feafonably made his peace with the Emperor, and obtain'd his Pardon, on Condition that he fhould renounce his right of Sovereignty over the Town of *Trenfchin*; That he fhould fend 200000 Florins to that Town for payment of the Garrifon there, and fhould fend a like Sum to the Emperor's Coffers at *Vienna*, and that he fhould out of his own Revenue maintain 500 Soldiers in the upper *Hungary*, and fupply them with Ammunition, and all things neceffary for the War.

About this time the Inhabitants and Soldiers of *Kalo*, and *Tokai*, fell at variance together about their Quarters and Provisions; and at *Caffovia* the Citizens Conspir'd to make a Maffacre in one Night of all the German Soldiers; but the Plot being difcover'd, both fides came to an open Fight together, which continu'd long; but at length the Soldiers gain'd the advantage, having kill'd and made Prifoners almoft all the Citizens.

This Accident made but an ill preparation for a Diet, which the Emperor had Summon'd to meet at *Prefburg* on the firft day of the enfuing year, and call'd thereunto by efpecial Writ all the Nobility and Deputies of the upper and the lower *Hungary*. But when the time came, there was but a fmall appearance; moft of the Deputies declaring that they abfented themfelves, by reafon that they would not concur with their own confents to the abrogation of their ancient Laws and Privileges of their Country, which the Emperor defign'd to reduce to the fame Conftitution with that of his Hereditary Dominions.

Other Deputies refus'd to appear without Letters of Licenfe, or fafe Condufts and Pardons from the Emperor for what was formerly done by them in the late Commotions. But this Act of Grace and Clemency being deny'd, by reafon of that conflant Correſpondence which the Malecontents held with the Turks; the Empe-

ror's Commiſſioners, namely the Count *Rethai*, who was Chief Plenipotentiary, the Archbifhop of *Graz*, and others, proceeded to open the Diet upon the 24th of January, to which time the Aſſembly was adjourn'd; but neither then, nor on the 3d of February, to which time a farther adjournment was made, nor one of the Deputies of the upper *Hungary* making their Appearance, his Majesty being defirous to provide for the fafety of his Subjects, even againſt their own wills, made this following Declaration; which we have thought fit to infer, for better underſtanding of this History, and contracted for brevity thereof.

LEOPOLD, by the Grace of God Emperor of the Romans, &c. This is to make known unto all Men, that having happily extinguiſh'd the Fire of Rebellion in this Our Kingdom of Hungary, and puniſh'd thoſe ungrateful Perſons who were the Chief Incendariaries; and who growing wanton with thoſe Benefits which We had heap'd upon them, violated their Bonds of Allegiance to Us, and ſeducing to their Party many of the Nobility, with divers Towns, and all the Elders of this Kingdom, call'd Strangers to their aid and aſſiſtance, and rais'd an Army to oppoſe Our Power and Dominion. In purſuance whereof, they Beſieg'd *Tokai*, where We had plac'd a Garrifon, kill'd great numbers of Our Soldiers, taken the Convoys which we had ſent for ſupply of Zatzmar, fought againſt that Army which We had ſent to ſuppreſs the Troubles of Hungary; and to abate and diminifh Our Authority, ſeveral unlawful Aſſemblies were held for contriving and carrying on a War againſt Us; by which Councils Our good Subjects being diſturb'd, the Turks Invited into Our Dominions, Our Royal Treafury pillag'd, Incurſions made into *Auftria*, *Stiria*, *Moravia*, and other Our Hereditary Dominions, and at length a Conſpiracy was made againſt Our Life, which was prevented by the Divine Providence of God Almighty. And now whereas it is a Duty incumbent on Us to provide for the ſafety of thoſe People which God hath committed to Our Charge; and that Chriſtendom and Hungary may not for the future be expoſ'd to the like Diſorders, We have by Our Abſolute Power and Imperial Authority made an exact Regulation of the Military Quarters; allotting the number of Soldiers which every County is to maintain; and the Orders and Decorum which Soldiers are to keep, that they may not moleſt or trouble the Inhabitants where they are Quarter'd. And We require all Perſons concern'd, without Excufe, Delay, or Conditions whatſoever, to ſubmit unto that power which God hath given Us over them; which

1681.

1681. which We have been compell'd to maintain by force of Arms, and which We ſhall continue ſo to do. And therefore We give notice to all Our Subjects, that they peaceably ſubmit unto Our power, left Our Clemency be turn'd into Severity; and that contrary to Our Nature, being provok'd by ſo many Injuries, Treſons, and Rebellions, We be enforc'd to execute Our Wrath on thoſe who have abus'd Our Indulgence, and cauſe them to taſte the direful effects of Our Rigour.

Given at *Vienna* the 21ſt of March, 1671.

The Declaration ſerv'd.

The Hungarians reſpond, but too late.

1672.

The Emperor alters the Government of Hungary.

The Emperor to eſtabliſh and confirm this his Remonſtrance by force of Arms, cauſed his Regiments which were in *Bahemia*, *Siſleſia*, *Moravia*, and *Auftria* to march with ſpeed into *Hungary*, with Cannon and all the Train of Artillery; Which when the Malecontents perceived, and conſider'd their ill Fortune and Succesſes, having in every place been worſted in all the Fights and Reencounters againſt the Emperor's Forces, and that the Grand Vizier had forbidden *Apaf* Prince of *Transylvania*, and all the *Paiſas* of *Hungary* to yield Aſſiſtance or Protection to them: They began then to think they had taken falſe Courtes againſt their Sovereign Prince; and reſolv'd for the future to ſubmit with blind obedience to the Commands and Decrees of the Emperor, ſerving themſelves only of Prayers and Petitions to obtain his Pardon, and a remiſſion of his Rigours and Oppreſſions. But it was now too late, for his Imperial Majesty being highly provok'd by their frequent Rebellions, was ſo far from granting their Requeſts; That beſides their uſual Taxes and Impoſitions, he laid a farther charge on them of maintaining an Army of 30.000 Men, which were quarter'd in their Cities and Towns, and upon their Lands and Eſtates of Inheritance.

With theſe Succesſes, and the Deſtruction and Death of the Chief Leaders of the Malecontented Party: *Hungary* was conſider'd by the Imperialiſts as a Conquer'd Kingdom, and therefore to be ſubjected unto ſuch Laws, as the Emperor ſhould pleaſe to impoſe upon them. The great Office and Dignity of *Palatine*, who was always a Perſon of the nobleſt Deſcent and higheſt Degree; was by the ancient Privileges of that Kingdom elect'd at a Diet, conſiſting of the ſeveral Orders of the Nation: But now the Emperor affum'd this Power unto himſelf, pretending that the fame was forfeited to him by the Revolt of the People; and ſo in the lieu of *Palatine*, he thought fit to Govern by ſuch a Perſon as he himſelf ſhould chuſe, and impoſe without the Concurrence of the States, by the Name and Title of *Vice King*: And in lieu, and by

way of reſemblance of a Diet, he erect'd a Sovereign Chamber, or Council conſiſting of a Preſident, Chancellor, and two Secretaries, one a German and the other a *Hungarian*, with about fix or ſeven Counſellers, or ſo many as his Imperial Majesty ſhould think fit to add, to whom the Adminiſtration of all the Affairs of that Kingdom was committed. The Perſon deſignated and appointed for this conſiderable charge, was *John Giſper Amſpringen* Prince of the Empire, and Grand Maſter of the Teutonic Order, which was an Office ſo confiderable, that the late Arch-Duke *Leopold*, Uncle to the preſent Emperor, did not diſdain to own; this Prince being an *Hungarian* by Birth, and qualified with many Vertues, and having perform'd many brave Actions and Achievements, was eſteemed worthy of this Auguſt honour. His zeal for Religion, and advancement of the Chriſtian Cauſe was well known to all the World; having in the year 1664 brought two Regiments, one of Horſe and the other of Foot to the Imperial Army, commanded by the Cavaliers of his own Order, and maintained at his own expence during all the time that that War laſted. After which, and that the Turks renew'd their War again in *Candia*, he ſent a confiderable body of Foot, Commanded by ſeveral Cavaliers of his own Order, into the Service of the *Venetian* Republick; and afterwards went himſelf in Chief to Command them within the beſieged City, where he perform'd ſuch noble Actions of Chivalry, as obtain'd the acknowledgement of the Senate, and procured likewise a Brief from the Pope with ſuch obliging Expreſſions, as denoted the ſingular eſteem he had of his Perſon and Merits. In fine, ſuch were the deſerts and qualifications of this Grand Maſter, that the Emperor remain'd entirely ſatisfied with his Abilities, as being agreeable and every ways ſuited with this Honourable Promotion; to which being call'd, he appear'd at *Vienna*, attended with a great and an expenſive Equipage, and with many Knights of his own Order.

ANNO 1673.

This new Vice-King having taken his Inſtructions, and Leave from the Emperor departed from *Vienna*, and made his Entry into *Caffovia* on the 22d day of March, with Acclamations and univerſal Contentment of the People. Great was the expectation which the World conceived of the wiſdom and good conduct of this new Vice-King, as the only perſon who was able to appeaſe the Diſturbances, and compoſe the Diſorders of that Kingdom. And indeed he ſo well behaved himſelf, together with

1681.

The character of the Grand Maſter of the Teutonic Order.

1681. the Sovereign Council over which he presided, that Justice took its course, the Poor were relieved from the Oppression of their unmerciful Lords, and a Stop given to the proceedings of those wickednesses, which in the Licentious times of War had passed without punishment: All orders of Men began now to yield due obedience to their Superiors, Innocence was protected and Offences punished; the Soldiers lived under the good Discipline of their Officers, and the Citizens in good Correspondence with the Soldiers. Many wholesome Laws were made for the benefit of the People, and for their Security from the violence of the Army, especially in their Marches. And above all the Vice-King endeavoured to reconcile the affections of the Malecontents by his gentleness, and moderation towards them.

The Clergy
dispute the
quiet of the
Country.

But what the Civil Magistrates acted in order to a composure and settlement, was disturbed and overthrown by the Ecclesiastical Courts, whose business being to extirpate Heresies (as they called it) they proceeded by methods agreeable thereunto, which were to take away their Churches, Seize and Imprison their Pastors and Teachers, and prosecute the People with the severity of their Courts: The which Persecutions so exasperated the Spirits of the Protestants against the Emperor and his Government, that the Fire of War, which had for some time been cover'd with Embers, was ready to break out into a more violent Flame than before: For now the Protestants were encouraged by an Alliance they had made with the Transylvanians, and by the Protection which the Turk had promised to give them within his Dominions, notwithstanding the assurances formerly made to the Emperor by the Vizier to the contrary. The Transylvanians pretended a quarrel for recovery of the Counties of *Zatmar* and *Zambolich* belonging to their Principality, which the Prince *Ragotski* had without right yielded to the Emperor. The Turks declared themselves offended by the daily Hostilities committed by the Imperialists, who pursuing the Malecontents within their Dominions, did not abstain from those Violences, which are usually practised in an Enemies Country; and by such Actions as these, both Nations were ready to break forth into an open Rupture.

With these hopes and encouragements, the Malecontents brook themselves again to their Arms under the Command of *Erdedy, Petroszi, Succai, Kende, Zepeti*, and several other Lords, and Persons of power and interest in their Country. The time appear'd favourable and advantageous to their enterprise, for the Walls of most of the Towns were then beaten down, and the

old Works slighted, with design to Rebuild, and make them stronger according to the new way and manner of Fortifications. Provisions were all wanting in most of the Garrisons, and the German, as well as the Hungarian Troops were in Mutiny for want of pay. And this was the time, which the Malecontents chose to put themselves in Arms, and renew the War.

At the beginning whereof being 12000 strong, they gain'd the Passage of *Teylas, Climbis*, and advanced as far as *Calfovia*, which they blocked up, and Defeated five Troops of Dragoons, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *de Seyer*, and by the advantage of a dark and a rainy Night cut them to pieces, the Lieutenant Colonel only with some few of his Soldiers making an escape into *Calfovia*. After this Success they proceeded to *Espertes* and took it without much loss, by the Cowardice of the Officer which Commanded it; and in divers other Skirmishes worsted the Imperialists.

The Emperor having received advices of this new Insurrection, immediately dispatched General *Kops* with an Army of 10,000 Men into *Hungary*, to which were 4 or 5000 Men more joyned under the Command of Count *Estersbasi*, and *Valentine Balassi*, composed almost all of Horse, and of Men true and loyal to the Emperor's interest. Such an Army as this could not remain long without action, both Parties desiring to come to an Engagement, which soon afterwards happened at the Passage of *Brantz*; where Colonel *Smith* and Count *Palsi*, who led the Van-guard charged the Malecontents who defended some narrow Passes with so much valour, that they killed a 1000 of them on the place, besides many others who were wounded and taken Prisoners, with the loss only of 15 or 16 Soldiers.

After this Defeat, the Malecontents marched by the way of *Serentz*, about two Leagues distant from *Tokai*, and invested *Zatmar*; but a Sally being made out of the Town by Lieutenant Colonel *Staremborg*, who Commanded there in Chief, they were forced to raise their Siege, with the loss of several Colours and many Prisoners: Likewise General *Kops* and *Spankau* pursued them so closely at the Heels, that with great loss and difficulty they were enforced to pass the *Theysi*. Divers Castles at the same time surrender'd, as the Castle of *Meges*, and the Town of *Nagibania*, the which places were dismantled, and their Walls thrown down: And as the Imperialists were towards the end of the year, returning to their Winter quarters, they met a party of 500 Horse belonging to the Malecontent party, of which they killed 300 on the place, and took divers Prisoners, one of which

1681.
The time
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the War.

1673.
as defeated.

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quiet of the
Country.

1673.

1681. which was the Son of *Succai*, one of the Chief Leaders of the Rebel party.

Thus whilst it went ill in all places with the Malecontents, the Popish Clergy took courage to assert their right to divers Churches and Chapels, which they pretended to belong unto them, and to those of their Religion, and by force of Arms took possession of them, which they held until such time, as that the Protestant party became strong enough to eject them, and executed this design without much opposition in all the Counties of *Nitria, Trenchin, Turaz, Strania, Lippova*, and in several Towns and Villages of the Mountains; where they set up and exercised the Popish Religion, with all the Rites and Ceremonies, to the great Scandal and Displeasure of the Hungarians. Particularly in the Month of *June*, at a Town called *Senetz*, the Curate of the Parish was zealous to celebrate in a publick, and solemn manner the Festival of *Corpus Christi*, and to carry the Sacrament in Procession: Which Feast happening to be on a day, when a Fair was held at that Town, which brought a great concourse of People thither, the Priest fearing some affront from the Multitude, desired the Governour of *Brantz* to afford him a Sergeant and 12 Soldiers to accompany the Sacrament, and defend it from the violence and prophaneness of the Heretics. Which being granted, as the Priest was carrying the Sacrament in Procession, he was assaulted by the People, and killed by them, together with the 12 Soldiers which were sent for his Guard. So soon as Count *Staremborg* had news of this Sacrilegious Murder, he marched to the Town with his own Regiment, and several Troops of German Horse, for punishment of the Authors of this abominable wickedness; which he executed with all the Rigour and Severity imaginable, for he pillaged and burned their Houses, and put every one to the Sword, excepting those who saved their Lives by escaping into the Woods.

After all these Defeats and many others given to the Malecontents, and this vast effusion of Blood, it might well be imagin'd, that an end would have been put to this War, which had neither a settled Council, nor a Fund of Money, nor an Interest of great Men to support it. Howsoever, such was the force and power, which the Preachers used in their Sermons to the People, inciting them to a Defence of their Religion, the Exercise of which the Emperor (as they said) had determined to take from them, that they resolv'd to die in the maintenance thereof; being perswaded that their Friends and Companions, who had already

sacrificed their Lives in that Cause, were real Martyrs, and had obtained the Crown which was laid up in Heaven for them. Nor were the Protestants only in the mind to Wage a War, but even the Roman Catholics also, who being moved by another Principle of defending the Privileges and Freedom of their People, thought it their Duty to rise up and assert the Cause of their native Country and Nation. For tho' they owned all Duty and Obedience to the Emperor, yet being but an Elective King, and one to whom the People had sworn Allegiance on Condition that he should maintain them in the ancient Rights, and Privileges of that Kingdom, they held themselves no longer obliged thereunto, after he had violated all their Laws, and absolutely subverted the ancient Fabrick of their Government, which he had apparently done in three instances. First, In quaranting German Soldiers in the Country and Towns, with intent to over-awe and govern them by an absolute and arbitrary Power. Secondly, By imposing a Vice-King upon them, constituted solely by the Imperial Commission, in lieu and place of a Palatine, who according to the ancient Constitutions was to be elected by a Diet, composed of the several Estates of that Kingdom. And Thirdly, Instead of such a Diet the Emperor was pleased to erect a Sovereign Council consisting of such Members, as he himself did think fit to nominate and appoint, over which the Vice-King was as Chief Commissioner to preside. And thus the Parties of both Religions being disputed and animated to Fight *pro Aris & Focis*, for their Laws, their Country and Religion; Fury and Despair served them in the place of Counsel, Money, and other Nerves and Sinews of War: So that when one party was cut off, another arose in greater numbers, and like *Hydra's* increased the more by being destroyed.

Amongst which appear'd a bold Fellow nam'd *Strifniski*, who pretended to be sent by the Governors of the Mountain Towns, calling himself *Duke John*, and with his own name signed and issued out Commissions, and dispersed them every where, as if he had been the Sole and Sovereign Prince of that Country. Many persons adher'd to him, and followed his Standard, looking on him as a bold and a daring Fellow, who seldom gave quarter to any, much less to Jesuits and Priests, to whom he never showed mercy, whenever any of that character fell within his Power. The which was again revenged by Count *Strazoldo*, in such cruel manner without distinction of persons, either of guilty or innocent, that the Imperial Council taking

1681.

The great
number of
the Hunga-
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1673.

1671. notice thereof, sent their Orders to him to u^e better moderation in his future a^{ct}ings, and to treat the *Hungarians* with more gentleness; which tho' he observed in respect to the Sword of his own Soldiers, who were forbidden to Maffacre, or shed their Blood; yet being directed to take and bring them before the Courts of Justice, by which a speedy Sentence was pass'd, and some were condemn'd to be hang'd, some be quarter'd, others to be empal'd, this way of process seem'd much more cruel and severe, than a speedy Execution by the Sword of the Soldiery.

ANNO, 1671.

Tho' the Grand Seignior had not as yet publickly own'd the cause of the Malecontents; howsoever the Pasha's and Officers had receiv'd private Instructions to countenance and favour their Cause, without open 'censurements of a War, and many *Turks* in hopes of Plunder and Booty habit'd themselves in the *Hungarian* fashion, and joynd with their Troops; and several parties of *Turks* in great numbers, pretending that the *Christians* in a Hostile manner had made Incursions within their Territories, came openly to revenge them, and march'd as far as *Schenbha*, from whence they carried away an *Hungarian* Gentleman with 7 Soldiers. Upon this Advice, Lieutenant Colonel *de Soy*er with his Dragoons, and *Hussars*, Sallied out of the Town to the rescue of the Prisoners; but being surpriz'd by 5 Companies of *Turkish* Foot, who issued out of an Ambuscade, where they had conceal'd themselves, *Soyer* himself was kill'd, with 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 4 Serjeants, and 80 common Soldiers.

The Garrison of *Newbauzel* encourag'd with this Success, continu'd their Incursions along the River of *Wangh*, and made some depredations; but being pursu'd by the *Hussars*, and *Heyduks* of *Comorra*, they were forc'd to surrender 200 Head of Cattle, together with all the Booty and Plunder they had taken.

Thus whilst Matters succeeded with various Successes, but most commonly in favour of the Emperor, both Parties acted their Cruelties upon each other, the Malecontents as often as the Priests fell into their hands, they us'd them but very severely; they buried one of them alive, of others they cut off their Noses and Ears, and hang'd or strang'd others. In punishment of which, the Emperor Order'd the Vice-King to drive the Protestant Ministers out of his Dominions, and to seize upon all their Churches to the use of the Catho-

licks; and not to suffer them to meet or exercise their Religious Worship therein. In pursuance of these Orders, the Bishops of *Colontz*, and *Jawarow* seiz'd upon all the Churches, Schools, Livings, and Benefices whatsoever belonging to the Protestant Clergy within their Diocesses. And the Archbishop of *Strigoniom*, Primate of that Kingdom, cited all the Protestant Ministers to appear before him, and put many of them to the Question, forcing them to confess who those were who for the two last years were the chief Incendiaries of Seditions, and Authors of the Rebellion.

Nor were the smaller sort of the Malecontents only persecuted, but some of the great Men and chief Ministers in the Emperor's Court were suspected, and accused of correspondence and intelligence with the Rebels. The Prince *Lubkowitz* President of the Council was suspected and accus'd; but whether that jealousy arose from the near alliance in Blood he had with the Family of *Serini*, or from malicious Informations is uncertain; howsoever his Secretary by Order of the Emperor was put to the Torture; and tho' therein he confess'd nothing which could accuse or reflect on his Master, yet he was treated as a guilty person, and all his Estate real and personal in *Austria* and *Bohemia* were seiz'd, and confiscated to the use and benefit of the Emperor.

Count *Souches* had the like misfortune to have his Fidelity and Loyalty suspected, but in regard nothing could be prov'd against him, he was command'd to leave the Court, and retire to his Government of *Waradine*, or some other part of his Estate. The Son also in resentment of this hard usage of his Father, abandon'd the Court, and all the Offices he enjoy'd therein.

ANNO, 1675.

At the beginning of this year the *Turks* began more openly to assert the Cause of the Malecontents, making their Incursions as far as *Freytsade* within the Neighbourhood of *Presburg*; forcing the People to do Homage, and pay Contributions to the Grand Seignior; and for default thereof, they burnt many Villages, and committed other acts of Hostility. The Malecontents at the same time defeated a great part of a *Croatian* Regiment, under the Command of *Colalto*. By which, and the Advices that the *Turks* were assembled in a Body of 14000 Men, within the Neighbourhood of *Newbauzel*, the Emperor fearing lest they should joyin with the Malecontents, conven'd the chief Lords and Gentlemen of *Hungary* at *Presburg*, to which place he

The Pash
Bishop
Join the
Lioness of
the Hunga-
rian Clergy.

The Prince
Lubkowitz
suspected,
and his
Estate seiz'd.

The Empe-
ror's offic-
als a Diet
at Presburg

1681. sent Count *Siaki* to tender them Conditions of an accommodation, of which Prince *Apafi* frankly offer'd himself to be the Mediator.

'At this Assembly some of the more moderate Men, who were desirous to bring Matters to a good understanding, represent'd unto their Companions the ruin and destruction which must necessarily ensue from a Civil War; and tho' the exercise of their Religion ought to be dearer to them than their Lives, and to be prefer'd before all earthly benefits; yet the same Religion taught them not to rebel against their Prince, or make Wars for the sake thereof, whose foundation and design was peace; much less could they justify the engaging the *Turk* therein, unless whilst they profess'd themselves Protestants, they acted like Mahometans.

But these and many other things were spoken in vain to Men who were possess'd with a Zeal for their Religion, and with an Opinion that they were Martyrs who died in defence thereof. And in regard those of them who were in *Hungary* were not able to keep the Field, they were forc'd to flee and seek refuge in *Transylvania*, to the number of 5000. from whence they sent one *Fabian* to *Constantinople* to solicit for assistance from the Grand Seignior; but the Affairs of the *Turks* not being as yet in a state for answering such demands, *Fabian* return'd with fair words, and with Orders to Prince *Apafi* to give protection, and to assign Quarters to as many Malecontents as should seek for refuge within the Principality of *Transylvania*, to which Country tho' the chief Heads and Leaders of that party were retired, yet there were several flying Troops in *Hungary* which infested the Country, and drove away Cattle from parts near unto the Gates of *Zatmar*, and burnt all the Villages round, which would not assent to pay the contributions they demanded of them.

In the mean time the Grand Master of the *Tewantick* Order, now Vice-King of *Hungary*, together with the Archbishop of *Gran*, and other Chiefs of the several Estates, having had divers Conferences about the Condition of that Kingdom, and of the manner how they might raise a considerable Sum of Money towards maintenance of the Troops which for conservation of the Peace were sent into that Country; but not being able to agree thereupon, nor upon what Fund the same might be levied, they went to *Presburg* with design to renew the Treaty with the Malecontents; that coming to a good understanding with them, a Tax or Imposition might be equally charged by the

common consent and agreement of the Estates; and which coming with that Authority would be paid frankly without scruple, or opposition of the People. To bring Matters to this happy condition, the Vice-King offer'd in the Name of the Emperor, to grant a General Act of Pardon unto all those who would lay down their Arms, and submit to the Emperor's Authority; promising that they should be restor'd to their Lands and Estates, and to a free exercise of their Religion; but in regard they were oblig'd to receive *German* Soldiers into all their Fortresses and Towns; all offers seem'd grievous and of no force, in respect of the opposition they must find by such unruly Guelds, under whom they could promise themselves no enjoyment or security; and being by these proposals become more bold and desperate, they appear'd before *Zatmar* with about 7000 Men; upon whom the Governor of that place adventuring to make a Sally, was beaten back with great loss.

Prince *Apafi* who had at all times under hand favour'd the cause of the Malecontents, and granted them protection within his Dominions, did now begin openly to seek a quarrel on his own force with the Emperor, demanding the Counties of *Kalo* and *Zatmar* to be deliver'd to him, with the Fortres of *Tokai*, to which he pretended a Right by a grant from Prince *Ragotski* his Predecessor. To which Answer was made, That those Counties were of the Ancient Demesnes belonging to the Kings of *Hungary*, and since confirm'd to the Emperor by several Treaties; and particularly by the last made with the *Ottoman-Port*.

Howsoever, not to irritate Prince *Apafi* over-much, and to keep Matters from an open rupture at a time when the Emperor had many Enemies to deal with, it was Order'd that these Demands should be refer'd to the Examination of Commissioners; and in the mean time an Envoy was sent to the Vizier at *Adrianople*, to complain of those exorbitant pretensions. But *Apafi* not attending an Answer, entred with a formidable Force into *Hungary*, and having defeated General *Spankau*, he laid Siege to *Zatmar*; but the Season of the Year being far spent, and a Valiant Resistance made, they were forc'd to raise the Siege, and retire.

About the 15th of September, the Winter approaching, the Malecontents held a Conference at *Sombra*, a place in *Transylvania*, to resolve in what manner to manage the next Campaign, and how they might best engage the *Turks* in their Defence and Quarrel, without which they could not hope for any

1681.

1675:

Apafi seeks a quarrel.

The Male-contents hold a Conference.

The Turks murder and spoil the Malecontents.

The People possess'd with Zeal to their Religion.

1681. any great Success. After which meeting they entered the County of Zipt, and there let Fire to many Towns and Villages, and took above 500 Prisoners; About the same time the Garrison of *Newbanfel*, both Horse and Foot made an Incursion as far as *Presburg*, and burnt several Villages depending thereupon, and surprized a Castle guarded by the *Heydukes*, whom they put to the Sword, without sparing so much as one Person. Whilst these things were acting, a new Vizier arrived at *Buda*, where the *Turks* were making great Stores, and laying in Provisions both of Victuals and Ammunition: On which occasion the Emperor sent *Messini*, his Interpreter, to Complement the Vizier upon his happy arrival at *Buda*, and to carry him the accustomed presents; with instructions to discover underneath the designs and intentions of the *Turks*, who every day under pretence of Contributions committed a thousand Acts of Hostility: Of which, tho' complaints were made, and no satisfaction given thereunto; yet the Emperor thought fit to seek redress for these violences, rather by applications to the Port than by Reprovals, lest the *Turk* should be provoked thereby, and furnish'd with just Causes to commence a War. To prevent which, all caution and tenderness was used towards the *Turks*, and endeavours made by *Cardiati* one of the Emperor's Council, who was sent to Prince *Apafi* to Treat, and propose ways of an Accommodation: But these labours were all fruitless, for notwithstanding the regard was had not to molest, or provoke the *Turk*, a *Chiaus* arrived at *Vienna* from the *Palsha* of *Buda*, to complain of the Fort of *Schella*, which the Emperor was making on the Banks of the *Waagb*, to ruin which the *Turks* had raised a Battery just over against it, on the other side of the River; but in despite thereof the Work went on, and the Fortification was finish'd: And so was the Fort of *Scheinau*, upon which a thousand Men were daily employ'd, guarded with a considerable party of Horse and Foot, sufficient to repulse the Enemy that should attempt to disturb the Work: Of which when complaints were made by the *Palsha* of *Buda*, requiring that they should be demolish'd; and that a new Assignment should be made of the Limits of the Empire, in which all the places as far as *Presburg* should be included, and the Inhabitants thereof now Subjects to the Emperor, commanded to pay homage to the Grand Seigneur: To which unreasonable demands, general answers were only given, with intent to prolong the unhappy day, and stave off the *Turks*, as long as was possible from an open War.

But neither this, nor other Acts of Grace nor the Orders given to the Governor of *Raab*, to set several *Turkish* Prisoners at Liberty without Ransom, (which the Garrisons of this place, and the *Heydukes* of *Peiprin* had taken) did not soften or satisfy the *Turks*, who at the same time kept many of the Emperor's Subjects in Prison, without thoughts of making the like generous Returns: And likewise the Malecontents proceeding in their usual hostile manner, defeated some of the Emperor's Troops, and plunder'd many Waggons laden with Merchandise coming from *Molda Fair*, and killed all the Guard which convoy'd them: And thus ended this troublesome year.

ANNO 1676.

The Heats and Troubles of the People of *Hungary* increased with some; and as years passed, so the quarrel grew higher. Blood had been drawn so frequently, that one would think the Spirits of *Hungary* might have been evacuated by such vast effusions. The Malecontents had provok'd their Sovereign beyond hopes of Pardon; and had no expectations of safety but in the *Turk*; with whom tho' the Emperor had no mind to break, nor yet the *Turks* on the other side, during the Government of the Vizier *Kupriogli*, who being as yet engaged in a War against *Poland*, thought it not feasible to come unto an open Rupture with *Germany*: Yet to unhappily were the Affairs of the Malecontents interwoven with the concerns of the *Turks*, that it was impossible to be avenged of one, without irritating and disturbing the other. For so it was at the beginning of this year, when the Count *Strazoldo* took *Debrezin*, a Town into which great numbers of the Rebels were retreated, and there held their Cabals: But in regard it was a place which paid Tribute to the Port; the taking thereof put all the *Turkish* Governors and Officers into an Alarm, and to so loud an Outcry by of an open breach of the Peace, that tho' this Act was perform'd by Order of the Emperor; yet he was forced to disown it, and cause *Strazoldo* to Surrender up the same into the hands of the *Turks*, and to take away all jealousy, to retire over to *Debrezin* with his Forces; and after all this they thwart the Storm, a Gentleman was dispatched to the *Palsha* of *Buda*, to execute the matter, and testify the high displeasure of the Emperor for this Action, declaring that it was perform'd wholly without his Order. Tho' the *Palsha* of *Buda* seem'd indifferently well appeased with this address, and satisfaction which was given; yet the *Palsha* of *Newbanfel* continued his Displeasure; and

1681. on the pretence of *Debrezin*, grounded his Reasons, why he would not set divers Prisoners at liberty, notwithstanding the Ransom which was paid for them, and treated very scurvily and unworthily many Persons of considerable quality, who were in the number of those Prisoners.

The Malecontents being much encouraged, by these misunderstandings between the Imperialists and the *Turks*, fell upon a body of 600 *Cuirassiers* and cut them to pieces: And after another Fight between a party of *Hussars* commanded by Count *Elterbach*, and the *Turks* near *Carlostad* in *Croatia*, in which the *Turks* were worsted; and after many other Acts of Hostility, being well assured that the Peace could not continue long, refused to hearken unto any Terms or Conditions whatsoever, tho' again offer'd to them with advantage by Count *Palfi*, and the Bishop of *Agria*. And indeed the Vizier himself, tho' inclinable in his own nature to converse the Truce which he himself had concluded in the year 1664, until the full Term of 20 years, had been expir'd according to the usual Customs and Constitutions of both Empires: Yet finding how impossible in a manner it was, to remain unconcern'd, whilst the Emperor pursued his Rebels within his Dominions; and that the Soldiers and Inhabitants of neither side being bred up to War, could be kept within any Rules or Government; he then clapt up a Peace with the *Poles*, that in case he should be induced to declare War against the Emperor, and march into *Hungary*, he might have but one business, and one War on his Hands at the same time to manage.

The state of these Affairs animated the Malecontents in such manner, that they adventur'd to fall into the Head quarters of Count *Colalto* near *Zatmar*, where they cut three Companies to pieces, and took some Prisoners. And in the Month of June, a party of them consisting of 4000, encountering with the Regiment of Colonel *Smith* near *Kalo*, gave them a total Defeat, killing 300 upon the place. In the Month of July, two Parties of the Malecontents, one of 1500, and another of 600, pillaged and burnt all the places, and Villages near *Zatmar* and *Caschau*, and defeated a *Croatian* Regiment under the Command of Count *Palfi*, with a Detachment from the two foregoing Garrisons. Another party of them burnt two Villages in the Upper *Hungary*, killed most of the Inhabitants, and carried away great plunder and booty with them: And being met by Count *Strazoldo*, who was desirous to intercept them in their Retreat, he was defeated by them, and forced to fly with considerable loss. Another

party of them surprized the Castle of *Balac* in the Morning, just at the moment when the Gates were open'd, and killed, and made Prisoners all the People that were in it. The same party defeated Colonel *Scheveling*, and killed many of his *Hussars* upon the place; they took and pillaged the little Town of *Neutra*, and intercepted all the Merchandise, which was carrying to the Fair of *Stoez*. And with such Successes as these, the Malecontents being greatly puffed up and exalted, they demanded a Contribution of 14000 Florins from the Inhabitants of the plain Countries, and took Hostages, as a security for payment thereof.

Nor were the *Turks* in the mean time idle, or unactive on their side, for from the Garrison of *Buda*, they sent a very strong party to join with those of *Newbanfel*, with design to take and demolish the Fort of *Schella*; whilst the Malecontents attended the motions of the Imperialists with 8000 Men, and the *Transilvanians* marched towards the Frontiers of their Country with 10000; but by the care and vigilance of the Emperor's Soldiers, the design was prevented.

These misfortunes were followed by others of worse consequence, for the Generals, *Smith* and *Baragotzi*, were defeated by the *Smith* and *Baragotzi* defeated. Malecontents in divers Encounters. The Towns of *Oedenbourg*, *Zaltach* and *Donaur* were plunder'd and burnt by them; and so greatly they increased in their numbers, that *Strazoldo* with 3000 Men durst not appear in the Field against them.

And now that the fate of War might be determined, advices of the Death of the Grand Vizier *Achmet Kupriogli* were brought to *Vienna*, by which all expectations of Peace failed: For by the Answers he had made to the Malecontents, who solicited for assistance, and to the Imperial Ministers, who labour'd to continue a good understanding, he evidenced an aversion to this War, for Reasons which we have formerly declar'd: And perhaps because at that time becoming Sick and Crazy, his Spirits were low and his Thoughts rather inclining to Ease and Quietness, than to the bustles and business of an active and raging War. But now *Kara Mustapha* succeeding *Kara Mustapha* into his place, a Person of that Temper, which we have before described, the Imperialists despair'd of a Peace, and accordingly provided for a War; and indeed, considering the Temper of the Man, and the conjuncture of the present Times; being invir'd into *Hungary*, and the way open'd in to *Germany* by the Malecontents; and (as the Common Rumor will have it) pushed on by Encouragements and Promises from the

French

1681. French Court, but more especially by their own Fate, the Dice of Fortune were cast, and a War determin'd, tho' contrary to the Inclinations of the Grand Seigneur, the Musli, and other Counsellors of State.

ANNO, 1677.

But to carry on a War of such weight and consequence, preparations were to be first made; Money was to be provided, which was amass'd, and gather'd by such means as we have before related; Forces were to be call'd from the most remote parts of the Empire, and great stores of all sorts of Provisions and Ammunition were to be lodg'd in *Belgrade*, *Buda*, and the Frontier Garrisons, all which requir'd some years to effect. And in the mean time, as a prelude to this devouring War, the Malecontents were to be encourag'd, their hopes kept up, and the *Pashas of Hungary* allow'd to succor them as occasion requir'd; which they acted with little regard to the Peace, that nothing was heard over all that Kingdom, but daily Slaughters, Battels, Plunderings, Firing of Towns, and all the other direful effects of War.

Accordingly, to begin this Year, six thousand Turks pass'd the *Raab* over the Ice near *Furstenberg*, which gave an alarm to all the Province of *Stiria*. About the same time another party of them belonging to the Garrison of *Canisja*, made a Sally from thence, with design to surprize the Island of *Serini*; but being disappointed in that Enterprize, they put all the Country of *Croatia* into a confusion, and forc'd Contributions from the People by Military Executions; burning and plundering all those Towns and places which refus'd to comply with the payment of such Taxes as they impos'd upon them. And likewise another party from *Newhausen*, made Incursions to the very Gates of *Freystadt*.

These ill Successes, and the fears of a more dreadful War impending, moved the Imperial Council to thoughts of Accommodation with the Malecontents on any terms whatsoever, being almost droven to a necessity of making peace. In pursuance of which Resolution, General *Baragotzi*, who for his Services was lately made a Count of the Empire, and one of the Lieutenant Generals of the Armies, was dispatch'd to the Malecontents with new Overtures of Peace, the sum of which was this: That besides the Act of Oblivion, and Pardon formerly offer'd, the Emperor was pleas'd farther to condescend, that in every Country the Protestants should have two Churches allow'd them, one for the *Lutherans*, and another for the *Calvinists*, with full

Liberty to exercise the Religion they profess'd; and that they should be indifferently admitted into all Offices and Places of Trust either Civil or Military, together with the Roman Catholicicks, without any distinction whatsoever, unless with respect to the ability and quality of the person. This Generous Offer, tho' it affected and inclin'd about 1500 of that party to abandon the interest of their Associates, yet there were above 10000 others whose Spirits were exasperated and heated above the virtue and power of any lenitive, whom nothing could appease nor soften but revenge, tho' at the dear price of their Countries ruine, and the loss of their own Lives. And this Opinion was foster'd and kept up by some ill Men, who perswaded the Commonalty that there was no security nor Faith in the Emperor's promises; which would no longer continue, than until such time as he saw them disarm'd, and his Enemies at his feet. Howsoever, not wholly to reject the terms of peace, Commissioners were appointed on both sides to meet at *Elperies*, to offer and receive the Propositions; which Treaty continu'd during the whole Month of *March*, and at last concluded without any considerable effect; only Count *Palaffi Imbre* became touch'd with a sense of his Duty, that he embrac'd the Pardon, and accepted the gracious Offers made him by his Imperial Majesty; and afterwards had a Command given him in *Hungary*, under Major General *Baragotzi*; in expectation that by his Example others would be brought to Obedience.

But in *Transylvania* the displeasure of a Plot that Prince grew higher, upon discovery of a Plot against his Life, carried on by those who had more Zeal than true Understanding of the Emperor's Interest; which caus'd *Apafi*, not without some reason, to declare himself more than formerly in behalf of the Malecontents. And so high were the Spirits of both Parties exasperated against each other, that the *Hussars* pursuing a flying party of the Malecontents as far as *Rima*, now a Town belonging to the King of *Poland*, in the Palatinate of *Cracovia*, could not contain their fury against their Enemy with any respect to the Prince or Dominion unto which they were fled; but in the heat of their pursuit set fire to the Town. Which rash Act was so far resent'd by the King of *Poland*, that it had caus'd a War between the two Crowns, had not some other Considerations cemented the difference, and the common safety united the two Princes against their powerful Enemy, as will appear some years after. Howsoever, in the mean time, the King of *Poland* could with a sense of this

1681.

Their Ob-
temper-

1681. this Disgrace, gave License to some of his Troops (of whose assistance he had not much farther occasion, after the Peace concluded with the Turk) to joyn with the Malecontents, and serve against the Emperor, under the Command of Count *Bobam*.

These *Polanders* to the number of 6000, departed from *Seratin* on the 25th of September, taking their March directly towards *Transylvania*; to which Country this Count *Bobam* had dispatch'd his Major General *Freibul* before, to advise the Prince and Nobility of his coming. The which News was welcome, that 500 Horse, and 800 Foot were Order'd from a Castle appertaining to *Wessellini* to meet them on their way, and joyn in a Body with them. These Troops conducted by *Freibul*, met the *Polish* Forces at the Village of *Nemetz*, on the Banks of the *Theysse*, about four Leagues distant from *Mongatz*; and having pass'd that River, they Encamp'd near the Village of *Nimelsi*, about a league from *Zatmar*, where they attended the coming of *Wessellini*, the *Hungarian* General, with his Forces, to joyn with them. Whilst they remain'd in this post, the parties which they sent abroad had taken several prisoners; by whom they were inform'd, that Major General *Smith* was advancing from *Zatmar*, with a considerable Body of the Imperial Army, much stronger than that of the *Poles*, and that he march'd with Cannon; upon this Intelligence *Bobam* call'd a Council of War, at which it was agreed to re-pass the little River *Battor*, and the inclos'd Country adjacent, and to post themselves on a Ground of more advantage, that they might the sooner joyn with their own Troops not as yet come up, and also attend the Attack of the Enemy in a fast and a securer place.

But before the Camp remov'd from *Nimelsi*, two *Polish* Gentlemen, with a Servant, revolted over to the Enemy; and inform'd *Smith* then at *Zatmar*, that the *Polish* Forces, together with the *Tartars of Lipka* were inconsiderable, very much harass'd with a long March, and weaken'd with want of Food and Necessaries to sustain them; in which frighten'd Condition they were ready to Mutiny, and would soon change their side, in case Letters were wrote to some of the Chief of them, giving them assurance of good Quarter, and a kind Reception. Letters were accordingly wrote, and dispatch'd by the Servant of the *Polish* Gentlemen who arriv'd the same Night at *Nimelsi*, where the Treachery of the two Gentlemen was discover'd, and the Letters intercepted, and publicly read, the substance of which was this;

That *Smith* had a strong Army well resolv'd, and provided of all things necessary, against which in all probability their Forces were not able to stand: That therefore they should in time provide for their own security and safety, by passing over to the Imperial Party, where they might assure themselves of a kind Reception, and a hearty Welcome; and it would make their *March* much the greater, in case they would seize the *Papers*, *Money* and *Plate* of all the Officers, and particularly of the person of *Uladislaus Wessellini*, Son of the late *Palatine* of *Hungary*, and *Nephew* to the present General of the *Malecontents*. Further advising such, that were thus well dispos'd, to bind *Straw* about their Caps, which should be a Signal at the beginning of the Fight of their good Intentions. And that *Smith* might give them security that these promises should be perform'd, he affix'd his Seal upon the Letter, with this Motto; Per hoc assecurantur Domini Poloni.

No News being as yet come of *Wessellini*, *Bobam* had no sooner provided for his own security, and well post'd his Forces, and put them in *Battalia*, before the Van-guard of the Enemy Charg'd the advanced Troops of the *Poles* so fiercely, that they put them to a Retreat, and wounded *Koreski* Colonel of the *Tartars of Lipka*; with which the Imperialists being encourag'd, press'd the *Hungarians* and *Tartars* with such fierceness and vigor, that the *Tartars* began to give ground and fly; and were pursu'd by some Troops of swift *Croats*, who knew very well in what manner to make use of such advantages, killing many, and taking some Prisoners. In the mean time *Smith* made such haste to come in to the succor of his advanced Troops, that he left all his Infantry some Leagues behind, and March'd in the Front of 20 Squadrons of Horse, much more strong and numerous than the *Poles*; Testifying by his Countenance the great assurance he had of Victory. But when he was come near, and had receiv'd the fire from a Regiment of *Dragoons* Commanded by Major *Zefeld*, and drawn up amongst the *Bushes* on the right hand of the Line; and observ'd the good Order and Resolution of the *Poles*, he began then to be sensible of his temerity, and the Snare into which he was drawn, by the false Report of the two *Hungarians*.

The *Hungarians* and *Tartars* which were newly put to flight by the Vanguard of the Enemy, seeing at a distance the valour of their Companions, rallied again, and Charg'd with new Courage: so that the Imperialists being astonish'd and dismay'd by the Clouds of Arrows, the continual

G Fire

1681. Fire from the Infantry and Dragoons, and the redoubled Blows of the Cut-laffes and Scimitars, and the Multitudes of their dead Companions which covered the Field with their Bodies, began to give ground, and breaking in one upon the other, betook themselves to Flight in the most confused, and shameful manner that can be imagin'd, and were pursued by the Enemy near two Leagues from the Field where the Battle was fought.

The number of those Slain were a Thousand, besides those, who endeavouring to save their Lives by Swimming were Drown'd in the River. The Officers Slain were Count *Hernstein*, Colonel of Foot, and Governor of *Zatmar*, Colonel of the *Craos*, besides many other Captains and Officers of Foot, whom *Smith* had perswaded to leave their Companies, and attend him in this Enterprize, in which he judged himself most secure of Victory. *Smith* himself was wounded in the Hand, and was forc'd to quit his Horse to save his Life, which was afterwards the prize of a *Tartar*, with the Saddle, Holfers and Hoofings embroidered with Gold. The *Poles* took four Kettle-Drumms, and the greatest part of their Trumpets, with all their Colours, and 800 Prisoners; And had not the night favour'd them, very few had escaped.

On this occasion *Boham* Signalized himself very greatly, and evidenced unto the World by his Valour and Conduct, how much he deserved the chief Command of those Troops: And indeed, all the Officers, as well *Tartars* as others, behaved themselves like Soldiers and able Commanders: But Major General *Smith*, tho' inferior to none in any thing which appertains to Martial Exercise; yet being betray'd by his own Credulity, was blam'd much at *Vienna* for his Rashness and Precipitation. After this Success, *Boham* having Refresh'd for two days his Forces in the Field where the Battle was fought, repass'd the River of *Bator*, and the Inclosures, and joyn'd the Army of the Malecontents, which was 16000 strong, under the Command of Count *Wessellini*: So that now being a formidable Army, the Chief Officers at a Council of War agreed to Besiege *Tokai*; to prevent which General *Kops*, upon advice of the Enemies Motion, departed from *Cafchau* with the Imperial Army, intending to Attack the Enemy with the first Advantage: Which *Wessellini* avoided until he had first secur'd a place of Retreat in case of any Sinister fortune or disgrace: But Howsoever, sending Parties abroad, they Burnt and Plunder'd seven Villages near to *Mongatz*; and in regard the Imperial Army was march'd at some distance from *Cafchau*,

adventur'd to Burn several Villages also near to that Town; and had the Fortune to intercept a Convoy which carried both Money, Victuals and Ammunition from *Vienna*, for Payment and Maintenance of the Army under General *Kops*.

This loss of Money and Provisions prov'd of ill Consequence to the Emperor's Army, which wanting Pay and necessaries for subsistence, many of them, to the number of 1500, upon the Promises of *Wessellini* to bestow on every Officer 26 Ducats, with a command agreeable to his quality, and to every private Soldier, who should relinquish the Emperor's Service, were easily induced to Revolt, and take up Arms in favour of the Malecontents. *Kops* being highly incensed hereat, resolv'd on a quite contrary method of Action, supposing that he might effect the same with Rigour and Cruelty, which the Enemy had done by Allurements and Rewards; and that it was possible to terrifie, and affrighten the contrary party into their Duty and Obedience: Wherefore, to make an experiment hereof, he killed all the Prisoners he had in his hands, and empal'd several others: This piece of Cruelty against the Law of War and Nations, was in like manner retaliated by *Wessellini*; who put the Prisoners to death, to the number of Sixty, which the *Poles* had taken in the late Battle, together with Lieutenant Colonels, Majors and Captains, which occasioned great Disturbances, and Murmuring in the Imperial Army: And at *Vienna* this Conduct of *Kops* was highly blam'd, and Orders sent him never more to exercise the like unhumane Practices; for that many Officers of good Note and Reputation, had absolutely refused to serve the Emperor in a War, where no Quarter was to be expected.

About this time, *Smith* with his shattered Troops joyn'd with General *Kops* near to *Butrack*; two Leagues from whence the Malecontents were Encamp'd, and Reinforc'd by 2000 *Transylvanians*, conducted thither by Count *Tekeli*, who after the death of his Father (as before mention'd) had served Prince *Apafi* in the nature of his Secretary, or one who had a chief hand in the management of his Affairs; and now making this first entrance on the Stage, we shall have occasion to mention him often hereafter, being the Person who is to make the greatest Figure in this following History, and to prove the most active General, after the destruction of many before him, and after various Successes, of good and bad Fortune, and Honours and Disgraces received from the *Turks*; we shall find him still Boyant and above Water, even at the last

1681. last extremity, when the *Turks* themselves were beaten out of all *Hungary*.

The Imperial Army having been much diminish'd in numbers by the Sword and Sickness, was again in part recruited by some Additional Forces, under the Command of Count *Warbenuren*, and by 600 Men out of a Regiment in *Silfia*: However, such was the Misfortunes of those Times, and the inauspicious Stars which then reign'd, that the Imperialists were worsted in all Fights and Skirmishes, to the destruction almost of their whole Army: Whilst the Forces of the Malecontents increased double to the numbers of the Emperors Army. And the *Turks* still forward these Mischiefs by their frequent Incursions from *Buda*, *Newbonyel*, and all their Garrisons; which was a Course and Practice which this Faithless People us'd, to make War without declaring it.

ANNO 1678.

The Emperor being sensible of his own weak and decaying Condition, and of the Strength, and increasing Power of his mighty Enemies, labour'd to cure and remedy the imminent evils and dangers by Treaties, which could not be done by Arms: And in order thereunto he offer'd three Churches to the Malecontents in the Upper *Hungary*, with other Propositions more large, and extensive than formerly: And *Hoffman*, the principal Secretary of State and War, was sent to the Grand Seigneur to make Complaints of the Succours, which the *Paschas* of *Hungary* daily afforded to his Rebellious Subjects: But neither the one, nor the other of these Negotiations, had the success desired: For the Malecontents were so far from hearkening to any Accommodation with their Sovereign Prince, that they were contriving the manner, how they might absolutely throw off his Authority, and acquit themselves of their Allegiance: And to that end, they propos'd to Elect a King of their own Nation, and many call'd their Eyes upon a certain Count, who was of the House and Family of *Frangipani*: But the different Interests, and variety of Opinions, obstructed the Election, so that nothing was agreed, or concluded in that affair. Nor could much more be expected from the Negotiations of *Hoffman* at *Constantinople*; for the Vizer was so extravagant in his Demands, and so unreasonable in his Proposals, that it plainly appear'd, how far he was from any intentions of renewing the Peace, or any other designs than that of War. Only by force of the rich Presents which *Hoffman* brought, he prevail'd with the Vizer to strangle the *Pasha* of *Waradin*.

Howsoever, things ran not so smoothly in *Transylvania*, nor with the Malecontents, but that they met with other difficulties and Enemies, besides the Emperor. For a certain Person, a Boyar of that Country named *Pedopol*, being ambitious of Government, offer'd Money to the Grand Vizer for the Principality of *Transylvania*, alleging that *Apafi* had Ruled there much beyond the time of other Princes: The Vizer, whose business was Gain, enter'd into a Treaty with *Pedopol*, made the bargain, took his Money and fold him the Principality; and procur'd the Grand Seigniors Hatterchief, or Royal Signature to constitute him Prince, and to divest, or depose *Apafi*. When *Pedopol* came with this Authority to take Possession of the Government, the People refused to receive him, and *Apafi* to Surrender: Whereupon *Pedopol* with his Party endeavour'd to make good his Title, and Establishment by Force of Arms. The Vizer upon the news hereof, to prevent those Divisions, dispatched an Officer into *Transylvania* to decide the Difference, by taking off the Head of that Person, who should be found disobedient and averse to the Grand Seignior's Commands: But before this Order could arrive, the dispute was determin'd by the Fortune of War; for the Malecontents being sensible of the Obligations they had to *Apafi*, and of what concernment his continuance in that Station would prove to them; offer'd him all the aid and assistance they were able, to which the *Poles* likewise joyn'd their Forces, over-threw *Pedopol* in the Field, and caus'd him with some of his Adherents to Fly into *Valachia*: Where raising new Forces, he march'd again towards *Transylvania*; with intention to make a second Attempt: But being met in his way by the *Pasha* of *Waradin*, he was commanded by him in the Grand Seigniors name, to quit his Pretensions to the Principality, and to content himself in a private Condition: For the Vizer having got his Money, little cared what became of *Pedopol*, whether he were a Prince or Paupier; only he thought it necessary at that time to conserve Peace between the Friends, and Allies to the Port, which was more easily done by supporting the interest of *Apafi*, who was old and experienced in that Government, rather than by setting up *Pedopol*, whose Circumstances were very disagreeable, both to the *Transylvanians* and the Malecontents.

Howsoever, these differences contributed little to better the Condition of the Emperor, who of late had been worsted in all the Conflicts, and Engagements against the Enemy: As for Instance, a Party of

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Five

1681. Five hundred Horfe, under the Command of *Azoz Benas*, being advanc'd as far as *Erlaw*, belonging to the Lands and Demelnes of Count *Tekeli*, were assail'd by the *Turks*, and their whole Body defeated, and cut in pieces. Another Party also consisting of two hundred Men, Commanded by Colonel *Walping*, were overthrown by a Detachment of *Turks* belonging to *Newbanfels*.

Representations of the dignity of the Emperor's Majesty at Altenburg.

The Emperor's Council qualified them.

W. Mellini in death.

It created by Tekeli.

These ill Successes in War, inclin'd the States of *Hungary*, then Assembled at *Odendbourg*, to consent that all the Churches taken from the Protestants, should with many other advantageous Propositions be configned and granted to them. And another Assembly at *Altenburg* did represent unto the Emperor, that the Change made in the Government of *Hungary*, was the cause of all the late Troubles and Wars in that Kingdom; to appease which, they were of Opinion that it was absolutely necessary to re-establish the Charge and Office of Palatine, according to the Ancient constitution of that Nation; and that a General Diet should be conven'd to that purpose. But when the Imperial Ministers of State, as well Ecclesiastick as Civil, came to Debate upon these Points, they offer'd many Qualifications: As that the Authority of Palatine should be limited, and restrain'd: That the Emperor's Writs or Letters should be Imperative, rather than Mandative; that is, that they should be penn'd in such a Style, as that they might appear rather Assertive of the Absolute and Imperial Power, than to condescend unto more moderate Terms anciently us'd in that Kingdom. And when they came to the Article about restitution of the Churches (which was the main point on which the Malecontents insisted) they treated with such Niceties, and with so many Proviso's and Savings, that the Deputies believ'd that the Imperial Ministers came to speak for Colours, and Subterfuges, to evade and illude an Accommodation, rather than with true and sincere affections to heal the breaches, and compose the differences of the Nation.

Whilst these Matters were in Negotiation, Count *Paul Wessellini*, who was Brother to the late Palatine, and General of the Malecontents, died, and then the Command of the Army was committed to Count *Tekeli*; who (as we have said) had gain'd such great Reputation in the Court of Prince *Apoff*, that he made him his principal Minister of State; and tho' he was a young Man, of about twenty four or twenty five years of Age, yet he so distinguish'd himself by his Valour, Prudence, and Industry, that the eyes of all *Hungary*

were upon him, as a Person in every respect agreeable to the present great Undertakings.

Tekeli being now at the head of twelve thousand Fighting Men, well appointed, and fitted with all Necessaries, and a Train of Artillery of about twelve pieces of Cannon, and four Mortars, look'd on himself as in a Condition to undertake some great Enterprize. And having joy'd with the Forces of his Cousin Count *Tekeli*, and supply'd himself with some of the Emperor's Money out of the Mint at *Nagibania*, he held a Council of War, and propos'd to Besiege either *Caschau*, or *Kalo*.

Howsoever, the Inclinations he had for the Daughter of Count *Serini*, Widow of the late Prince *Ragotski*, directed him in the first place towards *Mongatz*, that he might (if possible) come to a sight of that Lady for whom he had so great a passion. But upon the approach of these Troops, her Mother-in-Law, who was zealous for the Interest of the Emperor, gave Orders to the Forces which were rais'd within her State, to fall upon *Tekeli*, whose Quarters were not far distant from *Mongatz*. The Fight was bravely maintain'd on both sides; till at length the Troops of the Princess were forc'd to give way, and 200 of them being slain on the place, and many Prisoners taken (amongst which the Count *Serini* was one) the rest were put to flight, being entirely defeated. With these Successes the Army of the Malecontents daily increas'd; to which an additional Force of eight or nine thousand *Tartars* being added, the Emperor thought it necessary to recruit his Army with a Regiment of Horfe, under the Command of Count *Stirum*, and with some other Troops which were in *Bohemia*, and *Stiria*.

And now to make it appear that God had destin'd a War with the *Turk*, for Ends best known to his Divine Omnipotence, a party of the Imperialists unadvisedly fell upon the New *Pasha*, as he was going to his Government of *Newbanfels*, and defeated his whole Party, consisting of 200 Horfe. Which Action, tho' pretended to have been done by way of Reprisal, or Revenge for something of the like nature perform'd by that Garrison; yet the *Pasha* of *Buda* highly resent'd this Breach of the Peace; threatening not only to acquaint the Grand Seignior therewith, but in the mean time to revenge the same by all the Acts of Hostility that he was able. And accordingly, drawing some Forces out of the Garrisons of *Erlaw* and *Waradin*, he caus'd them to March towards *Sando*, near *Butrac*, pillaging and plundering all in their way, and afterwards they return'd with



1681. two hundred Prisoners. Which Action the Pasha of *Buda* own'd to have been done by his Special Order and Command, by way of reprisal, and satisfaction for the late Breach, and Act of Hostility. To which allegation, there being nothing which in reason or sense could be reply'd, Count *Wourmb*, who was General in those parts, was highly blam'd by the Emperor, and many Miscarriages of the like nature attributed to his ill Conduct, and want of prudence, as if his Intentions had been to provoke the *Turks* unto a War. For which Reason, he was recall'd by the Emperor from that Employment, and Count *Lesly* sent to Command the Forces in his Place.

The Emperor perceiving that he was very unable to resist the Forces which were now in open Field, and in defiance against him, had his Recourse to the Old Project of making New Propositions, and Offers of Peace to the Malecontents. But this was always so unluckily managed, and with so ill a grace, that it was no wonder if it found no better Success. But now, as if it were intended to make things more plain and satisfactory to the World, without Disputes, or Qualifications, a *Manifesto* was publish'd by the Emperor's Command, Granting and Indulging unto all a General Act of Pardon and Oblivion, a Restoration to their Estates, a Free Exercise of Religion, and a Right and Privilege of being equally admitted into Places of Trust, and Offices of Court with the Germans, and others of the Roman Catholick Religion; provided that within the Space of three Months they lay down their Arms, and submitted to the Clemency of his Imperial Majesty. And as to those who should still stand out, and obstinately persevere in their Rebellion, he requir'd the States of Hungary, and all his Loving Subjects of that Kingdom, to join their Forces unto his, for the Subjection of such Rebellious Persons, who were Enemies to himself, and to their own Country.

But lest these fair Offers should Operate any thing on the Minds of the People, *Tekeli* at the same time, to make the Embroils more confused, sent a List to the Emperor of fresh Aggrievances, for which he desir'd some Remedies might be consider'd. All which the Emperor refer'd to the Examination of a Diet, which was suddenly to Assemble. And in Order thereunto, the General *Baragotzi* sent Passports to the Chief of the Malecontents, that they might freely come to the Diet, and return without molestation; Insinuating unto them, that their Government by a *Palatine* should be restor'd, and whatsoever they could expect to gain

by force of Arms, should now be more easily yielded, and granted by Covenants of an Amicable Agreement. But all these Hopes and Expectations were overthrow'n by the heats which arose between the Emperor's Ministers at *Vienna*, and the Deputies appointed by the Malecontents to Treat and prepare Matters against the Meeting of a Diet. For one day, when the Differences were in debate, it happen'd that the Chancellor *Oker* unadvisedly said, *That the Hungarian Nation had always been Faithless and Rebellious against their Prince.* Which words being immediately catch'd at by the Great Chancellor of Hungary. It is unjust (said he) to Charge the Crime of some particular Persons on the whole Nation. To which *Oker* with more passion than before, made this Reply; *That it would be happy for the Emperor, if one in twelve were found that truly and sincerely adher'd to his interest.* At these words, Count *Palfi* the Treasurer of Hungary, not being able to contain himself longer, burst out into a passion, and call'd the Chancellor Traytor, Knave, and Rascal. And Count *Harcant*, another of the Deputies, as Gouty as he was, made a shift to get upon his Legs, and perswade his Companions to break up the Assembly and be gone, to avoid the noise of such Ribaldry, and affrontive Language. And as they were going out of the Room, the Chancellor of Hungary, and Count *Forgatz* added, *Know (said they) that we have never betray'd our King, nor pleaded for our Kindred, who were found guilty of base and perfidious Allions. Consider that we have not forgot how far your Countenanc'd the Governour of Freiburg.* To all which *Oker* made no Reply, but return'd to the Emperor, to give him an account of what had pass'd at this Conference.

In the mean time *Tekeli* thinking of nothing less than Peace, or means of Accommodation, burnt the Suburbs of *Cassovia*; and having receiv'd a Recruit of four hundred Horse, which the Brother of *Baragotzi*, who Revolted to his Party, had brought over to him, he seiz'd on the Citadel of *Zeilaverd*, where were found sixteen pieces of Ordnance. He then designing to pass the River of *Tourna*, to re-take the Fortresses call'd, which the Enemy had lately gain'd, he found the Passage obstructed by a Party of the Imperialists on the other side; but bringing four pieces of Cannon to play on the Enemy, they clear'd the way, and kept them at a distance; by which means a Regiment of the *Poles* first pass'd, and after them the whole Army. Thus Fortune favouring the Malecontents, a hundred Soldiers of the Imperial

Count Wourmb blam'd.

The Emperor's Manifesto.

Tekeli's offers new Aggrievances.

Passports given to meet at a Diet.

1681.

The Diet's disappointment.

1681. Imperial Troops revolted over this Oc-
 casion to the Enemy, such prevalence hath
 Success always on the Minds of Mankind;
 the which facilitated also the taking of
 Towns, which was Surrender'd at discre-
 tion.

After this, *Tekeli* March'd towards
Chiacarnaro, and in his way he took *Zere-
 nete*, and *Melkafle*, which yielded also at
 discretion, without any resistance; but
Podrab standing out was taken by force,
 and all the Garrison put to the Sword,
 except some Officers, who were conferr'd,
 and made Prisoners of War.

Whilst these Successes attended the Male-
 contents, *Tekeli* remain'd Master of the
 Field; for that the Count de *Wourmb* neither
 durst remove his Encampment from before
Esperies, nor Count *Lesley* adventure on a
 March to joyn with him; until *Tekeli* re-
 moving from those parts towards *Strigo-
 nium*, and to make himself Master of *Leventz*,
 the Imperial Forces found an opportunity
 to March as far as the River of *Waagh*,
 where they joyn'd with the Regiments of
Domenald, *Hoflein*, *Maffigni*, *Caraffi*, and
Strazade, which came lately out of *Silefia*,
 and tho' these Forces were joyn'd together,
 with those also of Count *Lesley*, yet they
 were not sufficient to withstand the Army
 of Count *Tekeli*, which consisted of at least
 twenty thousand effective Men, besides
 Garrisons, and several Detachments.

Tekeli being thus strong, and having made
 himself Master of *Leventz*, Wrote circulary
 Letters in his own Name to all the Inhab-
 itants of that Country: Representing before
 them the ill Treatment, which all *Hungary*
 had received from the *Germans*, and the
 Slavery they lay under by a Foreign Yolk.
 That he was resolv'd with the chief of his
 Party, to defend the Liberties and Privi-
 leges of *Hungary* with his Life and Estate:
 Exhorting all others to joyn with him in this
 good Cause; and Threatning such, who
 either out of Cowardize, or Coldness to-
 wards the welfare of their Country, or
 favour to the Emperor, should place them-
 selves in the Condition of a careless Neu-
 trality.

No sooner had Count *Wourmb* rais'd his
 Camp from before *Esperies*, to joyn with
 the *Silefian* Troops; but *Tekeli* observing his
 motion Invested the place, and took it in
 three days: The like he did to the Castle of
Arva, which Surrender'd even in the fight of
 Count *Lesley*, his Forces not being sufficient
 to give assistance or relief thereunto. At
 this time *Wessilini* falling Sick and Dying,
 the Command of the *Hungarian* Troops
 was given to *Tekeli*; *Boham* was Chief of
 the Auxiliaries, and *Tekeli* himself Genera-
 lissime of all; so that the whole management

of the War, was now in the Hands of these
 three Leaders. The *Tartars* as Flying, and
 Independent Troops acted by themselves;
 they pillaged *Newghad*, and burnt all the
 Country round within three Leagues of
Leopoldsdorf; and afterwards made their Pas-
 sage over the River *Waagh* near *Trenschin*,
 which the Counts *Forgatz* and *Esterhazy* be-
 ing not able to oppose, the People of *Moravia*
 were so affrighted, that taking what
 Goods with them they could, in so sudden
 and distracted a fear, they fled to the
 Mountains for refuge.

Boham and *Tekeli* understanding that
 Count *Lesley* was quarter'd near to *Zatmar*,
 they march'd to Attack him; which when
Lesley understood, he divided his Troops
 into three Bodies, with a seeming resolution
 to Engage the Enemy; but so soon as
 they came near, they shew'd some signs of
 Irresolution, and a desire as it were to make
 a handsome Retreat: But being pursued by
Tekeli with six Battalions, he engag'd them
 near *Leutsh*, and Killed, or made Prison-
 ers the greatest part of that Body. *Boham*
 in the mean time totally defeated another
 Party, of which Four hundred Horse only
 escaped. The third Body sav'd themselves
 in the Mountains, and other fast places.
 After this Victory *Tekeli* sent a Detach-
 ment of his Forces to joyn with the *Tar-
 tars* in *Moravia*, who took *Barin*, the capi-
 tal City thereof; which gave an Alarm to
 all the Hereditary Countries: And at the
 same time one Colonel *Josua*, otherwise call'd
 Father *Joseph*, who had been a Friar, but
 now turn'd Protestant, and a Soldier, such
 another kind of a daring Fellow as *Duke*
John before mention'd, joyn'd with the Male-
 contents, and enter'd *Austria* with Six
 thousand Fighting Men, rais'd at his own
 Charge, which put all those Countries into
 such a Consternation, that the People aban-
 doned their Towns, and Villages and fled
 unto *Vienna*, for their place of Refuge.
 The courage and experience of this Colo-
 nel *Josua*, was so well known to the Arch-
 Bishop of *Strigonium*, that he perswaded
 the Emperor, to take him off from the
 Malecontents, and engage him by Promi-
 ses of reward to his own Party: This
 Office was committed to the Management
 and Conduct of Count de *Wourmb*, because
 Count *Lesley* remain'd Sick at *Cassovia*; but
 such was the constancy of this Martial
 Friar to his Cause and Principles, that no-
 thing could avail with him to change his
 Party: Suspecting perhaps, that when once
 the Arch-Bishop should get him into his
 Power, he would immure him within the
 Walls of his Convent, and oblige him to
 the performance of his Vow: But he re-
 jected all the offers, which were made him,
 and

1681.

The Tar-
tars Plun-
der, and
burn.Count
Lesley was
throun.Tartars in
Moravia.Colonel Jo-
sua.

1681. and reserved himself for greater Exploits,
 which happened the year following.

Such is the fury of Civil Wars, much
 more active and violent than Foreign, that
 few days pass'd without Fights, or Skir-
 mishes in one place or other. Count *Wourmb*,
 having received all the Recruits that he
 could expect, march'd directly towards
Tekeli and *Boham*, and engag'd with them
 early in the Morning, in a Fight which con-
 tinued until three a Clock in the Afternoon,
 with such equal Fortune, that the Male-
 contents being sensible of the valour, and
 resolution of the *Imperialists* retreated with
 good order under the Cannon of *Asfol*, a
 Town Situate on the River of *Gran*, be-
 tween *Newfol* and *Krenmitz*. In the mean
 time twenty Squadrons of the Rebels endeav-
 ouring to pass the Mountains, were repul-
 sed by Colonel *Ryters*, who at the Head of his
 Regiment defended the Passages, and drove
 them back to their Camp, having killed
 Five hundred of them on the place. But
 this loss was the next day revenged by
Tekeli, which took *Bisbrick* by force of Arms,
 with much Blood and Slaughter of the In-
 habitants. This *Bisbrick* is a Town Si-
 tuate in a Plain, encompass'd about with
 little Hills, famous for the golden Mines,
 and the Country well planted about it
 with pleasant Vineyards; the Governours
 thereof would neither declare themselves
 at first either for the Emperor, or for the
 Malecontents: But when the *Imperialists*
 with their Army drew near to them, they
 could no longer conceal their Affections,
 and good Wishes, but broke their Neu-
 trality, and declar'd for the Emperor:
 Soon after which *Tekeli* making himself
 Master of the place, put six of the Chief
 Inhabitants to death, in punishment of their
 Infidelity, and breach of Promise.

But before the end of this year, the *Im-
 perialists* had their changes of good For-
 tune, as well as the Malecontents, a Party
 of which the Garrison of *Filek* entirely
 defeated: *Filek* is Situate in the Road-way
 from the Mountain Towns in *Hungary* lead-
 ing to *Transylvania* and *Cassovia*, and lies
 about five Leagues Northward from *Agria*.
 This Success was seconded by another Rout,
 which Count *Esterhazy* the Pope's General
 gave to a party of Five hundred *Spabees*,
 and Two thousand *Janisaries* near *Vesprin*,
 who were design'd to make Incursions in-
 to the Emperor's Countries. But least this
 Action should be ill represented to the
 Grand Signior, and become the Cause of
 a Rupture, the Emperor dispatched away
 an Express to *Constantinople*, to give a true
 account of the Cause, and Reasons for this
 Engagement. And now being come to that
 Season of the year, when Armies draw in-

to their Winter-quarters. Both Parties be-
 ing in cooler temper began to Treat; so
 that a Cessation of Arms was agreed, and
 the place appointed for the Conference was
Oedenbourg, where all the Chief Lords of
Hungary had agreed to Assemble. The per-
 son who was to preside for the Emperor,
 was the Prince of *Swartzenbourg*, and Count
 de *Nefitz* manag'd the Treaty, applying
 himself with much Zeal and Diligence that
 this Negotiation might be happily con-
 cluded.

ANNO 1679.

This Treaty with a Cessation of Arms
 continu'd till the end of the year, with
 hopes that the beginning of the next
 would make that poor Kingdom happy with
 a Peace. But the Emperor having as it
 were secur'd a Peace with *France* (which
 was one of the greatest fears he had upon
 him, in case of a War with the *Turks*) re-
 fus'd to yield unto the same terms which
 he had frequently offer'd in former times to
 the Malecontents. It was now resolv'd
 that the Office of Palatine should for ever
 hereafter be extinguish'd and made void,
 and that Kingdom govern'd by a Vice-Roy,
 who was solely to be constituted by Com-
 mission from the Emperor. 2dly, The Pro-
 testants were not to have Churches in
 Towns or Cities, but to content themselves
 with such as should be allotted them in
 Villages. 3dly, As a Preliminary to all the
 rest, the Malecontents were to dismiss the
 Foreign Troops entertain'd in their Service,
 before the Treaty upon any other Condi-
 tions and Articles should commence. The
 very noise of this alteration in the Empe-
 ror's Councils, put a stop to all proceed-
 ings of a Treaty, and an end to the Truce
 and Cessation of Arms. And indeed the
 Malecontents were by this time so engag'd
 with the *Turks*, that on their part also they
 had put themselves out of all possibility of
 Accommodation without their concurrence,
 and concernment in the Treaty.

The Assembly at *Oedenbourg* being dis-
 solv'd, the Malecontents held a Diet at
 their own at *Colefvar*, alias *Claudopolis*,
 whereunto Prince *Apafi*, and the Neigh-
 bouring Palhas resorted, to treat and agree
 upon the measures which were to be taken
 for the ensuing year, in order to carrying
 on the War. Whilst they were upon this
 Treaty, a Messenger arriv'd from the
 Grand Signior, who brought a Scymitar
 to Prince *Apafi*, which was a certain Signal
 of the Sultan's favour, and acceptance of
 his Services, which was much to the joy
 of all Persons there present; for that it was
 doubtful before, how far the Grand Signior

1681.

The Cessation
of Arms.The Empe-
ror's fears of
the Turks.from his
former Op-
era.

1679.

An end put
to the
Truce.A Diet at
Colefvar.

1651. nor would about the Cause of *Pedopol*, to whom (as we have mention'd) he had given his Commission to be Prince of *Transylvania*, with exclusion of *Apafi*. Nor was the News of less concernment to them brought at the same time, that the Grand Seignor was upon conclusion of peace with the *Moscovites*, by which the whole *Ortoman* Empire would be at leisure to employ all their Troops against the *Germans*. And with the same occasion the Palhas of *Hungary* were Commanded to joyn with *Apafi*, and to assist the Malcontents with such Forces as they should desire; of all which the Emperor having certain Intelligence from his Resident at *Constantinople*, Ordered three Regiments to be sent into *Hungary*, for recruit of the Forces under Count *Lesley*, of which the Malcontents having Advice took the Field, and passing the *Theysse*, pitched their Camp near *Dobezin*, to cover and relieve as occasion serv'd the Castle of *Kozan*. This City of *Dobezin*, or *Delrechin* is situated between *Tekeli*, and great *Waradin*, and is very Rich and Populous. It was a Free Town, and conserv'd itself in a Neutrality during the late Revolutions; but after *Zolneck* and *Cassovia* were reduced, the Magistrates thereof desir'd his Imperial Majesty to take them under his protection; with which, and by payment of a Tribute to the Port, the Inhabitants liv'd quiet and free, until the year 1676. when it was taken by Count *Strazoldo*, upon pretence that it was become the place of Sanctuary and common Refuge of the Malcontents; tho' afterwards, upon complaints from the *Turks*, the Emperor withdrew his Forces from thence, leaving them free, and in their former Condition of Neutrality.

In the mean time *Tekeli* falling in love with a Daughter of the Prince's *Ragotski* Dowager, who was extremely zealous (as we have mention'd before) for the Emperor's Cause, refus'd to bestow her Daughter upon him, unless he would first Relinquish the Interest to which he had adher'd. The passion which *Tekeli* had for the young Lady, was more powerful than his Inclinations to the discontented Party; so that first seeming cold in his Old pursuits, and declaring his Mind freely in open Discourse, his Troops began to suspect his Fidelity, and left him, and put themselves under the Command of *Wessellint*. *Tekeli* endeavour'd to persuade *Palfi Imbre* to joyn with him in his Revolt; but not prevailing, he singly with some few Servants went over to *Vienna*. Coming thus alone to the Emperor without his Troops he was the less welcome; and indeed he was so little regarded, and his Merit so ill accounted on, that when he made applications to the

Emperor for Restoration of his Estate which was Confiscated to the value of two Millions, those who enjoy'd the benefit of so great Riches, obstructed his Request; Representing unto the Emperor, that the return to his Duty after a long continuance in Rebellion, only in his own Person, and without his Troops, deserv'd nothing, nor was it to be judg'd a satisfaction or atonement for the many mischiefes and diversities that he had already done; and that to recover the Emperor's favour, there was something else to be done besides a bare surrender of his Person: Howsoever fair words were given him for some time; of which, and of tedious Addresses and frequent Applications, *Tekeli* growing weary, he return'd to his Old Friends again, with whom he was receiv'd, and admitted to the Command of his deserted Troops.

About the same time the young Count *Serini*, Son of *Nicholas Serini*, who was kill'd in *Croatia*, and not of *Peter Serini* who was Beheaded for High-Treason, being now of years able to bear Arms in Service of the Emperor; made his humble Petition that he might be restor'd to the Estate of his Father, which was seiz'd and sequester'd by the Collectors of the Emperor's Revenue, for the Lands and Demesnes of *Peter Serini* the Uncle, whose Goods were confiscated for High-Treason. The which Request being consider'd in the Privy-Council, it was judg'd highly reasonable, and just that this young Count should be restor'd to his Estate, and so it was accordingly Ordered.

Tekeli being now return'd to his former Command, that he might both assure his Associates of his Fidelity towards them, and reproach the Imperialists for so lightly esteeming a Person that was able to serve them, he surpriz'd *Kremnitz* with three hundred Men under his Command, and ruin'd and burnt all the Works and Store-Houses belonging to the Silver-Mines, which with much Charge had been erected by the Emperor; and afterwards retir'd into the Turkish Dominions.

Count *Strazoldo* having receiv'd Intelligence that Colonel *Josua* was advanc'd with eighteen hundred Men, to raze certain Powder-Mills, purpos'd after him with four thousand Horse; and at the time the fortune to attack him, just at the time that he was thinking to draw off. Howsoever *Josua* according to his usual Bravery Charg'd the Enemy, and Disput'd the Fight for several hours; until at length having his Horse kill'd under him, he was forc'd to retreat, which he did in good Order; being again re-mounted, tho' he was

1681. was much incommoded by a Wound which he had receiv'd in this Engagement.

But soon after this loss, Colonel *Josua* to revenge himself, taking the Opportunity whilst General *Dunewald* (who Commanded in the Place of Count *Lesley*, then lying Sick at *Cassovia*) was in his Quarters, surpriz'd two hundred Men belonging to those Recruits which were brought out of *Silefia*, and cut them to pieces, allowing Quarter unto none, but only to a Lieutenant, and four other Officers.

Thus when the Imperialists observ'd the ill Successes which daily for the most part attended the War, they began again to change their Measures, and to esteem Peace much more eligible than an unfortunate War. And notwithstanding the late refusal to grant any thing that was formerly offer'd; the Emperor was resolv'd now to condescend upon any thing that the Malcontents should demand, and that no heavier burdens should be laid upon them, than such Taxes and Duties only as were imposed on the Subjects of his Hereditary Countries. Count *Lesley* being recover'd of his Indisposition, found an Opportunity to Discourse these Matters Personally with Colonel *Josua*; and so affected him with the Justice and Reasonableness of the Propositions, that being absolutely convinc'd how much a Peace made on such Conditions, was to be prefer'd before a War in Conjunction with the *Turks*; he Wrote unto *Tekeli*, signifying his full and entire satisfaction in what was offer'd by the Emperor, and that those Conditions were a sufficient ground for a secure and a lasting Peace. But the Answer hereunto was retarded by reason of a Plague which beginning to rage at *Vienna*, caus'd the Imperial Court to remove thence with much fear and haste unto *Prague*; and the Negotiation being then laid aside for some Months afterwards, time had so alter'd the state of things, that neither the Emperor was willing to stand to the former Offers, nor the Malcontents to receive them. Howsoever Colonel *Josua* remain'd firm and fix'd to his point; and upon a Pardon granted to him in ample form and manner, he took a New Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor, and engag'd his own Troops to follow him in his Dutiful Allegiance; and that he might give some undoubted Testimonies of his true Conversion, by some Acts of Loyalty and Bravery, he perswaded *Semy* the Governor of *Tournay* to Surrender up the Castle, and adhere unto the Cause and Interest of the Emperor. And afterwards Enterprising farther with a Party of his own Horse, he unfortunately fell into an Ambuscade, which a Famous Officer of *Tekeli*'s had pre-

par'd for him. After which, sleeping to a small Fortrefs not far from *Vienna*, he defended himself therein for the space of two days; and being not able longer to maintain the place, he with much boldness set fire to the Powder, and blew himself up, with all therunto belonging. And thus this Valiant one ended his days; whose Humor was much more agreeable to a Soldier than a Friar, and better fitted for a Camp than a Monastery.

Nor did the Pestilence only Rage within the Emperor's Dominions, but the Infection dispersed it self with such violence and rage within the Territories of the *Turks*, that five hundred Families fled out of *New-hausel*, to breath in a more free and healthful Air; but scarce were they remov'd a League from the Garrison, before they were surpriz'd by a party of five hundred *Hussars* and *Hedekes*, who kill'd some of them, and pillag'd and robbed the others of all the Goods and Monies which remain'd to them for a poor support, and maintenance of Life. Such was the unhappy State of that miserable Kingdom, where Men could neither be secure within the Walls of their fortified Towns, nor permitted to breath in the open air of the Country; but whilst they fly from the Judgments of God, they fall into the cruel hands of merciless Men.

And yet notwithstanding these daily provocations given the *Turk* (I know not by what Fate) the Emperor was of Opinion, that it was still possible to to salve up Matters with the Grand Seignor, that a War might be avoided. Upon which Opinion and Conceit so deeply rooted and fix'd in the Imperial Councils, the Emperor refus'd to joyn with the *Moscovites* and *Poles* in a League offensive and defensive against the Common Enemy.

There had been of late a great talk in the World of a Peace concluding between the *Turks*, and the *Moscovites*, grounded upon an Embassie which the latter had dispatched to *Constantinople*; when at the same time another Ambassador was sent by them into *Poland*, and there Treating with that King to enter into a League offensive and defensive with them; offering to defray a great part of the Charge of the War, provided that the Armies of the two Nations might joyn and act together in the next Campaign. The *Poles* neither seem'd to accept nor refuse the Offer, but refer'd the Agreement and Conclusion to the ensuing Dict. In the mean time another Ambassador of theirs arriv'd at the Port, to try and discover the intentions of the *Turk* towards them. The Grand Vizier, who had already been advis'd of their Embassies, dispatched into *Poland*, and *Germany*; was

H desirous

1681. desirous to discover the substance and intent of the Message before he would admit the Ambassador to his Audience; to get a knowledge whereof, he employ'd some Grave *Kalioires* or Greek Monks (for whom he knew the *Moscovites* had great reverence and respect) to fish out if possible the meaning and purport of the Commission; but the Ambassador kept his Business secret, and with some Indignation told the *Kalioires* that the Embassy from the Czar his Master was not to them, but to the Grand Seigneur; and that the substance of his Business was contain'd in the Letter, which he hop'd to present unto the Sultan with his own hands. When the Letter was opened, and read, the Contents thereof was to this purpose. *That the Great Czar of Moscovie did offer to make Peace with the Grand Seigneur, provided that the Turks would Surrender Czechim unto him, with all the other Places in the Ukraine, which the last year they had taken from him.*

Thus had the *Moscovites* three Treaties on foot at the same time; one with the *Turks* for Establishment of a Peace; and in case of such failure, then they propos'd to provide themselves with two such strong Allies, as the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Poland. Such was the Policy of this Northern People.

ANNO, 1680.

The greatest part of this Year pass'd in Treaties and Negotiations between the *Turks*, *Poles*, the *Moscovites*, and the *Turks*; none of the three remain'd in perfect good understanding with each other. The *Poles* had not as yet ratify'd their Peace with the *Turks*, having according to their usual Custom defer'd it to the determination of a Diet, which was purposely delay'd, until it appear'd how Matters would succeed in Hungary. The *Moscovites* entertain'd a Treaty with the *Poles*, proposing a League Offensive and Defensive with them, with design to create a Jealousie in the *Turks*; in expectation thereby to Conclude their Peace on better Terms; and when they found the *Turks* inclining and confederating towards them, they then seem'd cold towards the *Poles*, and more remiss and indifferent in their Negotiations with them. The *Turks* likewise play'd their Game between both these Parties; not determining with which to close, because Matters did not in all Points agree with their expectations. The *Moscovites* acted doubly, and with reserve, but the *Poles* were more open and free in their Proposals, and Action; they were sensibly

touch'd with the loss of *Caminieck*, which was the Fortrefs and Bulwark to their Kingdom. Nor were the Dependances or Country thereunto belonging as yet set out or limited, which were at present as large and extensive as the *Turks* were pleas'd to make and assign them; they were Judges in their own Cause, and had power sufficient in their own hands to make good whatsoever they should determine.

The *Poles* during these Negotiations, Treatied with the Sword in their hands, and prepar'd for War; and so far press'd the League with *Moscovy*, that in fine it was concluded, which had been a great security for Poland, in case the *Moscovites* had kept their Faith with any regard, and respect to their League so lately agreed.

But whilst Couriers with Dispatches pass'd and repass'd between the Courts of Poland and *Moscovy*, the *Turks* having got notice of this Negotiation, presently made such Offers to the *Moscovite* Ambassador residing at Constantinople, that the Terms were accepted, and a Peace clapp'd up between the Czar, and the Grand Seigneur, which might have tended to the utter ruin of Poland, had not the Design against Hungary (which the *Turks* had meditated for a long time) diverted the storm and fury of a War so much expected and dreaded by them. Nor was the *Moscovite* Ambassador in Poland much out of Countenance, when he was reproach'd with the breach of Faith; for that Nation was never esteem'd in the World to have been easily touch'd with a tender sense of Honour, or scruples of those Matters which are call'd Faith, or Honesty; but rather have made such inconsiderable Trifles as those to become subservient to their greater interest and advantages.

But left the *Turks* should repent them of the Bargain they had made, and strike up with the *Poles*, who had just reason to leave the *Moscovites* in the lurch, the Czar dis-spread with all hast an Ambassador Extraordinary to the Port, together with the usual Presents; such as two thousand Sable Skins, twelve Hawks, and other Curiosities; signifying by his Letters, that his aim and intention of that Embassy, was only to ratifie those Articles of Peace which were offer'd and agreed in a late Treaty. The Ambassador was receiv'd with such an unusual Wellcome, that he was surpriz'd at the strange Careless which were shewn him; which not only assur'd him that the former Conditions would most certainly be granted; but he with'd his Master had given him Instructions to demand something of a higher and more important

1681. important Nature from the *Turks*. In short, when the Ambassador came to Treat upon Particulars, he found that this extravagant Kindness was like the Embraces of a Strumpet, false and vain; and that the *Turks* were so far from an Agreement, that they would scarce grant or make good any one of those Propositions which they so lately promis'd; so the Ambassador was oblig'd to return as he came, without case in any thing, unless of his Presents, of which the *Turks* took care to take off the burthen from him. With this piece of Policy had the *Turks* out-witted the *Moscovites*, and expos'd them to the disdain and reproach of the *Poles*; who could not very speedily be per-suaded to believe that either their Faith or Friendship was worth the trouble of another League or Contract. Nor could the *Moscovites*, as dull and stupid as they are, have the face to offer at another Treaty with the *Poles*, which they had so lately rejected and violated for the sake of their false Friend.

When the Ambassador was return'd to *Mosco*, he found all that City and Country in great Combuitions, caus'd by the two Brothers contending for the Government, after the Death of the Czar their Father: But so soon as those Troubles were appeas'd, by agreement of the Brothers to participate equally of the Sovereign Power, and jointly to Rule, they dispatch'd other Ambassadors to the Port with new Instructions. Where being arriv'd, their Presents were again kindly receiv'd, and their Persons Treated in such a soft and gentle manner as the *Turks* commonly practise, when they intend to delay and protract the issue of an Affair to an uncertain time. For tho' the *Turks* were resolv'd to carry on the War in Hungary, yet the time was not fix'd when the same should be denounc'd; the term thereof depending upon preparations and provisions of vast Sums of Money, and other Uncertainties necessary thereunto. And for that Reason the *Moscovite* Ambassador was still kept in hand, and detain'd at the Port.

But in fine, when it was resolv'd that the War should be carry'd into Hungary, (which Resolution was first taken in the Year 1681.) then the Vizier concluded a Truce with the *Moscovites* for twenty Years, upon Conditions which the Czars sent by way of their Ambassador residing at the Court of the Tartar Chan, call'd *Baucha Sarai*, whose chief Business there, was to Redeem and Exchange Prisoners; the which Letter directed to the Grand Vizier, was to this effect.

At the instance of the Tartar Chan We have wrote to the Czars, that he would be pleas'd to grant you a Peace, as desir'd by you. In answer unto which, he hath given us to understand, that he will consent thereunto; provided, that besides Kiowia, you renounce all Title and Pre-
tence to Tripol, Staiki, and Vaskow, which have always been Dependences thereupon. And that you farther promise, that your People shall not Inhabit, nor hold Fairs, Nieper; but that all that Country shall remain desert, and waste as it is at present. And that from the Towns of Tripol, Staiki, and Vaskow, to the Isles of the Cofacks Zoporoges, you renounce all your pretensions unto us. This is what we demand, and without these terms we shall conclude nothing with you.

The Vizier having resolv'd on a War against the Emperor, receiv'd these Propositions with full satisfaction; and immediately return'd Answer thereto, in a Letter wrote to the Czars, full of their usual sublime Expressions, and of high and fullom praises of their Widows and Grandeur. Signifying that in the Name of the Grand Seigneur he did accept and confirm all the Conditions propos'd; desiring him to send an Extraordinary Ambassador to confirm the Treaty. But left the Czars should refuse to send a new Ambassador, before the other then residing was return'd; the Vizier about six Weeks afterwards gave License for his Departure, and accompanied him with Presents of greater value, than those which the Grand Seigneur had formerly bestow'd upon the Czar.

Of all these Particulars, Kaunitz, who Resided at Constantinople, in the Place of the Secretary Hoffman lately there Deceas'd, gave Intelligence to the Emperor; signifying also, that after the *Moscovite* Ambassador was arriv'd with Ratification of the Peace, the Grand Seigneur would soon afterwards remove to Adrianople; in Order as was most probable, and in all appearance to a War against Hungary. This Matter was acted in the year 1681, which we have anticipated, that we might not abruptly break off the Treaty with *Moscovy*, the nature of which may be best understood, when it is carried forward in one Piece; which having done, we must look back again to the year 1680. and to the Actions of the Malecontents.

1681. Tekeli was very active all this time in Recruiting his Army, and preparing for War; and having compos'd a Body of four thousand *Transylvanians*, he march'd with them to the General Rendezvous, intending as he had done the year before, to take upon him the Command of the Army. But when he came thither he was strangely surpris'd to find the same refus'd to him by Count *Wessellini*, Son of the late *Paul Wessellini* deceas'd; who so resolutely contended for the Chief Command, that nothing could decide it but the Sword. In short, both Parties drew out into the Field, and charg'd each other; and after a long Dispute Tekeli got the Victory, and put *Wessellini* and his Forces to the Rout; and having pursu'd them with a Detachment of his Forces, the Competitor *Wessellini* was taken, and brought Prisoner to Tekeli; who causing him to be tied on his Horse, sent him to Prince *Apafi* in *Transylvania*; after which, Tekeli without a Rival took upon him the sole Command of the Army.

The Emperor besides a War against his Rebel Subjects, was under great Mortifications, and Troubles; his Imperial Palace at *Vienna* was burnt, the Plague Rag'd violently in his Hereditary Countries, and in his Army, of which the Baron de *Kaunitz*, and other principal Officers died. And at the same time nine hundred *Paissants* of the Circle of *Braşlaw* in *Bohemia* arose in Arms against the Counts *Galas*, and *Bredaw* their Lords, pretending that they were treated like Slaves, and refus'd to pay the Contributions which were demanded for the Emperor.

Howsoever, to make the Justice of their Cause appear, they sent four Deputies to *Prague*, to make known unto his Imperial Majesty their many Aggravances, which were so Tyrannical and Barrenness as could not longer be sustain'd; and therefore they desir'd that Council might be assign'd them to plead their Cause against their Lords at the Bar of Justice. But instead of hearkning to the Petition of these distressed *Paissants*, the Deputies were Imprison'd; and to stifle this Tumult in the beginning, two Regiments under the Command of Count *Piccolomini* were sent to reduce them; upon the appearance of which, the Mutineers dispers'd, and fled every Man to his own home.

But this Combustion was not long suppress'd, before it burst forth again in a more violent and outrageous manner than before; for four thousand of these discontented *Paissants* were got together in a formidable Body, Conducted by several Reformed Officers, with Colours flying,

and Drums beating, and with *Mortos* on their Ensigns, which serv'd to incite others to join in their Rebellion. They at first attempted a Castle belonging to the Count de *Thun*, (who was Envoy about that time in *England*, for the Emperor) where they expected to find Arms; but missing thereof, they proceeded on other Designs, but were interrupted, and stop'd by Count *Piccolomini*, who was sent with Forces to reduce them to Obedience. Whereupon these Rebels made a second Experiment, of sending their Deputies to represent their Aggravances, who were as before clapp'd into Prison. But Advices coming, that some other Counties were up in Arms in like manner, and for the same Cause, the Deputies were let at Liberty; and a General Pardon Granted to all those who would lay down their Arms, and remit their Pleas to be Treated at the Tribunals of Justice. Upon this Declaration, five thousand submitted, and return'd to their own Habitations. And the Emperor himself, upon hearing the Cause between the Lords, and the *Paissants*, did determine that the *Paissants* should be oblig'd only to Labour three days for their Lords, whereas formerly they were confin'd to the Service of five Days in the Week; having but one single Day allow'd them for the Care and Support of their Family.

In the mean time, the Resident for the King of *Poland*, at *Vienna*, press'd very instantly to have the League between his Master, and the Emperor against the *Turks* Sign'd. To be Completed, and Sign'd; to which at length this Answer was given. That so soon as the Poles had drawn the *Motcovites* into an Union with them; and that the *Turks* had also declar'd a War, that then the Treaty which was already drawn, should immediately be Sign'd.

Tekeli on the other side, offer'd New Propositions of Peace, and in the mean time desir'd a Cessation of Arms. Upon which, the Emperor having call'd his Council, it was Resolv'd by them, that all Treaties with him for the future, should be absolutely deny'd; in regard, that by experience he had always been found false, and perfidious in every Treaty, having broken his Faith and Promises whensoever it serv'd his turn not to perform them. Besides, it was well remember'd in what manner he had formerly made use of Cessations of Arms, to debauch the Minds of the Emperor's Soldiers, and to seduce and divert them from their Loyalty, and Allegiance. Moreover, the Propositions now tender'd, were of the same nature and temperament with those

The Emperor's answer to the Matter between the Lords, and their Tenants.

The Poles very press'd to have a Treaty Sign'd.

The Emperor's answer to the Matter between the Lords, and their Tenants.

1681. those which had been so often rejected, and which tended to the diminution of his Imperial Majesty's Authority. As namely, the Emperor was to suffer the People to make Choice of a New Palace, according to the Ancient Constitutions: That the Estates of the Malecontents which had been Confiscated for their Rebellion should be restor'd; and that the German Garisons should be withdrawn out of all the Towns of *Hungary*, and Troops of that Nation admitted into their Places. These being the Old and Stale Points so often controverted and rejected; it was concluded that Tekeli did not again repeat and make offer of them, in hopes of an accommodation, but to amuse the minds of the People, and to serve some purpose, which he desir'd to conceal.

At the same time Count *Serini*, to whom his Estate Confiscated had been lately restor'd; had by some secret Informations fallen into suspicion of keeping a Correspondence with the Malecontents; for which Reason he was taken into Custody, and his Papers seiz'd; and several other *Hungarian* Gentlemen committed to Prison for Complices with him in the same Plot; and were all afterwards carried to *Prague*, where Orders were given to take the Informations, and draw up the Indictment against them. Accordingly the Examinations were made, and a close inspection into certain Letters wrote in Characters to Count Tekeli, which gave just Cause of Jealousie and Suspicion of an unlawful Correspondence. Howsoever, when the Letters came to be Decyphered, and nothing found to be therein contain'd, but Arguments and Persuasions unto Tekeli to accept the Offers made by the Emperor; the which he urg'd and enforced by assurances in such Case, of being instrumental in the Marriage with his Sister the Princess *Rogotski* (for whom he knew that Tekeli conceiv'd a Passion) *Serini* was then acquitted, and restor'd again to his Estate, after a Month's Imprisonment; and License given him to Visit his Sister the Princess at *Mongatz*. At his Arrival at this Court, he was joyfully Wellcom'd by all those who had a tenderness for that Family; and the Princess her self receiv'd a seasonable Consolation from the Company of her Brother; being then in Mourning, and in Affliction for the Death of her Mother-in-Law, the Princess Dowager; which Occasion Count Tekeli took to pass the Complement, by an express Messenger of Condolence with her.

He is clear'd, and set at liberty.

1681. Tekeli being now Recruited with considerable Numbers both of *Turks*, and *Tartars*, divided his Army into three Bodies; the one Commanded by himself, and the other two by *Petrozzi*, and *Palaffi-Imbre*, with intent to enter into the Hereditary Countries by three several ways. Against which Forces the Emperor sent Count *Stareberg* Governour of *Vienna*, and Major General *Haras*, with all the Troops belonging to *Moravia*, *Stiria*, and *Austria*. *Stareberg* had the fortune to Encounter one Party of them as they were breaking into *Moravia*, and gave them a Repulse; howsoever in their Retreat they took a Redoubt, which was built upon the *Waagb*, in which were three hundred Soldiers, whom they totally Defeated. In Revenge of which, Count *Dunewald* Rout'd another Party of the Malecontents, consisting of five hundred, of which, three hundred were killed upon the place, and fifty Officers and Soldiers taken Prisoners, with four Colours, on which was this Inscription.

Comes Tekeli qui pro Deo, & Patriâ pugnat.

Count *Caprara* with ten thousand Men advanc'd as far as *Erlau*, to observe the motions of Tekeli; Count *Stareberg* attended *Palaffi-Imbre*, whose Design was to enter into *Moravia*, and by a Detachment from his Army, overthrew three thousand Men Commanded by *Petrozzi*; who with much difficulty made his escape.

The Emperor being sensible that his Enemies increas'd, and that frequent losses ensueb'd and abated his Army, caus'd several New Regiments to be rais'd, the Officers of which were all chosen, and put in by Father *Emeric* the Emperor's Confessor, and *Abel* the Chief Secretary of State, by which two the good Emperor was entirely directed, and govern'd, which General *Montecuculi* having observ'd, and how Men were preferr'd by favour only to Great Commands, who were neither Soldiers, nor capable of those Trusts, he took the freedom to advise the Emperor, that in the choice of his New Officers, respect was had to Favour, rather than unto Merit; and that little good Success could be expected from such unlearned and improper Instruments. The Authority of so Wise a Minister of State, and to Old a Captain, prevail'd so far with his Imperial Majesty, that the former Commisions granted by Recommendations of Father *Emeric* were call'd in, and others issued, unto such who were Warranted and Vouch'd

Montecuculi's Counsel to the Emperor.

1681. Vouch'd by more competent Judges of Military Affairs.

Towards the end of this Campaign, Fortune seem'd to favour both sides with various Successes; what the Emperor gain'd in one Place, the Malecontents recover'd in another; so that all Countries were fill'd with Blood, and Ruine, and Destruction of the People, without any hopes or prospect of coming to a con-

clusion. Upon consideration of which, 1681. the Pious Emperor commiserating the Afflictions of his People, resolv'd to make one Trial and Essay more, to see if it were possible to bring Matters to an end, by way of an Amicable Agreement; and to that purpose, he conven'd a Diet at *Oedenburg*, where the Malecontents gave in these Grievances, made in *Transilvania*, and Written Originally in Latin.

Gravamina

GRAVAMINA

Binarum Superioris Hungariæ Regiarum ac Liberarum, Cassoviensis & Epperiensis, Civitatum Articularum, quibus ibidem degentes Universi Cives & Incolæ Trium Nationum Evangelici, partim in negotio Religionis Evangelico, partim Libertate Civili-Politica, contra 25, 26, & 41 Articulos Diætæ Soproniensis Anni 1681. graviter injuriati essent, cum adjunctis eorum Postulatis.

Quoad Negotium Religionis.

1681. **P**RIMO, Nemo ibit inficias, præciatillo 26 Articulo Soproniensi speciali suæ Majestatis Serenissimæ Gratiæ, per expressum hujusce formæ libris verbis, In aliis vero locis, juxta benignam suæ Majestatis Resolutionem loca pro ædificandis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis erigendis, pro commoditate eorundem Augustanæ & Helveticæ Confessionis addictorum, per certos Commissarios designanda decernuntur, Sancitum esse, ut Evangelicis, ademptorum templorum, scholarum, & parochiarum loco, per suæ Majestatis Serenissimæ destinatos certos Commissarios, loca commoda, & congrua, & quidem citra aliquam locorum exteriorum restrictionem, in ipsis civitatibus superioris Hungariæ, juxta genuinum & literalem dicti Articuli ita sonantis Clausulæ sensum, Ac tandem in liberis ac Montanis Civitatibus, &c. ac in Superiore Hungaria omnibus iidem civitatibus similiter loca pro ædificandis templis, scholis, & parochiis assignanda conceduntur, Desigmentur & assignentur; tantum tamen abest ut initio mensis Januarii Anno adhuc 1687. addum transactis in Superiorem Hungariam clementissime ordinata Excelssæ Commisio Regiæ hujus suæ Majestatis pietissimæ resolutioni expressissimæ, & claræ menti ejusdem horum cum abusu perplacentiq; sua interpretatione, & evidentissima liberi ejusdem Exercitii Evangelici, & medietullo memoratarum civitatum, eliminatione, loca incommoda & dedecorosa, extraxit, hactenac nullam suburbia habentes, adeo remota existentia campestria, iidem Evangelicis designasset.

Proinde & sanctissime eatenus declarata suæ Majestatis resolutioni, & expressissimis allegati Articuli verbis; Firmius insistentes, virtute horum commemoratorum designatorum inconventionium locorum totalem Cessationem, aliorum verò commodorum & congruorum, quibilibet censibus & contributionibus Civilibus ad mentem Articularum 8, 1647. & 12, 1649. Annorum, eximendorum in memoratis civitatibus, earundemq; mæniis, ita citra ullam ambiguitatem sensus, inveniente Artic. præciatillo 26. interiora Civitatum loca, non verò exteriora involvente, sibi, cum æris legitimis Patriæ civibus, tam immerita & medietullo Civitatum relegatione haud dignis designandorum justissimam concessionem, & benignissimam assignationem humilissime exararent.

Secundo: Inevitable etiam est articulo antecedenti 25 æque ad benignissimam suæ Majestatis Serenissimæ Resolutionem Clarissimis his verbis, Omnibus & ubiq; per regnum (nullis scilicet Regnicolis Evangelicis, cujusunque tandem status & conditionis existentibus, sed nec ullo regni loco exceptis) juxta artic. 1. Anni 1608, ante Coronationem editum, liberum Religionis suæ exercitium in genere permiffum; ac insimul ut nullus regnicolarum in libero religionis suæ exercitio in posterum quoquomodo (sub severa alioquin pœna attracto 26 Artic. Soproniensis expresse allegata) turbetur, Cautum esse: Eo tamen nihil penitus ducto, ubi iidem Evangelici Cassovienses & Epperienses diplomatico hoc eorundem exercitii jure, quo ab antiquo semper publice usi fuissent, de cætero quoq; intra eisdem civitates earumq; mænia (tquam loca, ut præmissum, articularia primitus; etiam solita & consuetæ) vel in privata etiam domo ritua suo cum altibus suis ministerialibus, congrua item inventutis Scholastica informatione, alijsq; libere uti & frui idemq; continuare voluissent; per magistratum & clerum locorum, nullatenus sunt admissi, verum severe prohibiti & interditi; iidem cum alienigenis, communioneq; regni libertatum incapacibus, ad supra specificata incompetencia loca, impræsentiarum usq; relegati & amandatis.

Quare hic quoq; nixi benignissima suæ Majestatis Serenissimæ Resolutione & Articulari indultu legalem omnino liberi religionis Evangelicæ exercitii, ad mentem citati articuli 1. An. 1608. priori suo statui, intra mænia nimirum dictarum civitatum fiendam reductionem & restitutionem stabilem; & firmam conservationem:

1681. servationem: ad usq; verò commodam & opportunitatem erectionem & adificationem novorum templorum, scholarum, parochiarum (cum iisdem pro nunc ob summa pauperiem, & graeces portionum, belliarumq; contributionum portiones non sufficient.) ejusdem exercitii iidem interea in certis privatis commodis adibus ex integro cum convenientia juvenutis scholasticæ batenus imperturbata institutione, imperturbati usq; & fructuosius acquiescent permissioem, & gratiosissimam facultatis attributionem dimississime implerent.

Tertio: Certum pariter campanarum & sepulturae premissis commune & indifferens usum sapie attaco 26. Article Soproniensis, expressis verbis, Usu Campanarum & Sepulture pro Catholicis ibidem degentibus, usq; ac ipsis (scil. Augustanæ ac Helveticæ Confessionis addictis) libero relicto, æque Evangelicis atque Catholicis ubilibet liberum esse admissum & relictum: Evangelicis nihilominus Cassoviensibus & Epperen-sibus per Magistratum Catholicum, & Clerum locorum simplicissime est denegatum, denegatur; adduc dum Funerum porro eorundem intra menia præfatarum civitatum cum solitiis suis curibus, alijsq; consuetis ceremoniis, concedens & publica deductio & sepultura, æque contra clementissimam suæ Majestatis Serenissimæ in christis statibus & ordinibus Regni, publica in Dieta Soproniensis, 1681. die decimo mens. Decemb. gratiosissime alias datam resolutionem, iidem severa cum comminatione cavetur, & plane non admittitur.

Hinc, in eo etiam Articulare Campanarum commune usum suorum; Evangelicorum tam intra, quam extra civitatum menia, juxta pientissimam suæ Majestatis Serenissimæ Dietaliter, ut attactam datæ Resolutionis confirmatam, publice & imperturbate deducendum, antea quoq; solitam & consuetam admissioem instantissime paterent.

Quarto, Manifestum quoq; vi similiter sapienter citati Artic. 26. ad finem adfectæ generalis clausulæ: Salvis semper catenus legibus Regni Diplomate Regio firmatis, Quoad ultiores Augustanæ & Helveticæ Confessionis additorum legitimarum prætensionum suarum promovendarum Acquisitiones, ablatorumq; repetitiones, conditas leges Regni, falsas & illibatas relictas, consequenter, quolibet Potentiariorum actus prohibitos esse, adeoq; nullo etiam (lege jure naturæ, 206. A. de Reg. Jur.) ut contra ductum naturæ, cum alterius detrimento & injuria fieri debeat locuples, admitti his nihilominus non curatis, præattatorum utrorumq; locorum Civiliis Magistratibus Catholicis & Clerus, propria duntaxat licentia omnia Cassoviensium & Epperen-sium Evangelicorum pia legata, & certa dona possessionaria, ex pio Evangelicorum zelo

ad Ecclesiarum & Scholarum suarum necessitates & usus testamentaliter ordinata & collata, etiam præcisè Evangelicorum concentratia, (Cassoviensibus quidem quatuor domos, intra menia ejusdem Civitatis sitatas, quarum unam dñus loci Magistratus egregio Michaeli Dmeczki judicatus sui in Officio jam vendidisset, & abalienasset: Unum adbec hortum, & certas terras arabiles in territorio ejusdem Civitatis existentes; prout & unam vineam, alias Varghschöld dñam, in promontorio Tokayensi adjacentem: Epperen-sibus vero certas iidem vineas, diversis in promontoriis partium superioris Hungariæ sitatas, una cum redditibus & proventus) via facti & potentia occupant, & ad se pertraxerunt, quæ de facto violenter teneant, usarent, & majori ex parte in prophanas usus contra sensum Articulum 11 & 14 Anno 1647. summa cum Evangelicorum injuria & damno converterent, nec ipsi restituere.

Quocirca hoc in casu etiam ad præscriptam legem & Constitutiones Regni provocantibus, præmissorum violenter adeptorum, occupatorum, & tentorum omnium priorum legatorum & honorum possessionariorum Evangelicorum, (sua, non aliena, repetentium) cum suis redditibus, & proventus, esse ditamine etiam communis justitiæ, unicuique suum tribuenti, effectivam & realem rehabilitationem & restitutionem jure merito impense sollicitarent.

Quinto: Constat similiter, quoad solutionem Catholicorum Plebanorum & Ministrorum Evangelicorum non solum sapeditio 26. Artic. Clarissimis verbis, Interea nec Catholicis Ministris Augustanæ & Helveticæ Confessionis addictis, nec vero horum fideles Plebanis Catholicis solvere obligatur: Sed ad mentem etiam ibidem citati 11 Artic. 1647 anni, Ne Evangelici status Catholicis Plebanis, & e converso status Catholicis Evangelicis Ministris ad ullas solutiones pendendas sint obligati, Satis evidenter provissum esse, Immo subsequenti 12 Artic. dihi Anno 1647, quoad Altum Ministerialium quolibet usq; expressè per hæc verba, Ubi vero parochias non habent Auditores Evangelici, solutionem pendant suæ Religionis Ministris, cujus videlicet Ministerio, seu opera, uti fuerint, sicut & Catholici parochis Catholicis: Ubi autem hæcenus auditores Evangelici non solvissent plebanis Catholicis, imposterum etiam ad nullas solutiones præstandas ullo sub prætextu cogantur ad solvendum, prout nec Catholicis Evangelicis.

Quoad stolarum vero proventus solutiones, vigore ejusdem Artic. 11, subsequentium verborum tenore, Stolarum autem proventus, seu

1681. seu solutiones, in quibusvis locis Plebanis Catholicis & Ministris Evangelicis à suæ Religionis auditoribus totaliter percipiant.

Positivam exstare legem & constitutionem, ut Evangelicis Ministris, & Catholicis Catholicis solvant: His tamen non obstantibus, ad solvendum præcisè Catholicis Plebanis alijsq; inviti coguntur Evangelici: Dum non solum salarium hebdomadale cum aliis accidentibus, ex publico civitatum arario, (in quod Evangelicis numero & frequentia Catholicis triplo Majores ac plures, ut plurimum inferunt) per Magistratus locorum Catholicos & attrahi ipsi solvantur: Evangelicis vero Ecclesiæ Ministris & Scholæ docentibus maxima cum injuria denegatur.

Eapropter quoad equalitatem & æquitatem salutariorum hoc in passu quoque non citra legalem rationem, uti Catholicis Plebanis, alijsq; ita etiam Evangelicis Ministris & Scholæ docentibus, ex communibus proventus, publico civitatum arario, parem & coequalem, citra ullam difficultatem pendendam exsolutionem: Secusæ utri partium admistrandam solutionem, verum ad mentem præattatorum articulo, ut quilibet status suos interteneat & exsolvat sibi servientes, itque etiam suos pendat solares proventus, clementissimam, iustitiæq; & juri consonam Constitutionem efflagitarent quam subijcissime.

Sexto: Cuilibet in propatulo publicum esse, vi Artic. 25 Prædictantibus & Scholarum Magistris non solum liberam in regnum reditum, liberamq; in Regno mansionem, sed & liberam Religionis suæ professionem & exercitii functionem concessam: Adhæc; in partibus Hungariæ superioribus vi subsequentis 26 Artic. inter cetera Regias ac liberar Civitates Cassoviensem quoque & Epperensem Civitates pro loci Articulare libere & publice ibidem Religionem Evangelicam exercendi, constitutas, & stabilitas, adeoque, ut posthac nulla exercitii turbationes ab utrimque, sub pæna in Artic. 8 Uladislai Decret. 6. expressè sunt definitum esse. Civitatis nihilominus Epperiensis Magistratus eo processit licentia, quod omnes ritum nationum Evangelicis Ministris, cujusque cuiusq; promerita causæ significationem, vel aliquid benigni suæ Majestatis Serenissimæ mandati productionem prætextu suo solum ut inaudidum, titulo Domini terrestris (quod nullum omnino vel in civilibus, semper pari cum eodem omnino frata communi civili libertate gaudentes, nedam spirituales, speciali libertate exemptas Ecclesiasticas personas haberet, sed nec etiam quouomodo sibi vindicare possent, antiverfario, eoque ambulatorio Officio gaudent) ausu proprio & privato, maxima suæ Cæsareæ Regiæ Majestatis Serenissimæ Autoritatis

cum diminutione, præspecificatorumque articulo rum vilipendio, eadem Civitate, ejusdemque territorio ipso festo S. Bartholomæi Apostoli Anni præteriti 1688, summo cum dedecore expulserit Articulareq; ecclesiam Epperensem Evangelicam suis Ministris, maxime ejusdem in spiritualibus exercitiis cum defecit & damno arboravit & privaverit.

Ob id infensum & innocue exturbatorum exaltationem Ministrorum Evangelicorum Epperiensium ad priora eorumdem defungenda munia Ecclesiastica, realem & effectivam restitutionem, nullamque amplius quoruncunque admittendam expulsionem: Quin, quorum Epperiensium, quam Cassoviensium etiam Ecclesiasticorum Ministrorum Scholæ docentium Evangelicorum, uti præsentium, ita & futurorum, vi juris patronatus semper vocandorum, in domiciliis & residentis suis, free propriis, sive conductitiis, intra menia earundem civitatum habentibus & habendis, sive & imperturbatum semper permanendi & habitandi, benignissimam concessionem, eorumdemque perpetuam protectionem, devotissimis supplicaret precibus. Quoad libertatem porro Civilem-Politicam.

Septimo: Nemo nisi legum expertus negaverit, initio specificato 21 Artic. Dietæ Soproniensis, gratiosissime Regiarum ac liberarum Civitatum Communium libertatem ac privilegiorum Confirmationem, desuper; ibidem allegatam, ac passim etiam conditam legem & Articulo Regni renovatione expressè constitutum esse. Ut eadem leges & articuli tam per Cameras, quam Officiales bellicos, ac alios quoscunque strictissime observentur; neque eadem scilicet liberæ ac Regiæ Civitates in libero Electionis Magistratus Civiles jure ac aliis Privilegiis, ipsorum longo usu roboratis, à quopiam quoquo modo turbentur.

Adhæc tamen moderans memoratarum Civitatum Magistratus, ingessione inclatæ Cameræ Scepshensis Artic. 83. 1647 anni, alias prohibita, tantam sibi vindicavit pro labitu agendi licentiam, ut jam omnes Cassovienses & Epperiensis Senatores, aliosq; Officiales Evangelicos ad publica officia & dignitates civiles gerendas bene meritos & aptos, ex mero duntaxat privato affectu erga Religionem, contra manifestas præfati Artic. ibidemque citatorum signanter vero Artic. 13. 1608 anni Coronationem 44. 1609 & 12. 1649. annorum constitutiones, aperte, communium libertatum & privilegiorum civitatum cum præjudicio, notabilis vero Evangelicorum civium oppressione à publicis dignitatibus & honoribus, efflicque civilibus degradaverint & re-moverint: horumque loco ut minus idoneos aut negotia civitatum nihil intelligentes magisque privata curantes civis Catholicos, summa dictarum civitatum cum ruina damnificatione, & interitu, surrogaverit & constituitur. Quomobrem Primo: Liberi

1681. Magistratum & Communitatem civiles eligendi juris, baculus diversimode, contra praescriptas leges Regni positivas, per inclytum Caenorem Scepulensem interturbat, ac ex parte Evangelicorum penitus eversit, unica & merita eisdem Civitatibus & Evangelicis juratis cives permanenti priori suo statui admiittendam reductionem solidamque conservationem, nulloque amplius modo ejusdem, ac quapiam sub paup aliisq. renovatorum, superiusque annotationum Articulorum intendendam interturbationem.

Secundo: Civilis mutuae concordiae conservanda, vocarumque diffusionum & simulationum sonitum reprimebatur gratia eorundem Magistratum & Communitatum civilium, absque ullo Catholica & Evangelica Religiosis discrimine, ex bonis, hinc meritis, iisque aptis juratis civibus, hendam liberam Electionem officiorumque, & quarumvis aliarum dignitatum civilium, ad mentem praescriptarum Articulorum 13, 16c8. ante Coronationem, & 44, 16c9. annorum indifferenter & coequalitatem collationem & distributionem, mutuaque ad honores civiles publicos promotionem.

Tertio: Observanda aequalitatis, bonique civitatum publici causae, iudicatus & Tribunalis officiorum, iuxta praecitatorum & 12 Artic. 1649. anni sensum, alternatim & mixtum annualiter gerendorum, gratiosissimam annuentiam & permissionem, profundissimam animorum cum humilitate rogarent & postularent.

Præpetitorum Liberarum ac Regiarum Cafforiensis & Eppericis Civitatum Univerſi Civis & Incolae trium Nationum Evangelici.

Gravamen Regiae Liberae Civitatis Carponensis Evangelicorum.

Non sine gravi animi dolore sua Majestati Sereñissime representandum quoque duxerunt Regiae ac liberae Civitatis Carponensis unversis Nobiles pariter & ignobiles, Praefidarii item, seu Conſularii utriusque ordinis stipendiarii milites, incolae simul & cives Evangelici: Quod cum iuxta benignissimam suae Majestatis Sereñissimam resolutionem, Artic. 26, Soproniensis Dietae Anni 1681. Clementissime inferret, inter alta incliti Regni Hungariae loca, pro edificandis novis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis erigendis, pro commoditate Augustinae & Helveticae confessioni addidit per Commissarios designanda, per expresse nomen tenus his verbis: In Generalatu Antemontano, Levay, Carpon, & Fulekini, &c.

Eadem civitas pro Articulari loco, libere, & ex integro ibidem Religionis Evangelicae exercitium usandi & fruendi fuisset, ejusque declarata, & stabilita; excelsa, nihilominus Commissio Regia anno praeterito 1688, admonens Civitates ordinata ad memoratam quatenus civitatem deveniens, negitur quibus ex rationibus, ubi ad mentem praecitati Articuli & Clementissimae suae Majestatis Sereñissimae ibidem contentae resolutionis & declarationis loco adempti templi, scholae, & parochiae Evangelicarum pro commoditate praecitatorum ibidem existentium & comorantium Augustinae Confessioni additorum, alia loca omnino commoda & apta ad mentem Articuli 19, 1647. designare & ordinare, eosdemque in pacifico usu ejusdem exercitii imperturbatos relinquere debuisset, remotis potius in contrarium ab Officio ejusdem Ecclesiae Evangelicae Ministris, & Scholae docentibus, universos nobiles pariter & ignobiles, quae praedictarii, quae incolae & cives Evangelici ad continuo libero eorundem usu & exercitio, ad memoria hominum ibidem praedicta & habitio, in eodemque usu reali, ut praemissum, articulariter relicto, certo licet cum respirio, ad ulteriorem nimirum suae Majestatis Sereñissimae benignissimam resolutionem, & gratiam, maximo tamen exercitii spiritualis, nullum morum patientis, cum praedictio, optimique ejusdem juris Articularis verbo & indultu Regio firmati cum derogamine, severa sub comminatione inhibuit, & penitus abstinere coegit. Inhaerendo proinde firmissime Regio huic & articulari indulto, peteret instantissime, sibi in eadem civitate, ejusdemque manentis, non solum loca edificanda. Templi, Parochiae & Scholae commoda & idonea per quos interesset, designari, & excidendi, verum etiam articulare eorundem liberam Religionis exercitium cum communi & indifferenter Campanarum & sepulturae usui, ita didante etiam praecallegato 26 Artic. Soproniensis suo pristino statui & ordini reddi, reduci & restitui.

Gravamina regiarum & liberarum Vetrozoliensis, Breznobanienſis & Libethbanienſis Civitatum Evangelicorum.

Aque lamentabili cum querimonia expostione quae eorundem Regiarum & liberarum Civitatum unversis Evangelicis assiduis & infelicitissimam suam in negotio Religionis suae sortem, ut qui tenore gemini & Jani ejus Articulorum Soproniensium libera Religionis suae exercitio omnibus & ubique per Regnum degentibus, iuxta claram & civitissimam Artic. 1. ante Coronationem 1688. editi, inque 25 Artic. Sopron. confirmati explanationem (nullo Regni statu, minus quarto, qui

Regia

1681. Regiae & liberae Civitates Regni, quae peculiaria sacra Coromae, indifferenter essent Exclajlo benignissimo indulto & resolutione Regis, alias concessio & admissio, vel in privato saltem peragendo, privati minime potuissent, sed nec debeuissent; immo vero virtute subsequentis 26 Artic. Sopron. generaliter de civitatibus loquens, ac non nisi in exemplum ex utroque ordine tam Montanarum hinc, quam liberarum civitatum similiter binas adducens & denotantibus, pro se quoque erigendorum novorum templorum, Parochiarum & Scholarum, loca commoda & convenientia, ab ordinata Anno 1688. Regia Commissionem obtinuit & assignatum iri, certo sperasset, horum tamen nihil consequuti, in majorem sui aggravationem, & Religionis suae apertissimum exterminium, amotis, & exturbatis per eandem Commissionem Regiam, omnibus ordinariis Evangelicae Ecclesiae eorundem Ministris, totali libertate exercitii Religiosis privati & prohibiti essent: Unversis adibus Ministerialibus Ecclesiasticis aliis locorum apud Evangelicos non volentibus, severe interdictis; & converso omnibus secularibus Procehibus, sicut & aliis solutibus Evangelicis Ministris praescripte concernentibus, pro introductis Plebanis, paucos omnino in Vetrozoliensis & Breznobanienſis, Libethbanienſis pro Civitatibus non nisi unum civem & incolae Catholicos habentibus contra expressam annuentiam Articulorum 11 & 12. Anno 1647. introitis Evangelicis, inconsequente, viasque facti vendicatis & attratis, adhuc quoque Inhabitantes & aces, sine discrimine, ac potissimum episcopos & Mechanicos Evangelicos ad Cereemonias Religionis ipsorum contrarias compellere omnimode conantibus, nec de facto desistentibus. Ob id, pro Articulari liberi exercitii beneficio, partemque cum aliis ita his quoque civitatibus, pari libertate cum istis gaudentibus, nec hoc in passu deterioris esse conditionis valentibus, locorum novis templis, scholis, & Parochiis erigendis, & edificandis omnino commodorum & idoneorum gratiosissimam admissio & per quos interesset excisio, scilicet integrali eorundem restitutione, quam demississime instarent.

Gravamina Liberarum ac Regiarum Civitatum Sancti Georgii, Bazingae, Tynnaviae, Szakolizae, Kuizegh, & Ruzfz.

Lamentabiliter deplorant, & exponunt istae liberae & Regiae Civitates assiduum & turbatum Religionis suae statum, adeoque infelicitatem, ubi quomvis iuxta genuinum sensum articulorum Soproniensium in hac Religionis Materia conditorum libero Religionis exercitio omnibus & ubique per Regnum degentibus, &c. concessio & admissio existente, eo

magis clariori hujus Articuli 25. explanatione in confirmato ibidem Anno 1608. Artic. 1. ante coronationem contentae, ne quidem haec Civitates liberatae hac exercitii vel in privato saltem peragenda, privati possent ac deberent: imo beneficio articuli subsequentis 26. Sopron. generaliter de Civitatibus loquens, loca templis, Parochiis & Scholis apud se erigendis nisi assignatum iri omnino sperassent, nihil tamen praemissum obtinuerunt: quia potius pro majore sui aggravatione, & extrema Religionis suae interiectione totale exercitium Religionis suae inhibuit: Ministri ipsorum amoti & exturbati, ita ut ne Civitates quidem istas iis ingredi liceat. Frequentatio talium locorum, ubi adhuc Religionis exercitium vigeret, Baptismatumque, & aliorum Ecclesiasticorum rituum ibidem usus & acceptatio absolute gravissimam sub penis inhibita, adeoque ad infirmos suos, & in agone constitutos admissio Ministeriorum Evangelicorum in totum vetita, generaliter vero totale exercitium Religionis suae contra sensum praescriptorum articulorum denegatum, ex adverso vero Inhabitantes Evangelici ad Cereemonias contrarias compelluntur. Pro cuius exercitii liberi articulari beneficio, simulque ad instar aliarum Civitatum locorum erigendis Templis, Parochiis, & Scholis commodorum admissio & excisio (cum una libertate gaudentes cum aliis, ne in hoc quidem sequior ipsorum conditio esse debeat) humillime supplicant.

Gravamina Liberarum ac Regiarum Trenchinienſis & Modrenſis Civitatum.

Dolenter sane conqueruntur haec duae liberae & Regiae Civitates, quod quidem beneficio Articuli 26 dieta Soproniensis, loca edificandis templis, Parochiis & Scholis iisdem excisa & assignata per Dominos Commissarios essent, atque liberum exercitium Religionis suae permissum; circa hujus tamen nonnulla Essentialia requisita & necessaria ipsos plane extra articulares, imo contra genuinum sensum eorundem articulorum per eisdem Commissarios esse circumscriptos & coarctatos. Et primo quidem circa Ministros suos, seu praedictantes, quod certum numerum essent restitui: imo ut defuncto, & de vivis, excedente eorumdem aliquo, expositi alterum in eius locum introductum non liceat. Vicinarum & circumjacentium locorum Evangelicis (quibus etiam ut praecedentes 25 Artic. generalis clausulae, Omnibus & ubique per Regnum degentibus, &c. liberum etiam exercitium concessum fuisset) ne Ministerio & sacris eorum tui audeant & talia loca frequententer serio interdictum. Ipsi denique Ministris visitatio infirmorum exhibita, &c. concessio & admissio existente, eo

I 2 sunt

1681. sine inhibita. Opifices & Mechanici contra similiter mentem dicti Artic. 25. ad caeremonias fuit contrarias, processiones quippe, & ad has consuetorum vexillorum comparationem sub gravi multa compelluntur. Baptismata, & alii ritus Ecclesiae circumiacentibus Pagis administrari vetiti. Plebano catholico ex publico proventus Civitatis salarium ordinatum, Evangelico vero ex propria auditorum pecunia, sicut & Scholae Rectori, ut solvatur. Scholae similiter trivialis tantum, id est, aliquantum legere & scribere tradentes concessa: super cuiusmodi circumscriptionibus, siquidem praescripti Articuli omnino sicerent singulas tales difficultates & gravamina sua ad genuinum sensum eorumdem Articulorum & aliorum per hos confirmatorum, accommodanda & reducenda, humillime instant.

Gravamina superioris Regni Hungariae, Zempliniensis, Abavyvariensis, Ungvariensis, Saaroffiensis, Thornensis, &c. Comitatum infimulque oppidorum subnotanorum, in Dominio Rakocziano existentium Nobilium & Ignobilium Incolarum Evangelicorum.

Cum maxima sui oppressione representare coguntur iidem Evangelici suae Majestatis Serenissimae, quod quamvis sua Majestas Serenissima, in Artic. 26. Soproniensis diocesis duobus in locis, primum quidem tenore subsequenter expressissimorum verborum, In aliis vero Comitatu. veluti in Szalodienfi, Vesprieniensi, Jaurienfi, Comaronienfi, Abavyvariensi, Saaroffienfi, Zempliniensi, Ugocziensi, Bereghienfi, Thornensi, Honchenfi, Neogardienfi, Szolnock & Heves, nec non Pesth, Pilis & Soldat unitis, item Szubolezenfi, Ungari & Szathmarienfi, siquidem de praesenti essent in actuali usu omnium fere templorum ibidem habitorum, ideo eadem pro actualibus eorumdem possessionibus usanda relicta sunt. Expositi vero subsequenter similiter Articuli clausulae, Tempia demum, in quorum actuali possessione iidem Augustanae & Helveticae Confessionis additi de facto sunt, modo praevio praeter manus eorumdem, una cum Parochiis & Scholis, proventusque eorumdem propter bonum pacis, ut nimirum quiete & pacifice vivant, relinquuntur, sese benignissime religiose dignata fuerit, praevius in comitatibus universis Tempia, Parochias & Scholas cum suis proventus propter bonum pacis, univis, internamque tranquillitatem Regni publicam praeter manus ibidem existentium & degentium Evangelicorum actualiter relinquenda & pacifice usanda, positiva lege

clementissime constituit: eo nihilominus non obstante, in Comitatuibus signatur Abavyvariensi, Saaroffienfi, Zempliniensi, Thornensi & Ungari existentia Evangelicorum templa potior ex parte per eosdem Evangelicos aut fundamentaliter creta, aut ex imis rudibus re-aedificata, Scholae item & Parochiae, una cum eorumdem proventus, similiter per Evangelicos testamentaliter collatis & applicatis, nec unquam per dominos Catholicos possidendi, contra apertissimum ejusdem articuli Soproniensis sensum, gratiosissimamque suae Majestatis Serenissimae, occasione etiam & beneficio novissimae Pelsoniensis diocesis in consolationem status Evangelici renovatam & ratificatam resolutionem, in dominio praesentis Rakocziano, oppidis Comitatus Zempliniensis, nominatim Szantib, Thallia, Mlad, Keresthur, Tarczal, Liszka, Benye, Tolcsna, Ughelly, Patak, Borssy, (quae quidem oppida tum tempore conditi praescripti Articuli Soproniensis, quam expositi etiam in actuali pacifico dominio Templorum, Parochiarum & Scholarum suarum fuissent, ac ulterius etiam vigore ejusdem articuli imperturbate persistere debuisse) prout & consilio Tokay (alias per eundem articulum in dominio sui templi per expressum relicto & denominato), pagisque quamplurimis in eodem dominio existentibus, ipsi Evangelici per inspectores eorumdem bonorum Manifesta vi adempta sunt.

His accederet, quod contra apertissimum Soproniensis similiter Articuli 25 sensum, praescriptorum oppidorum in attallo comitatu Zempliniensi existentium incolae tam nobiles, quam alterius etiam conditionis post memoratam occupationem templorum, apud privatas domos quoque continuatum Religionis suae exercitium, alia virtute Artic. 1. Anno 1608. ante Coronationem editi, ad quem se iidem 25. Soproniensis diocesis articulus manifeste referret, tam in Fisci Regii, quam aliorum Dominorum Baronum ac Magnatum bonis liberum relicto, severissimis sub minis seponere tam haecenus coacti sunt, quam de praesenti etiam coguntur.

Praedicantes vero eorum benignissima suae Majestatis Serenissimae resolutione, vigore praescripti 25. Artic. ab exilio revocati, intra praefixos jam aliquot vicibus terminos, sub amissione bonorum & capituli, de dominio eodem aut exire, aut reversalibus ad nulla unquam munia Ecclesiastica ibidem exercenda sub eadem cautione sese obnoxios reddere coguntur.

Praeter haec, quamvis praecitati Articuli Soproniensis, & quidem 25. ne Augustanae & Helveticae confessioni additi ad caeremonias religionis suae contrarias quoquo modo compellantur: Articulus vero 26. ne Catholici Ministris Augustanae & Helveticae confessioni additi, nec vero eorum sequaces Plebanis Catholicis ad mentem Artic. 11. 1647. solvere obligentur,

1681. obligentur, manifeste declararent; tamen in utroque, & praeterim in solutione Plebanis Catholicis fienda, militari quoque brachio assumpto, in contrarium coguntur.

Quin uti tenore Sapius allegati Artic. 26. usas sepulturae & campanarum indifferenter uti Catholicis ita & Evangelicis esset liber relicto, nihilominus exlangua Evangelicorum corpora contra ipsum jus Christianitatis in solita sepultura loco terrae mandari impediuntur. Sed nec usas campanarum per Evangelicos licet contingerat, & fieri curatarum, ulla admittitur. Imo, quod manifestam omnino persecutionem Evangelicorum saperet, ipsi quoque Nobilibus certa bona quamvis exemptitia, & jure etiam Regio confirmata intra corpus praetaxati domini Ragotziani possidentibus, ac alterius etiam conditionis hominibus, nisi professioni suae Evangelicae resenserint, ac renunciarerint exterminatio & exclusio de Bonis iidem, in eodem dominio habitis, per inspectorem bonorum Rakoczianorum identidem minuitur. Non absimiliter in Comitatu Abavyvariensi praevio bonorum Regeczianorum in bonis iidem per certas suas literas Evangelici exercitii cultum interdixit, ac intra quatuordecim dies Parochias Evangelicas migrationem de bonis iidem sub amissione bonorum & capituli intimavit, vel si ad modum privatorum secularium ibidem remanere velent, strictissimis Reverfalibus ad nulla unquam munia Ecclesiastica ibidem sub amissione pariter bonorum & capituli exercenda sese adstrictos reddere desideravit, ac actu etiam templa in possessionibus Fony & Bodokanyalu una cum appertinentiis occupavit.

Pariter in ejusdem Comitatus Abavyvariensis oppido Sepffy dicto, ubi nullis sub praetextibus templum a possessoribus Evangelicis occupari potuisset, proventus decimales ex territorio ejusdem oppidi Parochia Evangelico provenire soliti, ad intimationem inclitae Camerae Scepsiensis per Trichinatorem Scepsiensem sunt occupati, qui de facto etiam in sequestro tenentur.

Etque in Comitatu Ungvariensi in oppido Nagyimbali, pagisque Vinna & Szara: sicut & in Comitatu Saaroffienfi, in possessionibus Tolczek, Agstuh & Soovar, Evangelicorum templa, Parochiae & Scholae, cum universis appertinentiis praegalato Articulari modo actualiter in usum & possessionem Evangelicis relicta, per dominos Catholicos via facti sunt adempta.

Denique in Comitatu Thornensi, in possessione Somagy, medietas proventus, per certam conventionem jampridem initam Parochia Evangelico cedens, pariter adempta est.

Quae omnia contra benignissimum suae Majestatis Serenissimae mentem & articulum resolutionem adversus supramemoratos Evangelicos, maxima optimorum jurium suorum Articularium cum injuria & everfione actu ipso

1681. attentata existissent, eadem uti firmissime crederent, cum reali & effectiva violenta ademptorum restitutione, siquae redintegratione, adhaec introductorum abusum solutione clementissime remedianda, in paternum suae Majestatis Serenissimae sinum humillime effuderant.

Iidem praecitatorum Comitatum superioris Regni Hungariae ac Oppidorum in dominio Rakocziano existentium incolae professionis Evangelicae.

Par ratio est Comitatum Articularium Szalodienfis, Vesprieniensis, Jaurienfis, Comaroniensis, Bereghienfis, Szolnock & Heves, Szathmarienfis item ac Pesth, ac Soldat unitorum.

Gravamina Universitatis Evangelicae

Nobilium in Comitatuibus Lypotoviensi, Thuroczienfi, Arvenfi, Trenchiniensi, Zolienfi, & Honthenfi existentium, pro evidenti remonstratione eorum, in quibusnam idem contra Articulos Soproniensis in Negorio Religionis laesi & turbati essent: Quibus immediate subjunguntur etiam humillima Postulata eorumdem, aequo pro dictis Articulis conformitatem Gravaminum suorum mitigatione, reductione, & complanatione.

EI siquidem Lypotoviensis, & Thuroczienfis, Arvenfis, Trenchiniensis & Zolienfis Comitatum Gravamina & quae in omnibus fere partibus ac difficultatibus conciderent, ac aequaliter procederent, brevitas ergo hic etiam conjunguntur. Et hi quidem Comitatus manifeste & merito in eo se injuriatos & turbatos queruntur, quod per illustri. D. Comitum Georgium Aradsky, qua Commissarius, & reliquis penes se habitos, contra genuinum sensum & tenorem dictorum articulorum Soproniensium Ministris, seu Praedicantes eorum Evangelici, qui post occupationem in his Comitatuibus universorum templorum vi articuli 26. Soproniensis libero exercitio Religionis ad Residentias & Domos privatas Nobilium translati existente, vocationem & munia sua taliter longo tempore peragebant omnes (praeter duos inarticulato denotatis locis relicto) extra Comitatum & locum, ubi tum mansissent, sub quindena sunt praescripti & relegati; vel si eorum aliqui-

1681. quibus emigrare non placuisset, talibus Rever-
siles super simplici abdicacione Ministerii con-
tra expressam in Artic. 25. similitum cessatio-
nem subscribenda proposita, nec secus toleran-
dis stricte & sub incapacitatione eorundem de-
mandatum esset.

Schola non alia quam triviales vel sicuti
eadem Commissio explicaret, aliquantulum legere
& scribere docentes, ac ea quoque in locis sal-
tem duobus Articulis, ut premissum denomi-
natus permissa: Cetera omnes clausae &
interdictione, ac Reitores passim exturbati, cum
interdictione Artic. 25. tam Praedicantes, quam hos
Officium suis in integrum restituit. Cultus &
exercitium Religionis in domibus & residen-
tiis Nobilium, oratoris item & capellae, quae
plurimae darentur in distis Comitatus per
Ministros Evangelicos peragendus stricte pro-
hibitis, miraque suae circumscriptione ita li-
mitatis, ut siquis Nobilitum in adibus suis
cultum Dei peragere vellet, non alium quam
eum ex duobus illis relictis Ministris acce-
dere, & eorum opera uti praesumat, idque pro
sua solum & similiti sui necessitate.

Solutiones qualescunque (extra stolas du-
orum saltem in quoribus Comitatu assignato-
rum locorum) omnes Plebanis Catholicis ex-
solvende decreta: Imo jam passim ubique mi-
litarii assistentia mediante per Plebanos ab eo
tempore extorqueretur.

Villani, seu rustici, ab exercitio suae Reli-
gionis, Baptismum, Copulae, Introductionum,
Sepulturae, ac Sacramentorum suo ritu perci-
piendorum usu, frequentatione item Artic-
lariter assignatorum locorum absolute arcen-
turi & inhibentur: E contra vero ad Cere-
monias sibi contrarias per vim & fortia com-
pelluntur.

Insuper in Comitatu Thurocienfium erunt
templa in possessionibus Bella, Zaturca, &
Pribac, Evangelicorum sumptibus adificata, &
ante conditum Articulum non reconciliata,
non habito tamen respectu articularis exceptio-
nis ubi initium Artic. 26. appositae, indisci-
minatim omnia sunt occupata. Campanarum
item & sepulturae usus, nisi cum praefatu &
exsolutione Plebanorum permittitur.

In Comitatu Hontbenfii vero, qui juxta
Artic. 26. Sopronienfem Univerfita Templum (tam-
quam ea tempore conditorum eorundem Artic-
ularum prae manibus Evangelicorum fuis-
set, ac ut illius Articuli de cetero etiam
usui relinquenda innoveretur) libere & paci-
fice possidere debuissent illustrissimus D. Comes
Vassilgus Kobary ejusdem Comitatus Supre-
mus Comes ex delegatione (uti se declaravit)
illustrissimus D. Comitatus praefati Georgij Erdodi,
adjuncto sibi vicecomite Comitatus, occupavit,
excepto unico exili in contemptissimo pago Dri-
eno dicto, non pridem per Evangelicos adifi-
cato. Ministris praeterea Evangelicis omnibus
serio praecipit, ut Parochiis ac locis, ubi ha-
bitus mansissent, altitum excedunt, nisi in-

captivari velint. Nobilibus quoque inhibi-
tum, ipsos vel in privato quoque tolerare
ullo modo audeant. Cum tamen Comitatus iste
nomine tenus in Articulo praescripto in eo tum
actualiter habito usu templorum aduoc pos-
sefforum, ulterius etiam confirmaretur, ac sta-
bilitur.

**Humillima eaque Articularia prae-
mationatorum Comitatum Po-
stulata haec sunt.**

Quandoquidem sua Majestas Serenissima
tam per Confirmationem dictorum 25.
& 26. Artic. dictae Sopronienfem, in novissima
dicta Sopronienfem Artic. 21. 1687. editam, quam
etiam rursus in personalia audientia Ale-
gari praescriptorum Comitatum elargitam
resolutionem, praedictis Artic. in omnibus pun-
ctis & clausulis se observatam, & per alios
quoque serio observari factum verbo suo
Regio resolvisset, juxta simplicissimum proinde
& clarissimum eorundem Articulum sensum
in sequentibus sese accommodandos, redinte-
grandos, restituendos, & per expressam ex-
peditorem, seu decretum, confirmandos prae-
fatorum Comitatum Evangelici humillime im-
plorant.

Ut juxta mentem 25. Artic. dictae dictae
Sopronienfem omnes ipsorum Ministris, seu
Praedicantes, libere in medio sui re-
manere, ac professionis suae exercitium, atque
omnia extra quamvis limitationem peragere
valeant: Cum hoc ipsum idem Articulus (tam
Praedicantes, quam Scholarum Reitores, illos
etiam qui ante praescripti fuerunt, cassatis ip-
sorum reversalibus priori libertati & voca-
tioni restituent) per expressum permitteret,
ita ut siquidem omnes tales Praedicantes ad
duo loca exisfa, & in Artic. 26. denominata
restringi & collocari non possint, relaxata &
substanta juxta uberiores ejusdem 26. Artic.
sensum & indultum, in oratoris Arcenibus &
Residentialibus Dominorum, Magnatum &
Nobilium exercendi Religionis exercitii inhibiti-
one, similes extra parochiales Praedicantes
ibidem in privato accommodari valeant.

Templa & Capella non reconciliata, per-
que Evangelicos adificata, ex mente simili-
ter dicti Artic. 26. pro exercendo cultu Reli-
gionis nostrae, ubicunque in distis Comitatus
reperirentur, nobis relinquuntur, & restituan-
tur.

Similiter ex Constitutione & decreto toties
fati Artic. 26. quatenus praescriptorum Comita-
tum Evangelici ad omni proflus solutione
(juxta expressa Articuli verba, & aliorum
ibidem confirmatorum) Parochias Catholicas
praestanda liberi maneant, & immunes, ac tan-
tum suos Ministros exsolvere sint obligati.

Ultimate,

1681. Ultimate, ut omnibus sui in medio existenti-
bus ejusdemque status & conditionis homini-
bus Religionis suae exercitium maneat & sit
liberum, non exclusis etiam Rusticis juxta
paragrapum Artic. 25. Omnibus & ubique, &
& aliorum ibidem confirmatorum; nec ullus
ad contrarias caeremonias compelli praesumat.
Generaliter vero quatenus in omnibus distorum
Articularum beneficiis & indultis conferen-
tur, nec una pars alteram sub pena ibidem
apposita quomodoque turbare expost audeat.

Comitatus porro Henthensii extra prae-
missa cum ceteris Comitatus sibi Communia Po-
stulata peculiariter, eoque Articulariter per ex-
pressam sui denominationem eidem attributo
jure, pro restitutione etiam occupatorum tem-
plorum, in quorum videlicet actuali usu &
dominio tempore conditi Artic. fuisset, hu-
millime instat.

Gravamen Oppidi Gyongyós.

Verelatur idem oppidum in eo, quod dum
juxta Artic. 26. Sopronienfem Dietae
expressam concessionem, ad verba: In aliis
vero Comitatus, veluti Szaladiensis, Pefzpri-
nienfem, & Heves (in quo oppidum hoc
situm esset) siquidem de praesenti, & Item,
Templa denum, in quorum actuali possessione
idem Augustanae & Helveticae confessioni ad-
dicti de facto sunt, & in actuali possessione &
dominio Templi, Parochiae & Scholae, suorum
Helvetico Evangelicorum, (ex quo in horum
actuali etiam usu & possessione ante, sub, &
post Dietam Sopronienfem usque ad infra-
scriptum tempus pacifice persistissent) imper-
turbate relinqui debuissent, maximo regij &
Articularis hujus indulti, optimique juris sui
cum praedictis ex mandato & Commissione
Rev. D. Archiepiscopi Strigonenfem Georgij
Erdodi, & illustrissimorum D. Comitatus
Erdodi, per egregios Johannem Almasy, He-
venfensium, & Franciscum Schutter Pesthienfem
Comitatum Judices Nobilium, violenta af-
fumentorum armatorum plebionum hominum in-
vasorum manu, primum Templo, perrupta me-
dio Zingari ejusdem sanctitatis, eodemque im-
missa, ac sic ab intus violententer penetrato, ada-
pato, & postea, ex post Parochia & Schola, in
nobilitatibus alias fundis per Evangelicos
propria pecunia comparatis, adificatis, tan-
dem vero omnibus horum appartenentibus, unde-
cim nimirum vineis, quinque melandinis, una
macello, domo similiter una partim testamen-
tally per Evangelicos collatis, partim pro-
prie eorundem pecuniis acquisitis, exindeque
resistantibus preventibus, omnino Evangelicis,
die 21. Masi 4. proxime praeterito 1688. via
facti occupatis, privatim, Praedicate adhuc
& Schola Relectore in exitum pulsus, libero
Religionis exercitio, vel in privata etiam

domo Articulariter usando, severissime inhibi-
bit, sepultura in locis competentibus, ac can-
panarum propriarum usu insinuat interdicitis:
funeracione vero demortuorum Evangelicorum
(nisi Plebani Catholicis eatenus, prout & Bap-
tismatum, Copulationum, & Sacramentorum
Officio, ritu, & opera uti vellent) ad dispe-
dituosa quadriveriorum & compitorum campe-
strum loca amandata totali & integro actu-
ali Articulari Ecclesiae Helvetico Evangelicae
beneficio esset orbatus: quare plenariam sui,
praemiorumque occupatorum, ablatorum, &
prohibitorum omnium realem restitutionem &
redintegrationem vi praescripti Articulari
indulti, jure merito expectent. Par
ratio

Oppidi Jafzbrinji, Oppidi Comarom.

Non fere animi dolore conquereretur quo-
que cives & incolae, stipendiarii item Milites
Hungarici Confinij Comaromienfem Angellanae
& Helveticae Confessionis: Quod postquam
vigore Articuli 26. Dietae Sopronienfem, ubi
idem Confinium perexpressam nominaretur
tam liberam publicae Religionis exercitii praxi-
xin, quam Templorum etiam ac Scholarum &
Parochiarum pacificam adepti fuissent, ac in
his imperturbate, & sine lesione Catholicae
Religionis persistissent, utque dum Artic. 1683.
ob fatales belli tumultus, & insperatam Op-
pidi Conflagrationem Ministris eorundem
Evangelicis una cum civibus hinc inde
dispersis tale liberum Religionis exercitium
quodammodo intermitteri coactisset; jam-
nunc amnis & satis clementioribus super-
venientibus, ubi virtute praescripti Ar-
ticuli 26. idem publicum Religionis suae
exercitium reasumere, & Ministris suos
Ecclesiasticos reducere voluissent, interveni-
entibus Excellentissimi D. Comitatus & Hoffer-
cher, dicti Confinij Commendantis, & loci
Clerici contradictionibus id effectuare in prae-
sens usque nullatenus permitti, imo de die in
dies gravioribus minis abhervit totali Reli-
gionis suae exercitio inhibiti, privati sunt,
pro uti talem inhibitionem ulterius quoque
praestanti D.D. Catholici praedicatorum tribus
abbin mensibus circiter ad pulsam tympani
per plateas Confinij factum, etiam ad circum-
jacentia loca egressum Evangelicis pro pera-
genda devotione sua, sub incapacitatione, &
aliis gravibus penis, severissime interminati
sunt, prohibitis etiam precibus in privatis
aliis adibus peragi solitis. Hinc non absum-
pserit pro Articulari sui, praemiorumque
restitutione & redintegratione supplicare.
Kis accederet.

Inferioris Hungariae Possessionis Hodos nup-
cupate Praedicationem Evangelicam Samuelem
Kiesky dictum, non obstantibus Protectionali-
bus ex intimis Consilio Bellico eidem Possessi-
oni gratiose elargitis, binis vicibus, per
homines Celsiss. & Rever. D. Archiepiscopi
Strigonenfem esse expoliatum & omni spoli-
tali

1681. *leclili domestica privatum, ultimum etiam in persona 22 præteriti mensis Martij captum, Personamque ad ædes Archiepiscopales in carceres deductum, ubi dire & dure tractatur, & nonnisi sicco pane & squalida aqua emacerratur.*

Similiter superioris Hungariæ Possessionis Totthsalu Prædicantem Evangelicum per Naghybaniensis Residentiæ Patrem Jesuitam, Ravasz vocatum, captum, vinctumque ad carceres Szathburienses deduci curatum, ubi etiamnum detineretur, & miserrime tractatur.

Diatæ Pofonienfis, Ann. 1687.

Articulus XXI. In negotio Religionis renovantur Articuli 25 & 26 Ann. 1681. cum interjecta Declaratione.

Licet quidem in Negotio Religionis Austriacæ & Helvetiæ Confessioni addicti Articulis 25 & 26 novissimæ Diatæ Soproni-

ensis oppositam ipsam per reclamationem suam abutentes ipso facto eorumdem beneficij participes esse desissent: propter bonum nihilominus domesticæ unionis & pacis, internæque Regni tranquillitatem, cum sua Majestatis Serenissimæ ex gratia & clementia sua præcitaros Articulos adhuc ratos fore benignissime resolvisset, eisdem status quoque & ordinis ad mentem Paternæ resolutionis (Cleri & aliorum secularium Catholicorum contradictione non obstant) pro renovatis & priori firmitati restitutos censendos, ac si in quantum habitus inefficuat, vel verò per aliquos abusus ab una aut altera parte medio tempore introductos, violati fuissent, sua debite executioni, & tempore eorundem conditorum Articulorum, vel expost occupatorum, aut reoccupatorum impendende restaurationi, ut primum demandandos esse statuerunt.

1681.

THE

THE GRIEVANCES

Of the two Imperial and Free Cities of Upper Hungary, Caffovia, and Epperics; wherein are Contain'd the Injuries done to all the Protestant Citizens and Inhabitants of the three Ranks, as well in their Civil Liberties, against the 25th, 26th, and 41st Articles of the Diet of Sopron, An. 1681. together with their Demands.

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FIRST, It must be allow'd that in the 26th Article of that Diet, by the Special Favour of His most Sacred Majesty, 'twas expressly Ordain'd in these very Words: *But in other parts 'tis Order'd according to His Majesty's Gracious Resolution that Places be appointed for the Building of Churches and Schools, and Erecting Parishes for the Conveniency of those of the Helvetian Confession, and of that of Ausbourg.*

That instead of the Churches, Schools, and Parishes taken from the Protestants, there should be Assign'd them by Commissioners appointed from His Majesty, commodious and convenient Places, and that without any Restriction, even in the Cities of upper Hungary, according to the literal and genuine sense of the Clause of the said Article, which saith, *Furthermore in the Free and Mountain Cities, as also in all the Cities of upper Hungary are Places to be allow'd for the Building of Churches and Schools, and Erecting Parishes.*

Nevertheless in the beginning of January, in the year 1687. His Majesty's High-Commissioners appointed with so much Clemency in upper Hungary, were so far in their proceedings from satisfying either His Majesty's pious Resolution, or the true and clear intent of the Article, that even in contempt of them all, and in compliance with their own false Glosses, they did assign to the Protestants inconvenient and undecent places without the said Cities, which have no Suburbs, and consequently very remote in the Fields, to the evident exterminating of the free Exercise of our Religion from the said Cities.

Wherefore we do constantly insist on the most Holy Resolution of His Majesty, as it is declar'd in the express'd words of the Article before alledg'd, and by virtue

thereof, do humbly implore, that instead of the inconvenient appointed Places such others (as shall be both commodious and free from all Civil Taxes or Contributions, according to the intention of the 8th Article, An. 1647. and the 12th, An. 1649. in the above-mentioned Cities, and within the Walls of the same, without any Ambiguity, since the before-cited 26th Article includeth the inward, not the outward parts of the Cities) be granted and assign'd to us the true and lawful Citizens, and in no wise deferring so unjust a Banishment from the midst of the Cities.

Secondly, 'tis also undeniable, that in the 25th Article, immediately foregoing, the Gracious Resolution of His most Sacred Majesty is declar'd in these very words: *To all and every one through the Kingdom (no Protestant Inhabitant of whatsoever State and Condition, or in whatever part of the Kingdom excepted) according to the 1st Article in the year 1600. published before the Coronation, a free Exercise of their Religion in general is granted, and also that none of the said Inhabitants shall any wise be disturbed for the future in the free Exercise of their Religion, on the severe punishment that is expressly set down in the 26th Article of the Diet of Sopron.*

Notwithstanding which, when the said Protestants of Caffovia and Epperics would have freely us'd and enjoy'd their Right Establish'd by His Majesty's Warrant, and continu'd their way of Worship, as also the Instruction of their Youth within the said Cities, and their Walls (as places provided by the above-mention'd Articles, and formerly us'd and allow'd) they were not only not admitted, but severely prohibited and hinder'd by the Magistrates and Clergy of these Cities, nay sent away and Banish'd

1681.

1631. Banish'd till this time, to the fore-specified places in no wise convenient for them, as if they were Strangers and wholly incapable of the Common Liberties of the Kingdom.

Wherefore in this Point also Relying on the Gracious Resolution of His most Sacred Majesty, and the Articles he has been pleas'd to make with us, We do most Humbly implore a lawful Restitution and firm Establishment of the free exercise of our Religion in its former State, according to the said Article 1st Anno 1608 (*viz.*) within the Walls of the said Cities. We also humbly beg, that till we have a convenient opportunity of Building and Erecting new Churches, Schools and Parishes (which by reason of our great Poverty, and the vast Taxes and Contributions to the present War, we are not able now to perform) it be graciously granted to us, that we may anew freely enjoy the said exercise of Religion in certain private and convenient places, and have Schools for the Instruction of Youth.

Thirdly, Though the indifferent and common use of Bells and Burials was every where permitted, as well to the Protestants as Catholics by these express words, of the 26th Article of the Diet of Sopron: *The free use of Bells and Burials is left to the Catholics of these places, as well as to those of the Helvetic Confession, and of that of Ausbourg.*

Which nevertheless, the Catholick Magistracy and Clergy of *Cassovia* and *Epperies* have fully deny'd, and do still deny the said free use of Bells and Burials to the Protestant Inhabitants of the said Cities, forbidding them with most severe Threats, to perform the usual Ceremonies of Burials, within the Walls of the said Cities; notwithstanding the gracious resolution of His most Sacred Majesty, made to the illustrious States of the Kingdom, in the Diet of Sopron, December the 10th, Anno 1681.

So that we earnestly desire the common use of Bells and Burials for the Protestants, as well within, as without the City Walls, free from any molestation or disturbance, conformable to the Pious Grant of His most Sacred Majesty.

Fourthly, It is evident also, that by Virtue of the general Clause inserted in the end of the so often mention'd 26th Article in these words: *Provided always, That the Laws of the Kingdom confirm'd by the Royal Charter be not hereby prejudiced.*

The standing Laws of the Kingdom concerning the Ecclesiastical Revenues of those

of the *Helvetic* Confession, and of that 1681. of *Ausbourg* were left in force, and consequently any Arbitrary proceedings forbidden, especially such as against the instinct of Nature, tend to the enriching of some Persons, to the Damage and Wrong of others.

Nevertheless, the Roman Catholick Magistracy and the Clergy of *Cassovia* and *Epperies*, by their own Authority, and by Force have taken and appropriated to themselves, all the pious Legacies and Gifts left by Will, through the pious zeal of the Protestants, for the use of Protestant Churches and Schools, (*viz.* in *Cassovia*, four Houses standing within the Wall of the said City, one of which the Magistrate has sold, and alienated to the illustrious *Michael Domeczki*; a Garden and certain Plow Lands lying in the Territory of the same City; as also a Vineyard formerly called *Varghaszabó*, lying in the Territory of *Tokai*. And in *Epperies* certain Vineyards likewise lying in several Territories of Upper *Hungary*, together with their Revenues) actually retaining the same for their own use, and for the most part turning them into prophane uses, against the 11th and 14th Articles of the year 1647, to the great injury and damage of the Protestants.

Wherefore in this Case also, the Protestants appealing to the aforesaid Laws, and Constitution of the Kingdom, do lawfully require, that all the pious Legacies and Church Lands (violently taken away and retain'd from them, who are the right Owners) be restor'd together with their Revenues, according to that Rule of Common Justice, Render to every one his own.

Fifthly, It is certain likewise, that for the paying of the Protestant Ministers, and of the Catholick Curates, it was evidently enough provided, not only by the often mentioned 26th Article in these words: *Nevertheless, the Catholics shall not be obliged to pay any thing to the Ministers of the Protestants, nor the Protestants to the Curates of the Catholics.*

But also by the 11th Article of the year 1647 in these words: *Let no Protestant be obliged to pay any thing to the Catholick Curates, nor the Catholick to the Protestant Ministers.*

Nay, in the following 12th Article of the said year 1647, are contained these words: *Concerning any use whatever of the Ministerial Functions; but where the Protestants have no Parishes, let them pay the Ministers that they employ, as the Catholics are to pay their Catholick Curates; and where hitherto the Protestants did pay nothing to*

1681. the Catholick Curates, they shall not be obliged hereafter to pay any under any pretence whatsoever, nor the Catholics to the Protestant Ministers.

Which words, together with these of the same 12th Article concerning the Revenues of Schools; but in any place whatsoever, the Catholick Curates, and the Protestant Ministers shall receive the Revenues of Schools, from their respective Followers only. Establish this positive Law and Constitution, that the Protestants pay the Protestants, and the Catholics the Catholics: Notwithstanding this, the Protestants are forced to maugre themselves, to pay the Catholick Curates, whilst not only a Weekly allowance, together with other perquisites, is constantly paid to the Catholick Curates by the Magistrate out of the publick Purse (wherein the Protestants put most, being three for one Catholick;) but also, the Revenues of Schools are adjudged, and paid to the same Catholick Curates, and with the greatest injustice deny'd to the Protestant Ministers and School-masters.

Therefore they demand with all Submission and Justice, that the Protestant Ministers and School-masters, be allow'd out of the publick Purse, a Salary equal with that of the Catholick Curates, or that neither of the Parties be paid out of that Fond, but each by their respective Followers, according to the intention of the before mention'd Articles.

Sixthly, Every body knows that by Virtue of the 25th Article, not only a free return and stay in the Kingdom is granted to the Banish'd Ministers and School-masters, but also a free exercise of their Religion and Profession, and by Virtue of the following 26th Article it is Order'd, That amongst the imperial and free Cities of Upper *Hungary*, *Cassovia* and *Epperies* shall be appointed, and establish'd places for the publick and free exercise of the Protestant Religion; and that hereafter, no Subject shall be disturb'd in the free exercise of his Religion, under the pain express'd in the 8th Article, of the 6th Decree of *Uladislaus*. Nevertheless, the Magistrate of *Epperies*, on the very Festival Day of *St. Bartholomew* the Apostle, in the Year 1688 last past, dar'd deprive the Protestant Church of *Epperies*, establish'd by the Articles of their Ministers, and with great dishonour expel all the Protestant Ministers of the three Nations, out of the said City and its Territory, without letting them know any cause of so unjust an usage, or shewing them any Warrant of His most Sacred Majesty for it; pretending only an

unheard of Title of Lord of the Manor, 1681. (which cannot be admitted among Civilians, since they enjoy equally with the Magistrate the common civil Liberty, nor amongst Clergy Men, who enjoy a special Liberty, nor can it in any wise be taken by Magistrate, whose Office is but for a year) to the great diminishing of His most Sacred Majesty's Authority and the Contempt of the before mentioned Articles.

Wherefore they humbly beg, that the innocent and unjustly Banish'd Protestant Ministers of *Epperies* be restor'd, and may perform as before their Ecclesiastical Duties, and that both the Protestant Ministers of *Cassovia*, and those of *Epperies*, employ'd either in Preaching, or in Teaching Schools, present or to come (being always prebent by the right Patrons,) may live quietly and safely in their own or hir'd dwelling places, which they have, or shall have within the Walls of the said Cities.

Seventhly, No body that knows the Law will deny, but in the beginning of the aforesaid 41st Article of the Diet of Sopron, where the Common Liberties and Privileges of the imperial and free Cities are confirm'd, and besides the there mention'd Laws, and Articles of the Kingdom made in several places are renewed, it is expressly ordain'd: *That the same Laws and Articles be strictly observed, both by the Chambers and the Officers of the Army, and by any other person whatsoever, so that they (viz. the same imperial and free Cities) be no way disturb'd by any one, in their free right to chuse a Civil Magistrate, nor in any other Privilege.*

Nevertheless, the modern Magistrate of the said Cities, against the Prohibition contain'd in the 83th Article of the Illustrious Chamber of *Seepanium*, in the year 1647; out of meer private hatred against our Religion; was pleas'd to take upon him such a Power, as to degrade, and turn out of their publick Dignities, and Civil Employments all the Senators of *Cassovia* and *Epperies*, and several other Protestant Officers well deserving, and qualified for publick Offices and Civil Dignities, against the evident Constitution of the aforesaid Article, and of those that are cited in it; but especially of the 13th, before the Coronation in the year 1608, of the 44th in the year 1609, and of the 12th in the year 1649, to the most evident prejudice of the Common Liberties, and Civil Privileges, and to the considerable oppression of the Protestant Citizens; and in the room of the said Senators and Protestant Officers, the said Magistrate has put Catholick Citizens either less fit, or wholly unacquainted

1681. ted with the Affairs of the said Cities, and more minding their private concerns, to the damnying and even undoing of the said Cities. Wherefore we require with the deepest Humility,

First, That the free right of chusing the Civil Magistrate, and other Officers (which hitherto has been so disturbed, and wholly taken away from the Protestants, against the positive Laws of the Kingdom, made in the Illustrious Chamber of *Seepsum*) belonging properly and only to the Sworn Citizens of the same Cities, and as well to the Protestants as to the Catholics, be restor'd and maintain'd in its former State, and in no wise any more disturbed by any one, under the pain mention'd in the renewed and aforesaid Articles.

Secondly, That in order to maintain a civil mutual Union, and put out any Fewel of Division and Hatred, a free Election be made of the same Magistrate, and other Officers out of the well deserving, and well qualified Sworn Citizens, without any difference of the Catholic and Protestant Religion; and that the Employments, and any Civil Dignities whatsoever be indifferently, and equally conferr'd and bestow'd, so that the Catholics and Protestants promote mutually one another to publick, civil Honours, according to the intention of the aforesaid 13th Article, of the year 1608 before the Coronation, and of the 44th of the year 1609.

Thirdly, That in order to observe a just equality of Turns, and procure the publick good of the Cities, it be graciously granted, that the Offices of Judge and *Tribune* be by Turns, and promiscuously exercised for a year, according to the intention of the aforesaid Articles, and of the 12th in the year 1649.

All the Protestant, Citizens, and Inhabitants of the three Nations, of the Free and Imperial Cities, *Caf-
sovia* and *Epperies*.

The Grievance of the Protestants of the Free and Imperial City of Carpona.

IT is not without a great deal of Grief, that all the Noblemen and Gentlemen, all the Auxiliary Forces, and hired Soldiers of both sorts, and all the Protestant Inhabitants, and Citizens of *Carpona*, think it their Duty to Represent to Your most Sacred Majesty; that altho' according to Your most Sacred Majesty's Resolution, interred in the 26th Article of the Diet of *Sopron*, Anno 1681.

Among the places of the Kingdom, which were to be appointed for the Building of new Churches and Schools, and Erecting Parishes for the conveniency of those of the *Helvetian* Confession, and of that of *Ausburg*; the same City of *Carpona* is particularly named, and established to be one of the places, where the free exercise of Religion should entirely and quietly be enjoyed, as it may be seen in these words: In the Division before the Mountains at *Leva*, *Carpona* and *Tulekin*.

Nevertheless, Your Majesty's High Commissioners appointed in the year 1688 last past in the Mountain Cities, being come to that of *Carpona* (whereas, according to the intention of the aforesaid Article, and of Your Majesty's Gracious Resolution, and Declaration contain'd in it, instead of the convenient Churches and Schools and Parishes which were from the Protestants of the Confession of *Ausburg*, they should have appointed other convenient and fit places, and left the Protestants in the quiet Possession of them, according to the intention of the 19th Article in the year 1647,) did on the contrary turn the Protestant Ministers and School-masters out of their Offices, and with severe Threats forbid both all the Protestant Noblemen and Gentlemen, all the Soldiers of the Garrison, as well as all the Inhabitants and Citizens, to continue the Exercise of Religion (which had been enjoy'd in the same place from time out of Memory, and was confirm'd by the Articles as we have already said) till Your Majesty's further Resolution were known, to the great prejudice of a Spiritual Exercise, which suffers no delay, and to the diminishing of the Right granted to the Protestants by the Articles, and confirm'd by Your Majesty's Favour.

Therefore they do wholly Rely on the Articles, and Your Majesty's Grant, and Humbly beg, that not only convenient and fit places, within the Walls of the said City be appointed to them, for the Building of Churches and Schools, and Erecting Parishes; but also, that they may have a Free Exercise of Religion, together with the common and indifferent use of Bells and Burials, according to the aforesaid 26th Article of *Sopron*, and as they had formerly.

The Grievances of the Imperial and Free Protestant Cities, *Veterozolium*, *Breznobania* and *Libethbania*,

ALL the Protestants of the same Imperial and Free Cities, set forth their most lamentable Case in respect of Religion, that

1681. that whereas they should not be hinder'd to enjoy at least in private the free Exercise of Religion granted by the Articles of *Sopron*, to all and every where in the Kingdom (without excepting any part of it, and lets the fourth State, which comprehends all the Imperial and Free Cities of the Kingdom, belonging properly to the Crown) through His Imperial Majesty's Favour, according to the clear and evident explication of the 1st Article made before the Coronation, in the year 1608. and confirm'd in the 25th Article of *Sopron*, but rather by virtue of the following 26th Article of *Sopron* (which speaks in general of the Cities, and by way of instance names only two of each sort; viz. of the Mountain Cities, and of the Free Cities) His Majesty's High Commissioners appointed in the year 1688. should also have appointed them commodious and convenient places for the building of new Churches and Schools, and erecting Parishes, yet they have obtain'd nothing: On the contrary, the Ministers have been turn'd at and expell'd by the High Commissioners, and the Protestants have been most severely forbidden by the same to exercise their Religion in private, or to go to any Neighbouring place where their Religion is Exercised. Moreover against the express grant of the 11th and 12th Article in the year 1647. maugre the Protestants and by force, the said High Commissioners have assign'd and appropriated all the proper Revenues of Schools and Churches to the Catholic Curates which they have brought in, and have very few Followers in the Cities of *Veterozolium*, and *Breznobania*, and but one in *Libethbania*. In fine, the said High Commissioners did by all means, and do still compel without distinction, all the Protestant Inhabitants and Citizens, especially the Trades and Handy-craft-men to Ceremonies contrary to their Religion; therefore the said Protestants humbly beg the same Liberty of Religion as is granted in the Articles, and enjoy'd in other Cities, since these in no wise deserve a worse case; and that there may be assign'd them convenient places for the building of new Churches, and Schools, and erecting Parishes.

The Grievances of the Free and Imperial Cities *St. George*, *Bazinga*, *Tyrnaw*, *Szakoliza*, *Kuffegh*, and *Ruft*.

THESE Free and Imperial Cities do also lament and set forth their desolate Case, and great Unhappinefs in respect of Religion; that (whereas according to the

genuine Sense of the Articles of *Sopron*, 1681. made in the behalf of Religion, its free Exercise is granted to every one, and every where in the Kingdom) they should not be hinder'd to enjoy, at least in private the said free Exercise of Religion; but by Virtue of the 26th Article of *Sopron*, which speaks in general of the Cities, Places should have been appointed them for the Building of Churches, and Schools, and Erecting Parishes, yet they have obtain'd none of the premises; but on the contrary, have been forbidden to exercise any way their Religion, their Ministers have been expell'd, and forbidden to come any more into the said Cities; it is prohibited under the foreft punishment to frequent the places where there is Exercise of Religion, to go thither, to have Children Baptiz'd, or to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and to send for Protestant Ministers to Sick and Dying Persons; in a word, the whole Exercise of the Protestant Religion is forbidden, against the sense of the aforesaid Articles, and the Protestants are compell'd to Ceremonies contrary to their Religion; therefore they humbly beg that they may enjoy the same Benefit as is granted in the Articles, and have places appointed them for the Building of Churches, and Schools, and Erecting Parishes, as well as the other Cities; since that Privilege is equally granted to all; and therefore the case of some, ought not to be worse than that of others.

The Grievances of the Free and Imperial Cities, *Trenschin*, and *Modra*.

THESE two Free and Imperial Cities complain with a great deal of Sorrow, that by Virtue of the 26th Article of *Sopron*, the Lords Commissioners did indeed assign to them places for the Building of Churches and Schools, and erecting Parishes, and grant them the free Exercise of their Religion; but with such Limitation and Restraint as take away many things essentially requisite and necessary for the said exercise of Religion, and are directly contrary to the genuine intention of the Articles; as,

First, The Lords Commissioners did lessen the Number of the Protestant Ministers, and forbid others to be put in their room after their Death.

Secondly, They did forbid all the Protestants (to whom a free Exercise of Religion is granted, by Virtue of that General

1631. neral Clause of the 25th Article, to every one, and every where in the Kingdom) to frequent the Neighbouring Churches, and perform in them any duty of Religion.

Thirdly, They did forbid the Ministers to Visit the *Estrangers*, were they never to Sack.

Fourthly, They did Order that the Handy-craft-men, and common sort of People should be compell'd under severe punishment to Ceremonies contrary to their way, *viz.* To walk with the Catholics in Procession, and carry processional Trophies.

Fifthly, They did forbid the Protestant Ministers to go and Administer Baptism, or perform other Ceremonies in the Neighbouring Towns.

Sixthly, They did appoint that there should be no petty Schools, but such where Children could Learn only to Read, and to Write.

The Grievances of the Counties of Upper Hungary, Semlin, Abavivar, Ungwhar, Saraz, Tornaw, &c. and of all the Protestant Noblemen and Gentlemen living in the Mountain Towns of the Principality of Tokai.

THE same Protestants are forc'd to Represent to Your Most Sacred Majesty, that although in the following words of the 26th Article of *Sopron*, but in other Counties, as in those of *Salawar, Vefprim, Saraz, Moramorus, Abavivar, Seltsa, Semlin, Ugoz, Bodrogh, Tornaw, Komarra, Barzad, Sachlag, Novigrad, Zolnock, Hewecz, Pesth, Pelicz, and Soldath* united, *Chege, Ungwhar, and Zatar*, since the Protestants are in possession of almost all the Churches there, the same Churches are left for the use of the actual Possessors of them.

And in the following Clause of the said Article: *Finally the Churches which are actually possessed by those of the Helvetian Confession, and of that of Ausbourg, shall be still for their use as before, together with the Parishes, and Schools, and their Revenues, that they may live in peace, and quiet.*

Your most Sacred Majesty tending the peace and general quiet of the Kingdom, has been Graciously pleas'd to Ordain, that in the foregoing Counties, all the Churches, Parishes, and Schools, together with their Revenues, should be left for the use of the Protestants. Nevertheless, the

Churches standing in the Counties of *Abavivar, Saraz, Semlin, Tornaw, and Ungwhar*, (which for the most part have been built from the foundation, or repair'd from the lowest ruine by the Protestants) as also the Schools and Parishes, together with their Revenues (left to them by the Protestants in their Wills, and never before possess'd by the Roman Catholics) have been taken by force from the Protestants, as well as the Churches, Parishes, and Schools, standing in the Dominion of *Rakocz*, in these Towns of the County of *Semlin, Zantbo, Thalia, Mod, Kerethur, Tarazal, Liszka, Benny, Tolefwa, Ughelly, Patak, Borffy*, (which at the time of the Articles of *Sopron*, and after, were possess'd by the Protestants, and left to the same by the said Articles) in several Towns of the Principality of *Tokai*, and in *Tokai* itself; altho' the Church of *Tokai* was left, and expressly confirm'd by the Articles in the possession of the Protestants.

To this may be added, That against the evident sense of the 25th Article of *Sopron*, the Protestant Noblemen and Gentlemen of the aforesaid Cities of the County of *Semlin*, have been, and are still forc'd to forbear exercising their Religion in private; which Liberty they had enjoy'd since the seizing of their Churches, and was granted to them by the first Article made before the Coronation, in the year 1608. and confirm'd by the same 25th Article of the Diet of *Sopron*.

Likewise the Ministers (call'd back from their Exile through Your most Sacred Majesty's Favour, by Virtue of the aforesaid 25th Article of *Sopron*.) are forc'd to oblige themselves under pain of death, and the forfeiture of all their Goods, to go out of the same County, or by strict Deeds of reversion to renounce for ever under the same Penalty, to perform any Ecclesiastical Duty in the said County.

Moreover, although the 25th Article of *Sopron* evidently declareth that none of the *Helvetian* Confession, and of that of *Ausbourg* shall be compell'd to any Ceremony contrary to his Religion; and the 26th, that the Catholics shall not be oblig'd to pay any thing to the Ministers of the Protestants, nor the Protestants to the Curates of the Catholics, according to the intent of the 11th Article, in the year 1647. yet they are forc'd even by Military Execution to do both, and especially to pay the Catholic Curates.

Although by virtue of the often-mentioned 26th Article, the free use of Bells and Burials is equally left to the Catholics, and to the Protestants, nevertheless the Protestants are not suffer'd to bury their

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1681. Dead in the usual Burying-places, which is against Christianity it self, they are not permitted neither to use the Bells though made through their care; nay the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the aforesaid Dominion of *Rakocz* are threatened to be dispossest and exterminated out of their Estates, if they do not abjure and renounce the Protestant Religion, which is a down right persecution of the Protestants. In the like manner the Protestants of *Abavivar* are forbidden by the Purveyor of that County to exercise their Religion; and the Ministers are commanded under pain of Death, and the forfeiture of all their Goods to go out of it, or (if they be willing to continue there as Secular private persons) by most strict deeds of reversion to renounce for ever under the same penalty to perform any Ecclesiastical Duty; consequently the Protestant Churches, together with all their Appurtenances have been seiz'd upon by the said Purveyor.

Likewise in a Town call'd *Sepffy* of the same County of *Abavivar*, where the Church could under no pretence be taken from the Protestants, the Tythes of the Territory of the said Town which us'd to belong to the Protestant Minister are seiz'd, and kept in Sequestration by the of *Sepffy*, by virtue of an Order of the Illustrious Chamber of *Scepsum*.

In the Towns of *Nogyimbali, Vinna, and Istara*, in the County of *Ungwhar*, and in the Towns of *Tolzeck and Alsath*, in the County of *Saraz*, the Churches, Schools, and Parishes left by the Articles for the use of the Protestants, are by force taken and kept from them by the Catholic Lords of those Mannors.

Lastly, In the Town call'd *Somogy* in the County of *Torna*, a moiety of the Revenue belonging to the Protestant Minister by a Convention made formerly is taken from him.

All which having been attempted against Your Majesty's Gracious Resolution, and the Articles made in the behalf of the Protestants, they present the same to Your most Sacred Majesty's Consideration, with strong persuasion that it will be Graciously Remedied; and that not only they shall be re-settled in the possession of what is taken from 'em; but also that all the introduced abuses shall be taken away.

The same Protestant Inhabitants of the aforesaid Counties of *Upper Hungary*, and of the Towns standing in the Dominion of *Rakoczia*.

The same is done by the Counties of *Salawar, Vefprim, Saraz, Moramorus,*

Novigrad, Zolnock, Hewecz, Pesth 1681. and *Soldath*, united, which are all comprehended in the Articles.

The Grievances of all the Protestant Noblemen of the Counties of Liepze, Thurocz, Arva, Trenschin; Zolnock, and Sachlag; wherein are contain'd the Injuries and Troubles they have sustain'd upon the account of Religion, against the Articles of Sopron; together with Humble Request for the Redressing of the same.

SINCE the Grievances and Complaints of the Counties of *Liepze, Thurocz, Arva, Trenschin, and Zolnock* agree in all respects, for shortness sake they are put together here; the same then justly complain that they have been injur'd and disturbed, in that the Protestant Ministers (who perform'd the Duties of their profession in the Noblemans places of Residence, where the free Exercise of Religion was transfer'd, by Virtue of the 26th Article of *Sopron*, since the seizing of the Protestant Churches in these Counties) have all been Banish'd (except two, left in two places named in the Articles) within a fortnight, out of the County and place where they liv'd; or if any desir'd to continue in it, he was requir'd to oblige himself by strict deed of Reversion never to perform any Ecclesiastical Duty, and forbidden to remain on any other term, under pain of Imprisonment.

No Schools are permitted but the Petty (or as the Commissioners term it, such where Children learn only to Read and to Write) and but in two places mention'd in the Articles; all the others are generally shut, and prohibited, and their Masters turn'd out, although the 25th Article had restor'd both these, and the Ministers in their respective Offices.

It is strictly forbidden that the Divine Service and Exercise of Religion be performed by Protestant Ministers in the Houses and places of Residence of Noblemen, or in the Oratories and Chappels belonging to them, but with this admirable Limitation; That if any Noble-Man will have the Divine Service done in his House, he shall employ no other Minister than one of the two left in the County, and that only for themselves, and their Family.

All the Payments whatsoever (except those which belong to the two Schools appointed in each County) are adjudg'd to the

1681. the Catholick Curates, and are generally wrestled by the same with the help of the Soldiers.

The Peasants are absolutely forbidden to Exercise their Religion in the use of Baptism, Marriage, Confirmation, Burials, and of the Lord's Supper, as also to frequent the places appointed by the Articles for the Divine Service, and are compelled with all possible violence, to Ceremonies contrary to their way.

Moreover, in many Towns of the County of *Turocz*, as in *Bella Zatureza* and *Priboez*, there were Churches Built at the Charges of the Protestants, whose Members had not reconciled themselves to the Church of *Rome*, before the Article was made; yet without any regard to the Exception contain'd in the beginning of the 26th Article, all those Churches have been seized upon, and the use of Bells and Burials is granted no more to the Protestants, unless they ask and pay the Catholick Curates for it.

In the County of *Sachag*, the Protestants should freely and peaceably have enjoyed all the Churches, which were in their Possession when the Article was made, and were left for their use by the same Article; yet the Illustrious *Wolfgang* Earl of *Kohary*, (Supreme Earl of the said County, by Deputation (as he has declar'd) of the Illustrious *George* Earl of *Erdedy*.) with the assistance of the Vicount of the same County, has seized the same Churches, except a very small one, which stands in a most despicable Village called *Drieno*, and has not been Built by the Protestants: Commanding withal all the Protestant Ministers to go out of their respective Parishes, and places of abode under pain of Imprisonment, and forbidding all Persons of quality to entertain them any way even privately; altho' the Protestants of this County had been establish'd, and confirm'd in the free use of all the Churches, which were in their Possession when the Article was made.

The most Humble and Lawful Demands of the aforesaid Counties are these.

Since His most Sacred Majesty both by the Confirmation of the 25th and 26th Articles of the Diet of *Sopron*, made in 21st Article of the Diet of *Presburg*, in the year 1687, and by the Resolution declar'd to the Deputies of the said Counties in their Audience, has engaged his Royal Word, not only to observe the aforesaid Articles in all their Points and Clauses, but also to cause the others to observe the

same; therefore the Protestants of the aforesaid Counties Humbly beg, that according to the most simple and evident Sense of the same Articles, they may be Redress'd, Re-establish'd, Restor'd, and by an express Decree confirm'd in the following particulars.

That according to the intention of the 25th Article of the Diet of *Sopron*, all their Ministers and Rectors may live freely among them, and perform the Duties of their Profession, without any Limitation, since the same Article Grants thus much, restoring both the Ministers and School-Masters, even those which were Banish'd, annulling their Deeds of Reversion.

That as many Churches and Chappels, (whose Members are not reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, and have been Built by the Protestants,) as stand in the said Counties be restor'd to us, to Exercise our Religion in them, according to the intent of the aforesaid 26th Article.

That according to the intention of the 26th Article, the Protestants of the said Counties, be discharg'd from paying any thing to the Catholick Curates, and oblig'd only to entertain their own Ministers.

Lastly, That any Protestant of whatsoever State and Condition, not excluding the Peasants (according to these words of the 25th Article, to every one and every where,) may freely Exercise his Religion without being compelled to contrary Ceremonies; and that neither of the Parties presume to disturb any way, the other under the pain mention'd in the said Article.

Besides, the foregoing Demands wherein the County of *Sachag* joins with the other Counties, by a particular Right granted in the Articles, the same County of *Sachag* requires, that all the seized Churches be restor'd to the Protestants, which were in their Possession when the Article was made.

The Grievance of the City of Gyongyos.

This City complains, that whereas according to the express Grant of the 26th Article, of the Diet of *Sopron* in these words: *But in other Counties, viz. in those of Salavar, Vespriem, &c. and Geves (in which this City stands) since the Protestants are actually in Possession of almost all the Churches there, &c. Item, Finally the Churches, which are actually possessed by those of the Helvetian Confession, and of that of Ausbourg, shall be still for their use, &c.*

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1681. It should have been left in the actual Possession, and use of all the Protestant Churches, Parishes and Schools which were quietly possessed by the Protestants, before and after the Diet of *Sopron* to the Date underwritten; yet to the great Contempt of His Imperial Majesty's, and of the Article's Grant, and to the great prejudice of the Protestants Right, by Order and Commission of the most Reverend Archbishop of *Gran*, and of the Right Honourable *George* Earl of *Erdedy*, not only the Churches, but also the Schools and Parishes with all their Appurtenances (consisting in Eleven Vineyards, Five Mills, One Butcher's Stall, and a House which had all been given by Protestants in their Wills, or Purchased with the Protestants Money,) were seized by force on the 21st of May, in the year 1688 last past, by the Honourable *Jean Almassy* of *Heves*, and *Francis Stettler* of *Pesth*, Judges of the same Counties; moreover the Protestant Ministers and School-masters were Banish'd, the Free Exercise of Religion even in private Houses is forbidden, as well as the use of Bells and Burials in proper places, the Protestants being strictly Commanded to Bury their Dead in remote High-ways and Commons, where all the Filth of the Towns is carried: Therefore they lawfully Demand a full Restitution of all that has been taken from them, and an exact Execution of the aforesaid Article.

The Grievance of the City of Moramorus.

The Protestant Citizens and Inhabitants, together with the Militia of *Moramorus* complain, that altho' by Virtue of the 26th Article of *Sopron*, (wherein the same City of *Moramorus* is expressly named,) they had obtained the liberty of exercising publicly their Religion, and of having Churches, Parishes and Schools; and have quietly enjoyed the same without giving any offence to the Catholics, until the fatal breaking out of the Wars in the year 1683, and the unexpected Burning of the Town, which occasion'd an interruption of the said Exercise of Religion, the Ministers and their Parishioners having been forced to disperse themselves up and down; yet since the Troubles are appeased, they desire in vain to reassume their publick exercise of Religion, and to call back their Ministers, being hinder'd from the same by the Earl of *Hofkirchen* Governour of this Territory, who every day growing ferver, forbids with greater Threats, the total Exercise of the Protestant Religion: Nay, three Months ago the Roman Catholics did Pro-

claim with the Beat of Drums, that no Protestant should presume to go out of the Territory of *Moramorus*, to any Neighbouring, to perform the Duties of his Religion; nor Exercise it in his private House under pain of Imprisonment, and of other severe Punishments. Therefore they Humbly beg, That this their Grievance may be redress'd, and they re-establish'd in the Privilege granted by the Article.

It may be added to the foregoing Grievances, that one *Samuel Biszy*, a Protestant Minister of a place of Lower *Hungary* called *Hedes*; notwithstanding the Protection granted to him by the Council of War, has been Plunder'd twice of all the means of Life, Clothes, Books and Furniture, by some Emisaries of the Archbishop of *Gran*; and at last on the 22d of the last Month of March, was taken and carried to *Presburg*, into the Prisons of the Archbishop, where he has nothing allowed him, but dry Bread and dirty Water.

Likewise, the Protestant Minister of *Tottsalu* in Upper *Hungary*, has been taken by a Jesuit called *Father Ravasz*, residing at *Naghybania*, and carried in Fetters into the Prisons of *Zatzmar*, where he is still detain'd and most barbarously used.

The XXI. Article of the Diet of Presburg, in the year 1687, in the business of Religion, the 25th and 26th Articles of the year 1681, are renew'd with the inserted Declaration.

Altho' they of the *Helvetian* Confession, and of that of *Ausbourg*, by their protesting against the 25th and 26th Articles, of the late Diet of *Sopron*, have unworthily abused the same, and thereby forfeited *ipso facto*, the benefits granted in them; nevertheless since His most Sacred Majesty tendering the Union, and the general quiet of the Kingdom, through his great Favour and Clemency, has most Graciously resolv'd, that the said Articles shall yet be in force; the States have Order'd, That the same shall be lookt upon as renewed and reinforced, (notwithstanding the opposition of the Catholick Clergy, and other secular Persons,) and that as far as they have hitherto been infringed through Abuses, introduced by the one, or the other party, they shall forthwith be put in Execution.

To these Agrievances the Emperor returned a very Gracious Answer, and made several Proposals tending to a Peace.

And first, He offer'd a General Pardon unto all, even to *Tekeli* himself, provided

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Secondly, That every Person should be restor'd to his Lands, and Goods confiscated again restor'd.

Thirdly, That free exercise of Religion should be allowed; but the manner how, and the Regulation thereof should be determined at a General Diet, which was judged of absolute necessity for the repose, and quiet of Hungary.

Fourthly, That all the vacant Offices, Governours and Balliages of that Kingdom, should be indifferently conferr'd upon Hungarian Gentlemen, who were capable by their Natural parts, and Abilities to Merit and Discharge such Preferences.

And Lastly, That his Imperial Majesty would vacate the Office of Vice-King, and return to the ancient constitution of a Palatine, whose Election should be free according to the usage of former times.

The Plague which still Raged in Austria, and Hungary prevented the proceedings of this Treaty, which might have taken effect some time before, and answer'd all the Demands of the Malecontents; but now to much Blood had been drawn in all Parts, and Corners of that unhappy Kingdom, that it was past the Art of Man to lanch the Bleeding: And besides, Tekeli and his Malecontents were to nearly adjoin'd, and engaged in secret Leagues, and Alliances with the Turk, that it was almost impossible to disentangle, and disentangle themselves from the invitations they had made, and from the Assurances, and Pledges they had given to the Turks. Howsoever, the Emperor not to leave any means unattempted, until all was become desperate, dispatched Count Esterhazy into Hungary in quality of his Plenipotentiary, to put those Overtures into Execution which had been fram'd, and debated in the Emperor's Council. But whilst these things were in agitation, they received another Impediment, by a discovery made of a Correspondence, which several Principal Officers held with the Malecontents; upon which Filek, and two other Councillors, and Mannagers of the Revenue of Hungary were Arrested, and accus'd of having moved, and promoted an Insurrection in divers Counties.

Towards the end of this year, when the Armies were drawn into their Winter quarters, new Treaties were set on foot. The Baron de Kaunitz the Emperor's Resident at Constantinople labour'd to contrivance, and renew the Truce; but the Grand Vizier would not agree thereunto on any other Terms, than that it might be allowable for the Grand Seigneur to afford aid, and assistance to the Malecontents: But

this was to cure a Soar with a greater Evil, 1681. and what was inconsistent with Reason, to make a Peace, and yet to continue a War.

When the Emperor believed all Accommodation with the Malecontents impossible, at least far distant; Behold on a sudden, and much unexpected, the Counts Tekeli, Pestrozi and Wessellino in despite of their Engagements to the Turks, offer'd to make Terms by themselves; and to abandon their People and their Cause, in case they assented not thereunto; The Conditions were to have all their Churches restor'd, with their Goods and Estates, which had been Confiscated: To which the Emperor readily assenting, there never appear'd at any time a greater probability and likelihood of an Agreement, than upon this overture: But whereas to establish and confirm such an Accommodation, it was necessary to convene a Diet, which by reason of the present Contagion could not be done, a Cessation of Arms was in the mean time concluded: But whilst in order thereunto a Conference was held at Tokai, Count Caprara unluckily march'd out of his Quarters with a considerable force towards that place; upon which the Malecontents were to Allarm'd, that they sallied out of their Winter quarters in great numbers, leaving the Treaty imperfect, and the Cessation of Arms broken and violat'd.

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Notwithstanding the unlucky Accidents which had happen'd to hinder, and disappoint the Progress of the aforesaid Treaties; Yet at the beginning of this year new overtures were made to the Malecontents by the Bishop Sebentini: And tho' some of the most considerable Persons of the Hungarian party, refus'd to hearken to any Offers which the Emperor should make them; yet Tekeli, and others, formerly the most averse to all Accommodation, did now at least in a seeming manner favour the Methods which tended towards Peace; and in order thereunto, did not only dispatch Deputies as far as to Lintz, to Treat thereupon with the Imperial Ministers; but likewise entertain'd a personal Conference with Count Caprara, and agreed with him to continue a Truce until the result of a Diet should be known, which was to convene in the Month of February.

That which in all appearance was most probable to administer the greatest difficulty, and cause of dispute, when a Diet should assemble, was the restitution of the Churches, Schools, and other Foundations which the Malecontents challenged as their own, and upon the Right, and Title of having

1681. having Erected, and Built them at their own charge and expence. They were also very positive to have their ancient Government by a Palatine restor'd, and all the German Garrisons withdrawn out of Hungary, at least, that the Officers plac'd over the German Forces should be Hungarians, the better to keep the Souldiers within some Terms of Moderation, and Good Behaviour towards the People of the Country.

The time appointed for the Diet to meet being come, the Emperor remov'd to Newstadt, to be nearer to the place of Treaty. But it being the Fate of that poor Kingdom to be unhappy, something or other still interven'd to prevent and disappoint the Endeavours of Peace; for whilst some labour'd in that good Work, others made it their business to impede and divert it. And so it was at present; for whilst Tekeli was delighting himself at a House of Pleasure, a Plot was laid to surprize and take him during the Truce; of which Tekeli having notice, he countermin'd the Plot by an Ambuscade; which being opportunely dispos'd in the way where they were to pass, the Party which came to seize him was totally defeated. This, and other Artifices of the like nature, fomented jealousies and diffidences between the Parties, that nothing was acted clearly, and with a free Spirit, but with such Caution and reserves, as easily prefig'd the little hopes of an accommodation by way of Treaty. Howsoever, some Zealous Men, such as Esterhazy, and Forgatz, who were passionate for the peace of their Country, travel'd from County to County, exhorting the People to lay aside all Animosities, and return again unto that Allegiance and Duty which they ow'd unto their Prince; upon assurance that the Emperor would restore the State of Hungary to the same Condition in which it was in the year 1662. and grant almost all the other Propositions which the Malecontents did demand; provided that the States of that Kingdom would declare the Arch-Duke Joseph, Son to the Emperor, King of Hungary.

To this Proposal the Malecontents were ready also to condescend; on Condition, that at the same time the Kingdom were declar'd Elective, and some Acts repeal'd, which in the year 1664 had made it Hereditary.

Notwithstanding this difficulty, and divers others which were daily started, displeasing to the Emperor, the Meeting of a Diet at Oedenburg was so warmly press'd, that the Emperor's Commissioners, and fourteen Deputies from the Malecontents Assembled in the Month of February, as

was agreed, tho' Tekeli refus'd to be there present, alledging that the late Treacherous Design against his Person, was a sufficient and a just Excuse for his Absence. This, and some Dispute about the place of Meeting (which the Imperialists desired might be at Presburg) occasion'd a Prorogation of the Diet until April next following. In the mean time the Malecontents held their Consultations in Transylvania, concerning the Measures and Methods they were to take in the next Campaign; and made use of the cessation of Arms, to fortify their Garrisons, and supply them with Provisions.

The Clergy of Hungary finding in the Emperor a Spirit inclin'd unto Peace, that he was ready to condescend unto all the Demands of the Malecontents; and with the rest, to grant and yield unto them all the Churches, of which they had been depriv'd; they being touch'd with a sense of the mischief which might accrue to themselves thereby, sent their Deputies to Vienna before the Convention of the Diet, to represent unto the Emperor the great prejudice, damage and scandal he would cause to the Catholick Religion, by delivering up the Churches, which were already Consecrated, and Hallowed to the Service of God, to be prophaned by Impious and Heretical Worshipps. This, and such like Speeches serv'd to trouble and distract the Mind of the good Emperor with a thousand new Scruples. Howsoever, being desirous to appease the Troubles in Hungary, and not disappoint that August Assembly, His Imperial Majesty (a full Month before the Convention) remov'd to Newstadt, to be near, and on all Occasions to be assiduous to the Diet; which, notwithstanding the former Disputes to the contrary, was to be held at Oedenburg. But whereas the Emperor was attended with three Regiments for his Guard, the Appearance seem'd so extraordinary on such an Occasion, that the Malecontents refus'd to send their Deputies, fearing to be over-aw'd in their Debates and Votes by a Military power; unless the Arch-bishop of Strigronium, and other German Lords were first deliver'd into their hands for Hostages, and Security of fair and faithful Dealings.

But to remove this difficulty, the Emperor discharged his Regiments; and with a Guard only of six hundred Hungarians, made his Entry on the two and twentieth of May into Oedenburg, where he was receiv'd between the double Files of Hungarian and German Soldiers, and Conducted to the Lodgings prepar'd for him by the Commissioners and Deputies there present.

The Diet, over which Count Swartsenburg presided in the Name of the Emperor,

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1681. had sat several days before his Majesty's Arrival. And on the first day of the Session, before they would enter upon any other Business, the Election of a Palatine was propos'd, and three Persons were Nominated thereunto, viz. *Esterhazy*, *Palfi*, and *Erdelyi*; and accordingly were offer'd to the Emperor to make choice of the Person which he thought most worthy, and agreeable to that high Employment, and Office of Trust. But whereas this Prince was entirely in the hands, and possess'd by Father *Emeric*, lately made Arch-bishop of *Vienna*, and *Abels* the Secretary, he refus'd to determine the Choice, until such time as he had consulted with these two Confidants thereupon.

By this Retardment, all other Matters mov'd slowly, tho' the Diet farr eight hours every day. The least point Administr'd matter of Dispute, and what at the first appearance seem'd casie and of little importance, was render'd difficult and intricate, by reason of the Spirit of Diffention and Bitterness with which that whole Assembly was possess'd. And moreover Father *Emeric* exerting against every Person which the Diet propos'd for Palatine, gave a stop to all Proceedings, that the Assembly was upon dissolving; and Prince *Smartzemburg* became so tired and wearied with the many unprofitable and fruitless endeavours, that he deliver'd up his Commision to Count *Capeliers*, Superintendent of the Council of War, to preside in his Place.

And so restless were the Soldiers, and difficult to be restrain'd from breaking out into Acts of Hostility, that during the Cessation of Arms, a Party of the Malecontents fell upon a Regiment of the Imperialists and cut them in pieces.

Howsoever the Diet still continued, and the Emperor at length, with the Advice of his two Favourites, pitch'd upon Count *Esterhazy* to bear the Office of Palatine in *Hungary*; to whom having administer'd the Oath of Allegiance, and Fidelity, he return'd back again to *Neusstadt*. The next day following, the Diet receiv'd a Letter Signed by Count *Tekeli*, and six others, signifying their Resolutions to accept the Pardon, and submit to the Emperor: Provided that they might have a free exercise of their Religion granted, their Churches and Estates which were confiscated, restor'd; and the Money which they had engaged to pay the *Turk*, supply'd, and paid for them by the Emperor. And that for performance of the Articles, some means and expedients should be found out for a satisfactory Security. This Letter was immediately dispatch'd to the Emperor, who with his Council, considering thereupon, abso-

lutely rejected the new Article relating to the *Turks*, to whom it was resolv'd to make no payments of Money: Of which answer *Tekeli* being inform'd, he dispatch'd a Message immediately unto Count *Caprara*, giving him to understand, that he was no longer able to contain his Soldiery within the Rules, and Laws of the Truce, and was without farther delay seiz'd upon two Palaces between *Cassovia* and *Tokai*: And to put Matters yet more backwards; the Deputies who represented the Malecontents at the Diet, made a Petition to the Emperor, requesting him, that he would be graciously pleas'd, to remove out of his Councils and Offices of Trusts all such, as have had any hand, or been instrumental in promoting those Troubles and Civil diffentions, which had now near the space of Twenty years infested and oppress'd that unhappy Kingdom: But to this Demand the Emperor made no other answer, Than that he would consider it. By these motions and steps in the Diet towards a Peace, the *Turks* conceiv'd a Jealousy, that *Tekeli* was dispos'd and inclined to an Accommodation with the Emperor: To prevent which a *Pasha* was order'd to discourse and tamper with him, and offer him the Principality of *Transylvania* after the Death of *Apafi*: And entertaining also frequent Conferences with him and other Leaders of the Malecontents, the *Pasha* so managed his Discourse with them, by declaring the many advantages, they would receive by covering and shrouding themselves, under protection of the Grand Signior; that he prevailed upon them to make an offer of Eighty thousand Crowns, in case the Grand Signior would promise to assist them with a Puissant and Royal Army. The Emperor upon notice of this private and perfidious Treaty with the *Turk*, was highly incens'd, and commanded that neither *Tekeli*, nor any of those who were concern'd in this Conference, should be admitted as Members in to the Diet: And giving it now for granted, that a War would ensue with the *Turk*, the Marquis of *Baden* was order'd to Fortify *Raab*, and Count *Staremberg* to finish the Fortifications of *Vienna*, from the *Arsenal* of which place great quantities of Granadoes, Bombs, Powder, with Arms, and heavy Cannon were transported down the *Danube*, to supply that Important Fortrefs of *Raab*.

Notwithstanding all which, the Deputies continued to labour in the Diet, and to examine the Aggrievances of the Malecontents; and the Palatine *Esterhazy* made frequent Journeys between *Oedenburg*, and *Neusstadt* to render an Account of all Passages, and Transactions to the Emperor: And that a con-

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1681. conclusion might be put to all matters in question; the Archbishop of *Vienna* went to the Diet, to agree certain differences arisen between the Clergy and the Laity of *Hungary*, touching the Title to some Lands and Demesnes, which was still depending in a Law Suit between them. After this Point was agreed, the whole Refute of the Diet was drawn up in Writing, and sent to *Tekeli*; the Substance whereof was this, That all the Churches which the Protestants had Built at their own charge and expence should be restor'd; with free License to Erect and Build more, in any part of the Kingdom, and therein to exercise their Religion, and publicly to Preach. That a considerable Sum of Money should be paid to the *Turks* for once and no more, but not by way of Tribute: Provided that the Truce made in the year 1664, be again renew'd for twenty years longer, under the same Articles and Conditions: And farther, several expedients and means were agreed for raising Monies for payment of the Troops, and defraying the charges of the Kingdom, during these times of trouble. To confirm all which *Tekeli* was desir'd to appear at the Diet (notwithstanding the late Prohibition) and to concur with the other Deputies by Signing these Articles: And lest he should make the insecurity of his Person an excuse for his Non-appearance, the Son of Count *Esterhazy* the Palatine, was offer'd for a Hostage. These Proposals were carried to *Tekeli* by the Secretary to the Palatine, who return'd from him in the Month of July, unto the Diet still Sitting at *Oedenburg*; with an answer to this effect; That *Tekeli* would not be satisfied with less, than an entire restitution of all the Churches: That one single Sum of what value soever would not content the *Turks*, who requir'd an Annual Tribute of 40.000 Rix Dollars, without which they refused to restore to the Malecontents their Wives, and Children which they had given in Hostage: And moreover, this Messenger gave them to understand, that *Tekeli* absolutely refused to appear at the Diet, and that He, and his Party were not satisfied with the Election of *Esterhazy* to be Palatine. This answer was the cause of much Debate and Division in the Diet; and their Minds and Councils were farther disturbed upon the News, that the Forces of the Malecontents being join'd with a considerable Body both of *Turks* and *Transylvanians*, were become 15.000 strong; that the *Pasha* of *Waradin* kept so close a Correspondence with the Malecontents, that it was more than probable, that their interst and alliances were so firmly united, that neither Party was

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at liberty to make Terms, or Articles of Peace without the Assent, or Concurrence of the other. The truth of which soon appear'd; for *Tekeli* not long afterwards march'd near the Confines of *Belgrade*, where he join'd with a Body of 20.000 *Turks*; and thereby gave evident Demonstrations of his Resolution to maintain the War, and that his former proposals, and steps towards Peace, were all false and feigned, with design to Amuse the Minds of the Emperor and the Diet. The *Turks* had not as yet declar'd a War, for their Forces and Troops from the remote parts of *Asia* were not in a readiness, nor on their March; till which time the Emperor was to be amus'd with Treaties, and the appearance of that great Body of *Turks* near *Belgrade*, was with pretention only to restore *Tekeli* to the Possession of his Lands, Houses, and Estate, of which he had been unjustly deprived by the Emperor, and his Favourites.

The Emperor finding it now absolutely necessary to conclude an Accommodation with the Malecontents, amongst whom new difficulties daily arose, return'd in Person from *Neusstadt* to the Diet at *Oedenburg*, where the Malecontents thought it reasonable, that the Tribute which they had engaged to pay unto the *Turks*, should be charged and levied on the Estates of those, who had been the causes of the Troubles, and Confusions in that Kingdom. This motion had so little ground, and was so unlikely to succeed, that it put all things backwards; and induced the Emperor to limit the Session of the Diet to the 16th of August, hoping within that time to agree on all Points with such, who continued constant in their Loyalty and Allegiance to him; and for particular Aggrievances, they were to be compos'd by a Select Committee appointed for that purpose. But all this while most of the Protestants refused to come to the Diet, by reason that the Points about Religion were post-poned, by the endeavours of the Archbishop of *Strigonia*, which they in the first place, and before all other Matters desir'd to have decided.

This Point being laid aside, the Diet fell to debate on the Proposition sent by *Tekeli*, relating to a Tribute demanded by the *Turks*; and as an expedient, and by way of Equivalent for that, it was propos'd to resign into the Hands of the *Turks* three Counties, viz. *Kalo*, *Zatmar* and *Lippow*; to which the *Turks* seem'd with some reason to claim a Title, in regard, that no longer than since the year 1660, they had been disjoin'd from the Principality of *Transylvania*. But an end was soon put to this

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1681. Controverse; for both the *Hungarians* themselves were unwilling to have a Peace purchased from the *Turk* at the price of their Country, by dismembering three Counties from that Kingdom; at the mentioning only of which the People were so enraged, that fearing lest the Emperor should privately conclude some Article with the *Turk* in reference thereto, they would not be satisfied until he had permitted them to join one of their Confidants with *Capprara*, the Emperor's Resident at *Constantinople*, who might be privy to all the Treaties, and Negotiations with the *Turk*; nor would the *Turks* accept thereof in satisfaction for renewing the Truce, but raised new and greater Demands, as they found the Emperor inclinable to yield and condescend: For now the Grand Vizier required to have *Leopoldstadt* demolish'd, on pretence that it had been Built, and Fortified contrary to the Articles of the late Treaty: And declar'd likewise the Grand Seigneur's resolution, to give aid and assistance to the Malecontents, until such time, as he had put them into a capacity of paying the Annual Tribute, for which they were engaged.

The *Turks* resist their Demands.

New difficulties were every day started at the Diet, so that the Emperor was desirous to dissolve it, so soon as was possible; but yet he thought not fit to do it abruptly, or to break it up in discontent; but that something might be done in matters of Religion, on which the Protestants most insisted: In order unto which it was agreed, to grant them a hundred Churches, with Money to build others, in places most convenient.

The Emperor grants several matters.

That all Cities and Towns, should enjoy a free exercise of their Religion: And that all *Hungarian* Soldiers in the Frontier Garrisons should do the like.

That all Churches which since the year 1670, had been in the Possession of either Party, should so remain.

That *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* might build Churches in any Town, or City where they were wanting, and Lords and Gentlemen might build Chappels, or Oratories in any of their Houses, or Castles.

That in case any Points of Difference should arise relating to Religion, or the Matters preceding, they were not to be decided by the Sword, but by the Sentence of the King of *Hungary*. And that all People of what Persuasion soever might live amicably, no Person was to Revile the other on account of his or their Religion, or to utter injurious or uncharitable Terms thereof.

These particulars with some additional Regulations, being at last agreed in the

1681. Diet, and sign'd by the Emperor; The next great work was, in what manner the Malecontents might be restor'd to their Estates, and to their Goods which had been confiscated: And how the *German* Troops, and stranger Soldiers might with safety and ease be removed out of their Garrisons, and all parts of *Hungary*; which next to the business of Religion, was the greatest concernment of the Diet. The next Aggravation was the Chamber of the Kingdom, which Office, contrary to the will and approbation of the Deputies of the States, was executed by the Bishop of *Newstadt*, whom they consider'd as the Chief Author, and Fomentor of all the Troubles of that Kingdom: But herein, the Emperor was not willing as yet to gratify the Diet. Nor could the Deputies agree amongst themselves of the manner, how to make those things practicable, which they in the most earnest manner desir'd: And such were the Divisions amongst them, that what the Seculars agreed upon in the Morning, was disturbed, and undone by the Clergy in the Afternoon; which the Emperor well considering, and how Men of such different interests perplex all Councils; was pleas'd to dismiss the Archbishop of *Strigonia*, and the Bishop of *Newstadt*, as also the Count *Captiers*, a great stickler for the Rights of the Church, from their attendance on the Diet; so that the Imperial Commissioners were reduced to three Persons, namely the Prince of *Swartzemburg*, the Count of *Nestiz*, and *Oker* the Chancellor. And farther, to satisfy the Malecontents in their pretensions, the Bishop of *Newstadt*, was put by his Office of Vice-President of the Chamber of *Hungary*, and the same was conferr'd on Count *Erdedi*, a Person much more acceptable to the People. This gracious Clemency and Compliance of the Emperor, was so satisfactory to the Protestants, that they wholly submitted that point about the confiscated Goods to the favour, and benign inclinations of his Imperial Majesty, who nor to abuse that confidence which his Subjects reposed in him, did freely, and of his own accord, give order, that the Goods, and Estates of the Counts *Serini*, *Nadaffi*, and *Franzani*, with those of several other Lords, that had been confiscated for High Treason, should be restor'd again to their Children or Heirs. And the States on the other side to demonstrate the Gratitude and Duty which they profess'd unto their Prince, did in Testimony thereof, make a Present unto the Emperors of a Purse of Gold, containing 2000 Ducats, which her Majesty graciously received; and bestow'd the same towards Reparations of the Catholick Churches, which

1681.

Aggravation.

The Emperor satisfies the Malecontents.

1681. which by reason of the Wars, and other Troubles of the Kingdom, were become ruinous and decayed: Which if the Protestants had fore-seen, 'tis probable, they would have employ'd the Money rather for Reparation of their own Churches, than to those of their Adversaries. Thus the chief Points of Difference being amicably concluded, and sign'd by the Emperor, the Diet was dissolved the 29th of December 1681. after which the Emperor with his Court return'd to *Vienna*.

The Diet dissolved.

But these Treaties and Agreements were

1681. so imperfect and so little observed, by reason of the Wars with the *Turks*, Parties and Factions breaking out every day, and continual Skirmishes dissannulling the Articles concluded; nothing could be built hereupon, nor the Agreement take the least effect, nor so much as regarded, until the year 1689. when the *Turks* suing for a Peace, the Protestants made the following Address to His Imperial Majesty as followeth. The which I have inserted here for the sake of the Reader, and the easiness in understanding this History.

Sacratissima Cæsarea Regiaque Majestas Domine Domine Clementissime.

Licet firmiter omnino supponeremus ab Anno jam integro & medio Articularem median Gravaminum Religionis nostræ Evangelicæ humilime supplicantibus, & subinde plenius ac plenius tam injurias contra Articulos Sopronienjes 25 & 26. Anno 1681. nobis illatas, quam etiam claras, & omni obscuritate carentes eorumdem Articulorum Concessiones pro bñfi & fundamento legitime instantiæ nostræ adductibus nobis, Justitiam Causæ & Postulatorum nostrorum Majestati Vestræ Serenissimæ, ac passim omnibus Augustissimæ Aulæ suæ Ministris usque adeo innotuisse, ut ulteriori diutæ instantiæ nostræ recrudescencia & commemorazione non nisi rem altam agere videamur.

Quia verò non raro id circumferri nunc etiam intelligimus, vel quod Commissiones Regiæ per Hungariam anno præterito, ac ante institutæ, nihil contra dictamen præscriptorum Articulorum Soproniensium instituerint, vel quod plura nos petamus, quam iidem Articuli nobis permitterent.

Pro utriusque proinde præmissæ dubietatis sublatione, ac item clare satis instantiæ nostræ placidatione (vel eo magis, quod sæpe pro meritissimos Majestatis Vestræ Serenissimæ Augustissimæ Aulæ Ministris desperat asscurati fuerimus, quod, que in præscriptis Articulis Soproniensibus clara essent, circa ea nos citra quavis difficultatem & procrastinationem expeditos & conservatos iri:) Operæ pretium existimavimus nos facturos si membratim tam dictorum Articulorum formalem Contextum, ac in iis radicatum, immedietateque verbis Articulorum subnexam instantiam nostram, quam prædictarum Commissionum Regiarum, vel & eorumdem bonum, altiorumque intergentium, sub schenatæ prætextu effusionis Articulorum præjudiciosas & exquisitas interpretationes, ac desperat institutas definitiones, hic, seu in Tabella quapiam è diametro sibi ad invicem opposuerimus, huicque ratione & præscriptorum Articulorum per nonnullos factam Convulsionem, & articulatè luculentè instantiæ nostræ æquitatem, simulac multiplices injurias, ad oculum quasi, profundissima Homagialis fidelitatis cum subjectione demonstraverimus. Et quidem

ARTICULUS XXV.

Hæc formalia habet.

Et quia propter bonum Pacis, tranquillitatemque Regni publicam in Negotio Religionis quoque sua Majestas sese benigne resolvere dignata est: Ideo eandem etiam Resolutionem Articulis Regni Status & Ordines inferunt.

Processus, seu Conclusiones, Commissionum Regiarum Articulis Soproniensibus omni ex parte adversantes.

Contra membrum ex adverso positum Primæ Excessivæ Commissionis Regiæ, vel per se, vel per homines privatos in compulsi-bus Liberis ac Regiis, Montanisque Civitatibus; signanter in Sancto Georgio, Bazin, Tyrnavia;

1681. Tyrnavia, Szakolice, Schemnizij, Peteroz-
lij, Carpone, Libethanyae, Breznobanyae,
Babanyae, Belobanyae, Vihanyae, Kátfegh-
ni & Rofet, quae alias essent Liber idemque
quartus status, tale liberum exercitium (quod
nimium consisteret in cultu divino per verbi
Dei praedicationem, Canticum, Oratorium,
Baptismum, sacra Eucharistiae, Capula,
Sepultura, & altorum pro ritu suo suscepto-
rum Ceremoniarum usum & administrationem,
adeoque per Ministros Ecclesiasticos fieri &
exercepi assolveret) non admittendo, imo se-
vere inhibendo: Patet ex eo, dictas Commis-
siones in praescriptis locis taliter totale Exer-
citiū contra dictum Articulum fuisse. Si-
quidem ubi haec talia non exercentur, id nec
exercitium dici posset. Non absimiliter Op-
pida, Villas, & Rusticos (vi praedictio-
is illius in apertissimum exterminium Liberæ
Religionis Evangelicæ, ac etiam Evangelico-
rum tendentes adjectæ & insertæ Clausula:
Salvo jure Dominorum Terrestrium) contra te-
norem confirmationis allegati Articuli 1. Ann.
1608. in omnibus Comitatus libero Exerci-
tio taliter privasse.

Contra II. Dicitur Commissiones passim ubi-
que per Regnum & Comitatus duobus solum
Praedicatoribus in singulo Comitatu, ac uno vel
altero in quibuscumque liberis Civitatibus per-
missis, reliquos omnes alibi intra quindenam,
alibi intra triiduum, uti in Comitatus Lyptovien-
si, Arvensi, Thuracenfi, Hübnerfi, Zol-
licenfi, aliisque, extra Comitatum relegere
praescriberent: Vel si quibus in Comitatu ma-
nere placeret, ab iis strictas Reverfales su-
per Ministerij renuntiatione co facto exigendas
praescriberent. Scholas etiam Triviales, solum
aliquantulum legere & scribere instituentes per-
mitti determinarunt. Qualiter porro libera
illa Religiois suae Professio & Exercitium
Ministris nostris per nonnullos servata sit,
testantur tam scripta complurimorum extra
Comitatus relegatorum, quam Ministrorum quoque
Evangelicorum Episcoporum de Civitate, loco
alias Articulis denominato, per Magistratum Catholicum
severissima seriam voluntatem ac Mandatum, licentiae sane intentata exturbatio, ade-
oque Praedicatorum & Scholarum Reclorum, etiam in Dominio Rakocziano superiorum Regni
Hungariae partium, misere alias degentium, aut sub amissione honorum & capitis & Dominio
eodem migrandorum, aut severissimis Reverfalibus sub eadem cautione ad nulla unquam nu-
meris Ecclesiastica ibidem exercenda semet obstringendorum, per Officiales ejusdem Dominij in-
timata violenta Compulsio: & magis quatuor Praedicatorum per Emin. Principem Cardina-
lem à Kolonic in Arce Lednienfi facta incarcerationi, à quibus similiter praedictiois Re-
verfales subscribenda in sui eliberationem exiguntur.

Contra III. Isthoc est, super quo cum ge-
mitibus conquerimur, nos tam per ipsas Com-
missiones, quam perivas quasque personas,
passim turbatos esse: Nec verba sufficiunt
exprimere, quot modis subinde turabatur furi-
mus, tam nos, quam Ministri nostri, ac eti-
annum turbantur, ac turbamur. Pro exemplo
solum brevitate causa (ne reiterare videa-
mur

I. Ac imprimis quidem, cum liberum
Religionis exercitium jam antea in Anno
1606, vigore Pacificationis Viennensis con-
cessum, his motibus à parte nonnullor-
um interturbatum fuisset: Ideo confir-
mato hoc loci Articulo 1. dictæ Pacifi-
cationis, idem Exercitium omnibus &
ubique per Regnum, (salvo tamen Jure
Dominorum Terrestrium) juxta Artic-
lum primum Anno 1608. ante Coronatio-
nem editum, liberum permittitur.

[Hinc ex his Articuli verbis legitime in-
stamus, ut idem exercitium quod Annis
prioribus, seu sub iis motibus, à parte
nonnullorum turbatum fuisset, nec aliter
ante dictos motus, quam per Ministros
Evangelicos, seu Praedicatoribus, exercebatur,
Omnibus & ubique per Regnum (quod ex
vi praecitati Articuli 1. Anno 1608. ante
Coronationem editi, per expresse omnes
etiam Liberas Civitates, quae quatum Sta-
tum in se comprehenderet, adeoque ad
Oppida & Villas etiam evidentissime se
extenderet) liberum permittatur.]

II. Ac Praedicatoribus quoque & Scho-
larum Magistris, alias vel proscriptis, vel
propter certas Reverfales munia suae pro-
fessionis exercere non valentibus, liber in
Regnum reditus, liberaque Religiois
suae Professio & Exercitium, cassatis care-
nibus etiam ipsorum Reverfalibus, conce-
ditur.

[Hinc quoque legitime lucidissimeque
sequitur, Praedicatoribus, & Scholarum Magi-
stros ab exilio ad Professionis suae munia &
exercitium reitutatos, libere in Regno, uni-
versis item Civitatibus, Oppidis, & Villis
subsistere, & Religiois suae professione Ex-
ercitium ac munia praeragere posse: Neque
ulterius aliquas Reverfales jam taliter Ar-
ticulo tenus damnatas & cassatas ab iis exi-
gi convenire.]

[In hoc quoque legitime & legaliter in-
stamus pro locorum commodorum & con-
gruorum, & vel maxime Liberis & Regis
Civitatibus Cassoviensis, & Episcopatus in
superiore Hungaria, quibus contra hujus
Articuli expresse tenorem, in locis incon-
venientibus, incommoda ac minus decen-
tiam designata essent loca intra moenia Civi-
tatis (innuentibus id memorati Articuli subsequenter Puncto 9. allegandis clarissimis
verbis,) ac commodata & capacia haberentur loca, adeoque etiam aliis omnibus simili
jure gaudentibus Civitatibus, gratiosissime impertienda exactione.]

III. Et nullus Regnicolarum in libero
suae Religionis Exercitio à modo im-
posterum quoquomodo turbetur.

[Ista nullitas clarissime concludit, nec
Ecclesiasticas, nec seculares Personas, ade-
oque nec Nobiles, nec Civem, nec Rus-
ticum in libero Religiois suae exercitio
turbandum. Id verò ut dicatur Exercitium
Liberum

1681. Liberum causas & instrumenta, per quae
exerceatur, Ministris videlicet denecesse re-
quiri, nemo negabit.]

Civitas Episcopatus in superiore Hungaria, & in inferiore, praeter Posonium, Sopronium, Mo-
drum, Cremiczium, Neozium, omnes ceterae Civitates cum suis Evangelicis Ministris, si-
cut etiam Praedicans Hodossensis in Insula Szakolice, qui omnibus vitae mediis, vestitu, libris
& suppellectilibus per Secretarium D. D. Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis, & milites penes se assumptos
privatus est: quam sortem atque quoque quamplurimi patiuntur, & aut specialis Dei providen-
tia, aut multarum pensionum, vel verò medio Reverfatum, eliberationem sui consequi po-
terant, in continuis vicissitudinibus miseram ac inopem vitam decentes.

IV. Sed neque Augustanae & Helveti-
cae Confessioni addicti ad Ceremonias
Confessionis suae contrarias compellan-
tur.
[Hae generalitates quoque confirmat pri-
ora, id est, nec Nobiles, nec Ignobiles,
nec Cives, nec Rusticos quoque compelli
debere.]

ARTICULUS XXVI.

V. Ad haec Tempia quoque per Au-
gustanae & Helveticae Con-
fessionis addictos adificata, & ritu Catholico
necesse reconciliata, per certos Commis-
sarios eisdem assignanda.

[Hinc quoque legitime instamus Capel-
larum & Templorum non reconciliatorum,
quales Capellae darentur complures in
Lyptovienfi, Thuracenfi, & aliis Comita-
tibus, nobis sciendam Cessionem & Assigna-
tionem.]

ac alibi reperirentur, ab haren usuatione,
ingressu & ibidem praerogando cultu strictissi-
me inhibiti, ac ad duo saltem loca, ubi Tempia
aedificari permitti sunt aliquot mille hominum
incapacia, imo propter distantiam, incongrua,
periculosa, & difficilia, relegati.

VI. In aliis verò locis juxta benignam
suae Majestatis resolutionem loca pro adi-
ficandis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis
erigendis, pro commoditate eorumdem
Augustanae & Helveticae Confessionis adi-
ficandum per eosdem Commissarios defig-
nanda decernuntur.

[In hoc quoque legitime & legaliter in-
stamus pro locorum commodorum & con-
gruorum, & vel maxime Liberis & Regis
Civitatibus Cassoviensis, & Episcopatus in
superiore Hungaria, quibus contra hujus
Articuli expresse tenorem, in locis incon-
venientibus, incommoda ac minus decen-
tiam designata essent loca intra moenia Civi-
tatis (innuentibus id memorati Articuli subsequenter Puncto 9. allegandis clarissimis
verbis,) ac commodata & capacia haberentur loca, adeoque etiam aliis omnibus simili
jure gaudentibus Civitatibus, gratiosissime impertienda exactione.]

VII. In aliis verò Comitatus, veluti in
Szaladiensi, Wetzprimienfi, Jaurienfi, Co-
maronienfi, Abavariensi, Saaroffienfi,
Zemplinienfi, Ugöchenfi, Bereghienfi,
Thot-

mur praememoratos Comitatus, & plurima
Comitatus Zemplinienfis in attulo Dominio
Rakocziano superioris Hungariae existentia
Oppida, bonumque Ministris praememorata
Civitas Episcopatus in superiore Hungaria, & in inferiore, praeter Posonium, Sopronium, Mo-
drum, Cremiczium, Neozium, omnes ceterae Civitates cum suis Evangelicis Ministris, si-
cut etiam Praedicans Hodossensis in Insula Szakolice, qui omnibus vitae mediis, vestitu, libris
& suppellectilibus per Secretarium D. D. Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis, & milites penes se assumptos
privatus est: quam sortem atque quoque quamplurimi patiuntur, & aut specialis Dei providen-
tia, aut multarum pensionum, vel verò medio Reverfatum, eliberationem sui consequi po-
terant, in continuis vicissitudinibus miseram ac inopem vitam decentes.

Contra IV. Commissiones Evangelicos in Ci-
vitate Trentinienfi, & aliis passim ad vexil-
lorum Processionalium comparationem ac ipsas
Processiones cogendas, uti & in consilio Com-
maronienfi pronuntiant, adque & Rusticos
Evangelicos ubique ad frequentationem Tem-
plorum Catholicorum compellendos jubent. In
omnes Liberas Civitates Exercitio Evangelico
carentes ad Aliis Ministerialibus ritui ipsarum
contrarios adgere mandant.

Contra V. Nullo habito respectu praescripta
Articulariter decreta locorum non reconcili-
atorum nobis sciendam assignationis, eadem Com-
missiones omnia Tempia & Capellas in Lyptovienfi,
Arvensi, Thuracenfi, Zollicenfi, & Hontbenfi
Comitatibus occupant; licet quidem in Thu-
racenfi per Evangelicos adificata, & ritu
Catholico non reconciliata in Priboze, Belu
& Zahuriza fuerint. In Comitatu verò
Lyptovienfi Capella similiter per Evangelicos
& Dominos terrestris talium sanctorum adifi-
cata in Kiraly, Lebota, Potorya & Pöbicez
ac alibi reperirentur, ab haren usuatione,
ingressu & ibidem praerogando cultu strictissi-
me inhibiti, ac ad duo saltem loca, ubi Tempia
aedificari permitti sunt aliquot mille hominum
incapacia, imo propter distantiam, incongrua,
periculosa, & difficilia, relegati.

Contra VI. In Liberis & Regis Civitati-
bus Partium Hungariae superiorum alibi Com-
missio Regia, alibi verò Officiales Caratei,
imò privati quoque homines, sicut Cassovia, &
potissimum Episcopatus plane extra desertam
ad desertam sabarbia in locis longe distans Cam-
pestris, iisque Contumeliosis, erigendis
Templis, Parochiis & Scholis pro qualibet
trium Nationum Communitate incommoda &
obscurata loca, (quo ab sacrum etiam sine san-
ctissimo Deo dicanda Tempia Christianis boni-
tibus edificare nefas ac piaculum omnino esset)
maximo Evangelicae Religiois cum despectu
designantur.

Contra VII. Commissiones Regiae tamen in
Comitatibus plurimis, uti etiam Hontbenfi,
qui unus esset ex praescriptis enumeratis, om-
nia Tempia mediante Vicecomite illius Comi-
tatu

1681. tatus occupari, & Prædicantes amoveri fecerunt. Pariter fecerunt in Abayvayriens, Zempliniens, Bereghiens Comitatus, in Bonis, ut præmemoratis, Universis Rakoczianis Officialibus ejusdem Domini, ac in Oppido Gyöngyös, quod ipsum potius partem Comitatus Heves constitueret, nonnullæ privatae personæ Templum Helveticæ Confessionis ad didicorum occupare, Ministros removere, imo totale exercitium Religionis suæ ipsæ serio inhibere præsumserunt: Nec absimiliter etiam in Oppido Jászberény & confinio Legrad profectionum. Etsi, quod hic recensiti Comitatus essent de numero illorum, qui juxta Articulum in possessione omnium præ manibus habitorem Templorum relictis sunt.

Contra VIII. Comaromij interim privati saltem homines Exercitium Evangelicum totaliter inhibuerunt, prout talem inhibitionem ulterius quoque praticaturis proximè ad pulsum Tympani, non solum intra Confinium illud, sed etiam ad circumjacentia loca egressum pro peragenda devotione sua Evangelicæ sub incaptatione eorum, & aliis gravibus penis severissimè interminati sunt. Similiter Carponæ per Regiam Commissionem, & Thokaini per Deputatos, locis licet Articularibus nomine tenus specificatis inhibuit exercitium, & Templum occupata.

Contra IX. Commissiones Regiæ, vel & Deputati homines ejusdem extra Trenchinium, Modram, Cremnicium, & Novizolum, in reliquis inferiorum partium Regni Civitatibus, nulla loca exciderunt, quæ siquidem omnes una eademque libertatis prerogativæ gauderent, Conditio etiam ipsius præ alterius deterior esse non deberet. In superiori porò Hungaria qualiam loca excidia forent, ac ubi contra sanam mentem evidenter ipsius Paragaphi, in Civitatibus, adeoque earum manibus, non verò extra eandem excisionem locorum fiamam apertissimè declarant, ad punctum 6. ubi commoda & convenientia, obque sacrum finem Deo dicanda loca excidenda innumerant, istæque Paragaphus eo se reflexive haberet, remonstratur.

banya, Uybyanya, & aliæ, (pro quarum modalitate præmissa quapiam distinctione, & diversitate, proque exemplo ex utroque locum similiter binæ recententur,) similiter loca commoda, & quidem citra aliquam locorum exterorum restrictionem in ipsis Civitatibus, id est, in medio ipsarum Civitatum, juxta genuinum & literalem sententiam præallegatorum verborum dicti Articuli, pro adificandis Templis Scholis & Parochiis assignanda venient.]

Contra X. Commissiones vero, uti præmissa 7. difficultate attatum, in nonnullis Comitatus, qui omnino tempore conditi Articuli in actuali Templorum possessione fuerunt, contra dictamen hujus Articuli Tempia talia una cum omnibus appertinentiis occuparunt, uti in Comitatu

Thornensi, Gómoriensi, Korfodiensi, Hontherensi, Neogradensi, Szolnock & Hervey, necnon Pesth, Pilis & Soldth unitis: Item Szabolczeni, Ung & Szathmariensi; Siquidem de præsentis essent in actuali usu omnium fere Templorum ibidem habitorum, ideo eadem pro actualibus occupandum Possessoribus usianda relicta sunt.

[Hic etiam legitime petimus, quod, siquidem tempore conditi Articuli in enarratis Comitatus Evangelici omnia fere Tempia, quæ jamnum iidem majori ex parte contra sancitum violenter adempta essent, præ manibus habuissent, ac expositi Articulariter in Possessione eorum relinquendi decelari essent, ita eisdem imperturbatos debuisse ac debere relinqui.]

VIII. 'Præterea in Confiniis Regni, & quidem in Generalatu contra Camiam in Szeneogroth: In Generalatu Jaurienti, in Tihany, Valfony, Papa, Velpzirm, Jaurini & Comoarmij. In Generalatu Antemontano, Levæ, Carponæ & Fülekin. In Generalatu superioris Hungariæ in Putnok, Onod, Szendro, Thokay, Kalo & Szathmar.

Vi concessionis ipsius Comaromij, Carponæ, & Thokaini Confiniis sicut & aliis determinatis, exercitium liberum una cum Templis ibidem habitis, & eo tempore possidens, relictum fuisse, evidenter est legum.]

IX. 'Ac tandem in liberis & montanis Civitatibus, utpote Trenchiniensi, Modrensi, Cremniczeni & Novizoliensi, ac in superiore Hungaria, omnibus itidem Civitatibus similiter loca pro adificandis Templis, Scholis & Parochiis assignanda conceduntur.

[Quid ex his verbis directius & clarius inferri potest, quam quod in liberis Civitatibus, quales sunt Cassovia, Epperies, Leuschovia, Bartpha, Cibinium, Kefmarkimera, Nagybyanya, Pofonium, Tyrnavia, Szakoliza, Bazinium, Modra, Sandi Georgij, Kúfzég & Rust, & Montanis, quales itidem sunt Novizolum, Vetrozolum, Carpona, Schemnicium, Cremnicium, Labetbanya, Breznobanya, Bakabanya, Belabanya, Uybyanya, & aliæ, (pro quarum modalitate præmissa quapiam distinctione, & diversitate, proque exemplo ex utroque locum similiter binæ recententur,) similiter loca commoda, & quidem citra aliquam locorum exterorum restrictionem in ipsis Civitatibus, id est, in medio ipsarum Civitatum, juxta genuinum & literalem sententiam præallegatorum verborum dicti Articuli, pro adificandis Templis Scholis & Parochiis assignanda venient.]

X. Tempia demum, in quorum actuali possessione iidem Augustanæ & Helveticæ Confessionis addicti de facto sunt modo prævio, præ manibus eorum una cum Parochiis & Scholis, preventibusque eorumdem, propter bonum Pacis, ut nimirum quiete

1681. 'quiete & pacifice vivant, relinquuntur usu Sepulturæ & Campanarum pro Catholicis ibidem degentibus æque ac ipsis libero relicto.

[Hoc quoque membrum clarissimè confirmare compertit, præscriptum punctum 7. & innuere id, quod in quorum Templorum possessione actuali prout Evangelici erant, ulterius etiam illis, unâ cum preventibus, parochiis & scholis relinqui debere, usu insuper Campanarum & Sepulturæ communi utrinque manente.]

Comitatu Honthenfi & Oppido Gyöngyös. Præterea in eodem Oppido Gyöngyös nonnullæ privatae personæ omnes proventus, & pia legata ab Evangelicis abstraxerunt, Sepulturas in locis competentibus inhibuerunt, adeo ut complures in Cellariis demortuos suos longo tempore assertare necessitati fuerint, ad funerationem despectuosam quadrisiorum & comparum relegati existentes. Campanarum etiam liberum usum fere ubique per Regnum eadem Commissiones Evangelicæ interdixerunt. His similia æque in Comitatu Zempliniensi, ac signanter in præmemoratis Tolniz, Rakoczian, Oppidis, Thalia, Mad, Szanib, Kerefethur, Tarcel, Liska, Bemye, Tolozva, Patak, Vyhaly, Borffy & Tokai, nominatis, Officialibus ejusdem Domini patrarunt, quippe qui Universis dictorum oppidorum Templis (in quorum actuali Dominio tam tempore conditi hujus Articuli, quam expositi etiam fuissent, de catergo præ possessione eorumdem ad mentem Articuli imperturbato relinqui debuissent.) cum eorumdem preventibus per Evangelicos collatis, Parochiis item ac Scholis violenter occupatis liberum Religionis eorumdem exercitium, vel in privata etiam domo usumdem severissimis sub minis inhibuerunt, ac etiam Campanarum per eodem Oppidanos Evangelicos fieri curatarum, prout & Sepulturæ communem usum planè non admittendum interdixerunt; sic Epperiensis & Cassovienis civitatum Evangelicis quoad proventus Ecclesiasticos omnia pia legata per Magistratum loci & clerum sunt via facti erepta; quibus insimul Campanarum & Sepulturæ communis usus absolutissimè denegatur. Funerum porro intra mania Civitatum cum solitis cantibus & ceremoniis convenienti & publica deductio severa cum comminatione caveatur & non admittitur.

XI. 'Interea verò nec Catholici Ministris Augustanæ & Helveticæ Confessionis addictis, nec verò horum sequaces Plebanis Catholicis ad mentem Articuli 11 An. 1647. solvere obligentur.

[Clarissima sunt hæc verba Articuli, & ex superabundanti elucidantur per confirmationem 11 Artic. 1647. qui sic habet: 'Nec Evangelici Status Catholicis Plebanis, & converso Status Catholici Evangelicis Ministris ad ulla solutiones pendendas sint obligati. Et per subsequenter Articulum 12. ejusdem Ann. explicatius per hæc verba: 'Ubi verò parochias non habent Auditores Evangelici, solutionem pendant suæ Religionis Ministris, cujus videlicet Ministerio, seu opera usi fuerint, sicut & Catholici Parochii Catholicis: Ubi autem hæcenus Auditores Evangelici non solvissent Plebanis Catholicis, impotestum erit eam ad nullas solutiones præstandas ullo sub prætextu cogantur ad solvendum; prout nec Catholici Evangelicis. Ad hæc, quoad Stolarum proventus & pensiones, tenore expressarum allegati 12 Articuli 1647. contentiarum: 'Stolarum autem Proventus, seu solutiones in quibusvis locis Plebani Catholicis & Ministris Evangelici à suæ Religionis auditoribus totaliter percipiant. Quorum Articulorum evidentissima constitutione ab omni proflus solutione Catholicis Plebanis fienda Evangelici liberantur & eximuntur, huicque tamquam positive legi firmiter inherere volumus.]

XII. 'Omnibus porro Magnatibus & Nobilibus in Regno degentibus in Arcibus & solitis Residentiis suis, pro ritu cujusvis Professionis, Oratoria & Sacella adificare & donare liberum sit.

[Hæc in parte legalis est nostra instantia, ut in solitis Residentiis Nobilium pro ritu cujusque professionis Oratoria & Sacella habere

1681. Comitatu Honthenfi & Oppido Gyöngyös. Præterea in eodem Oppido Gyöngyös nonnullæ privatae personæ omnes proventus, & pia legata ab Evangelicis abstraxerunt, Sepulturas in locis competentibus inhibuerunt, adeo ut complures in Cellariis demortuos suos longo tempore assertare necessitati fuerint, ad funerationem despectuosam quadrisiorum & comparum relegati existentes. Campanarum etiam liberum usum fere ubique per Regnum eadem Commissiones Evangelicæ interdixerunt. His similia æque in Comitatu Zempliniensi, ac signanter in præmemoratis Tolniz, Rakoczian, Oppidis, Thalia, Mad, Szanib, Kerefethur, Tarcel, Liska, Bemye, Tolozva, Patak, Vyhaly, Borffy & Tokai, nominatis, Officialibus ejusdem Domini patrarunt, quippe qui Universis dictorum oppidorum Templis (in quorum actuali Dominio tam tempore conditi hujus Articuli, quam expositi etiam fuissent, de catergo præ possessione eorumdem ad mentem Articuli imperturbato relinqui debuissent.) cum eorumdem preventibus per Evangelicos collatis, Parochiis item ac Scholis violenter occupatis liberum Religionis eorumdem exercitium, vel in privata etiam domo usumdem severissimis sub minis inhibuerunt, ac etiam Campanarum per eodem Oppidanos Evangelicos fieri curatarum, prout & Sepulturæ communem usum planè non admittendum interdixerunt; sic Epperiensis & Cassovienis civitatum Evangelicis quoad proventus Ecclesiasticos omnia pia legata per Magistratum loci & clerum sunt via facti erepta; quibus insimul Campanarum & Sepulturæ communis usus absolutissimè denegatur. Funerum porro intra mania Civitatum cum solitis cantibus & ceremoniis convenienti & publica deductio severa cum comminatione caveatur & non admittitur.

Contra XI. Commissiones verò ubique in Comitatus Plebanis Catholicis omnes solutiones addixerunt. In Civitatibus autem, ut ex Fisco, seu Communi Civitatis arario (ad quem respectu pluralitatis & majoris numeri Evangelicorum Catholicis minimum quantum contribuerent) Plebanis solutio fiat, præscripserunt Nos, ut nostratibus tam Ministris, quam Scholæ docentibus, extraordinariæ ex propriis præsticiamus, manifestè tam contra præscriptos Articulos, quam etiam mentem Sacra Scripturæ, laborantibus solam mercedem tribuentis; non laborantibus verò nec manducare debere inventis, iniuriis cogendo. Officialis identidem saepe allegati Domini Rakoczian in superiori Hungaria, assensu quoque brachio Militari, ad solutionem Plebanis Catholicis in eodem dominio pendendam citra discrimen, Nobiles pariter & ignobiles incolæ Evangelicos omni conatu adigunt.

Contra XII. Commissiones verò in plerisque Comitatus, signanter autem Lyptovienfi, Thuroczeni, Zolienfi, Arvenfi, & aliis (licet à tempore occupatorum Templorum in usu & praxi talis exercitii in Residentiis Nobilitatis Articulariter permixti longo tempore præfuerint) abrogarunt, & sub pava militaris invasionis residentia similis nobilis, inhibuerunt.

1681. runt. Prouti exposit in Comitatu Lyptovienſi habere liceat, prouti poſt factam Templo-
Domini Plebani ibidem per milites Lickavienſium occupationem id in uſum & praxin in
ſes aliquo talium Nobilium domos invadi & Conſulibus Comitatus deductum fue-
expilari ſeſſent. Et proxime in Trenchenſi
menſi Comitatu Nobiles familia Noſdroviczky
Pradicantem in reſidentia ſua pro adminiſtratione exercitiſ ſui intertenentes ſimiliter per mi-
lites Regimini Moſſiani damnificati, & idem Miniſter ad carceres Arcis Lednicze raptus
nunc quoque ibidem detinetur. In inſula Czakoſz Nobiles Hodoſienſes & circumjacentium
locorum ſimiliter à reſidentiali Religionis ſua cultu prohibiti ſunt, & Miniſtri ibidem exi-
ſtentis eo tam omnes res direpta ſunt. Quam injuriam inferiorum quoque Hungariae par-
tium Nobiles Evangelici non ſine lamentis querulantur.

Utinam Concluſio hæc obſervaretur, & ad XIII. Poſthac verò nullæ Templo-
rum deſumtionem à Contravenientibus deſignatæ Scholarum & Parochiarum occupationes,
penæ Articuliſ procederetur, pacificam omni- vel Exercitiſ turbationes ab utrumque, ſub
nino & imperturbatam noſtri in libero Evan- pena in Articulo 8. Uladiſlai decreti 6.
gelico Exercitiſ permanſionem nobis polliceri expreſſa, ſiant.
poſſemus, tollereturque formidine penæ omnis
ſomes diſcordiarum. Quod ut fiat concordibus apprecatur votis & animis.

Ex quorum Articulorum Sopronienſium, & per eos confirmatorum modalitate prævia mem-
bratim facta Deductione, ſiquidem & eorum claritas, & huic innixa Inſtantia noſtra æquitas,
econtra verò Excellarum Commiſſionum aliorumq; in effectuione eorum admiſſi abuſus & deſor-
ſimæ luce meridiana eluceſcunt, palpabileſque redduntur. Maieſtatem Veſtram Sereniſ-
ſimam per pretioſiſſimam Chriſti mortem, & glorioſiſſimam Reſurrectionem humililms exora-
ſimus precibus, ut cognitis jam tandem ac Regi cordi admiſſis legitimis Poſtulatſ noſtris, ea-
dem per quocunq; ulterius retardari non patiatur; quin potius (ſiquidem ea poſt tam longum
tempus una cum aliis tractatibus hic catenus iſtituta Commiſſionis jam Maieſtatiſ Veſtræ
Sereniſſimæ & intimo Conſilio reportata, imo certum Panctum dictorum Tractatum, uti in-
formamur, non tamen noſtrum, per D.D. intimos Conſiliarios revolutum & examinatum eſſet,
verendum verò nobis ventret ne ſors expoſt etiam aliud diverſum, & huic Inſtantia noſtra
inaccommo- moram neceſſens, reſuſcitatur, ſicque nos co majori aduſ temporis cum protra-
ditione, & jam exhauſtorum gravium ſumtumq; diſpendio, animi pendentes ulterius aduſ deti-
neamur.) juxta Maieſtatiſ Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ ante jam de anticipando & exigendo
puncto Religionis Ceſſiſſimo Principi ſupremo Aulae Præſecto gratioſiſſimè præbitum, ac nobis
etiam per ſuam Ceſſitudinem ſignificatum, benigniſſimum Regium aſſenſum, ac taliter cum
marum ſalutem tangentem Religionis inſtantiam per D.D. intimos Conſiliarios reſuſcitandam,
tractandam, & determinandam, quam propenſiſſime ordinare & committere, ac taliter cum
nunquam intermoriſura Regaliſ ſui Regiminis ad normam glorioſorum Prædeceſſorum ſuorum
ſama, Nos in hac libertate Religioſa ſtabilire, ſtabiliſſimè & expeditoſ primo quoque tem-
pore ad Principales noſtros dimitti curare clementiſſimè dignetur. Gratiam hanc Cæſareo-
Regium Deus ex altis Maieſtatiſ Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ omnigena felicitate retribuet,
Maieſtatiſ Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ.

Exhibita ſue Maieſtatiſ Sereniſſimæ ad
Capellam Arcenſem procedenti Vienna
die 24 Menſis Aprilis Ann. 1689.

Humililms perpetuoque fideles ſubditi,
Comitatuum, Civitatum, Oppidorum & Con-
ſiliariorum Partium Regni Hungariae Superiorum
& Inferiorum à parte Evangelicorum in Negotio
turbata Religionis ſue Ablegati Nunciſ.

Diætæ Poſonienſis, Ann. 1687. Articulus XXI.

In negotio Religionis renovantur Articuli 25 & 26 Ann. 1681. cum
interjecta Declaratione.

Licet quidem in Negotio Religionis Auguſtanae & Helveticae Confeſſioni additi Arti-
culi 25 & 26 noſſimæ Diætæ Sopronienſis oppoſitam iſdem per reclamantem ſuam
abſentibus ipſo ſaſto eorundem beneficiſ participes eſſe deſiſſent: propter bonum nihilominus
domieſtica unionis & pacis, internamque Regni tranquillitatem, cum ſua Maieſtas Sacraſſimæ
ex gratia & clementia ſua præcitatōs Articulus aduſ ratos fore benigniſſimè reſolviſſet,
coſſem Status quoque & Ordines ad mentem Paternæ reſolutionis (Cleri & aliorum ſecula-
rium Catholicorum contradictione non obſtante) pro renovatis & priori firmitati reſtitutis
conſuſos, acſi & in quantum hactenus inefficaci, vel verò per aliquos abuſus ab una aut
altera

1681. altera parte medio tempore introductos, violati fuiſſent, ſua debita executioni, & tem-
pore eorundem conditorum Articulorum, vel expoſt occupatorum, aut reoccupatorum imper-
dende reſtaurationi, utrimus demandandos eſſe ſtatuerunt.

Pacifications Vienneniſis Ann. 1606. Articuli Primi Continentia hæc eſt.

Quæntum itaque ad Religionis Negotium attinet, non obſtantibus prioribus pro tempore
Conſtitutionibus Publicis, ſed neque Articulo poſtremo Anno 1604. (cum ſi extra dia-
tam, & ſine Regniculorum aſſenſu adſeſus fuerit, & propterea etiam tollitur) deliberatum eſt;
Ut juxta Sereniſſimæ Cæſariae, Regiaque Maieſtatiſ priorum Reſolutionem, ad quam ſe Reg-
nicole in ſua Replicatione reſerunt, nimirum: Quod omnes & ſingulos Status & Ordines intra
ambitum Regni Hungariae ſolum exiſtentes, tam Magnates, Nobiles, quam liberas Civitates,
Oppida Privilegiata, immediatè ad Coronam ſpeſſantia: Item in Conſiſiis quoque Regni Hun-
gariae Milites Hungaros in ſua Religione & Confeſſione nuſquam & nunquam turbabunt, nec per
alios turbari, aut impediri ſunt; Verum omnibus prædictis Statibus & Ordinibus Regni liber
Religionis ipſorum uſus & exercitiſ permiſſetur, abſque tamen præjudicio Catholicae Romanae
Religionis, & ut Clerus, Tempa & Eccleſiae Catholicorum Romanorum intaſſa & libera per-
maneant, atque ac quæ hoc diſturbiorum tempore utrimque occupata fuere, ruſum eiſdem reſtitu-
antur.

Anno 1608. Articuli Primi ante Coronationem editi de Ne Negotio
Religionis tenor talis eſt:

Quæntum itaque ad Primum Conſtitutionis Vienneniſis Articulum attinet, deliberatum eſt
per Status & Ordines Incliti Regni Hungariae, ut Religionis Exercitiſ tam Baroni-
bus, Magnatibus & Nobilibus, quam etiam Liberis Civitatibus ac Univerſis Statibus & Or-
dinibus Regni, in ſuis & Fiſci bonis, item in Conſiſiis quoque Regni Hungariae Militibus
Hungaris ſua cuique Religio & Confeſſio, nec non Oppidis & Villis cum ſponte ac libere accepto
volentibus, ubiq; liberam relinquatur, nec quiſquam omnium in libera eiſdem ſua ac exer-
citiſ, quoquam impediatur. Quin imo ad præcedenda inter Status & Ordines aliqua odia &
diſſenſiones, ut quilibet Religio ſue Profeſſionis ſuperiores ſeu Superintendentes habeat, ſtatim
eſt.

N. B.

Ut utpoſterior hic Articulus primus Ann. 1608. Ann. 1618. Articulo 77. renovatus, Ann.
1622. tempore Ferdinandi 11. Imperatoris Regio diplomati, per Generales Regni Conſtitu-
tiones, Conditione 6 clarior ſenſu inſertus, Ann. 1625. Artic. 22. Ann. 1630. Artic. 33. Ann.
1635. Artic. 29. identidem tam idem Articulus, quam etiam prædeclaratã Conditio ſexta,
ſuo vigori reſtituti, Ann. 1638. memoratã Conditio 6. diplomatiſ Regij Ferdinandi 11. ſimi-
liter diplomate Regio Ferdinandi III. Imperatoris, æque Conditione 6ta per expreſſam de
verbo ad verbum confirmata, Ann. 1647. Artic. 5to novo diplomate Regio Pacificationis cum
Iluſtriſſimo Principe Tranſylvanicae Domino Georgio Racozy condita, diverſiſſeque aliis ſubſeque-
ntibus, uti, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 & 14. Articulis, quod ad diverſos caſus, ſtabilitas,
Ann. 1649. Artic. 10. & Ann. 1655. Artic. 18. qua præattactã pacificatio Rakocz-
ana, qua præſcripti Articuli Anno 1647. pariter ratificati. Denique Anno 1659. moderni
Imperatoris Leopoldi Regio inſimal diplomate, Publicis quoque Regni Conſtitutionibus Ar-
ticulo 1. indito, Conditione ſimiliter 6ta per omnia, ut in prioribus Ferdinandorum II & III.
Imperatorum diplomatiſ. Verbo Regio ratihabitus eſſet, his nihilominus non obſtantibus, omnes
præviſi hi Articuli & Conditiones diplomaticæ omni ſua firmitate privati ſunt, Exercitiſ Re-
ligionis Evangelicae contra omnes Sanſtiones Articulares & Publicas Regni Conſtitutiones, ſacra
item Regia diplomata, in ipſiſſimo Exterminio jamnum effectivè verſante.

Most Sacred, Imperial, and Royal Majesty :

Most Gracious Sir,

^{1681.} **A**lthough we have already made it appear to Your most Sacred Majesty, and to the Ministers of Your most Imperial Court, that many Injustices were done to us in the Year 1681, against the clear and evident Grants of the 25th and 26th Articles of Sopron, Humbly soliciting this full Year and a Half the Observation of the same, and the Redressing of the Grievances of our Evangelical Religion; yet, because it is daily Reported, that by Virtue of Your Majesty's Commissions appointed last Year, and before through Hungary nothing was Ordered, against the full intent of the said Articles, and that we desire more than is granted in them: We thought it our Duty to justify both our Complaints and our repeated Requests, (the rather because the Worthy Ministers of Your Imperial Court have often assur'd us, that without any delay or difficulty, we should be maintain'd in the clear Grants of the said Articles of Sopron,) in order to which we shall set down here, as in a kind of Table, the very words of the said Articles, together with our Requests, against the Misinterpretation of the said Articles, either by Your Majesty's Commissioners, or by other Persons under pretence of fulfilling the same, and the Decisions made thereupon, by that means we shall shew Evidently that the said Articles were Infring'd to our great prejudice, and that our Requests are most Just.

The XXV ARTICLE runs thus :

AND because his Majesty intending the Peace and general Quiet of the Kingdom was pleas'd also to come to a Gracious Resolution upon the business of Religion, therefore the States of the Kingdom insert the said Resolution in the Articles.

I. 'And Principally, whereas the free exercise of Religion (granted in the year 1606, by virtue of the Peace of Vienna) has been disturbed in part during these Troubles; therefore (the first Article of the said Peace being hereby confirm'd) the same free exercise of Religion is granted to every Person, and every where in the Kingdom; according to the first Article made before the Coronation in the year 1608. Provided that the Privileges of Lords of Manors be not hereby prejudiced.

Hereupon we require in the Article's own words, that the same free exercise of Religion (as was disturbed in part during the Troubles, and before the Troubles did include Evangelical Ministers or Preachers) be granted to every Person, and every where in the Kingdom, not excepting the free Cities, Towns and Villages, which make the fourth State, since they are expressly comprehended in the aforesaid Article made

II. 'A free Return in the Kingdom, and a free exercise of Religion is granted also to all the Ministers; and School-masters, that are either

Proceedings of the King's Commissioners contrary in every particular to the Articles of Sopron.

Against the opposite first Article. The King's high Commissioners, or other private Persons employ'd by them, have forbidden such a free exercise of Religion, as could consist in the Service of God through Preaching, Singing, Praying, Administering the Sacraments, blessing Marriages, making Burials, and using other wonted Ceremonies, which were perform'd by Ecclesiastical Ministers, in many free Royal Cities and Mountain Towns, namely in St. George, Bazinow, Tyrnaw, Zakoliza, Schemnitzow, Vercerolium, Carpen, Libeten, Breznaw, Bakaw, Bela, Vibania, Kuffeghin and Ruft; whereby it appears, That in those places the said Commissioners have suppress the whole exercise of Religion against the opposite Article; for where there is no Liberty for the above mention'd Acts of Religion, there can be no exercise of Religion at all. They have likewise depriv'd the Inhabitants of all the Towns and Villages in the Counties, of the free exercise of their Religion, by Virtue of that Clause insert'd for the destroying of our Religion, and of the Gospel too (Provided that the Privileges of the Lords of Manors be not hereby prejudiced) against the Confirmation of the Article made in the Year 1608.

Against the II. The said Commissioners have Licensed but two Ministers in each County, and but one or two in some Free Cities all

^{1681.} over the Kingdom, Banishing all the rest out of the Counties, some within a Fortnight and others within Three days; as in the Counties of Lypcze, of Orowa, of Owar, of Sachlag, of Zolnock and in others, or requiring strict Deeds of Reverfion from the same, if they would continue in the said Counties. They have also appointed, that there should be no petty Schools, but such where Children could learn only to Read and to Write. But what kind of Liberty it is, that hath been granted to our Ministers to profess their Religion; appears ill, By the Recorded Banishment of a great many of them out of the Counties. 2ly, By the Case of the Ministers in Eperies, that have been turn'd out by a Roman Catholic Magistrate, under pretence that it was Your Majesty's Pleasure and Command, altho' that Town be particularly named in the Articles. 3ly, By the violence that the Official has done to the Ministers and School-masters, that liv'd but miserably in the Dominion of Tokai in Upper Hungary, intimating to them under pain of Death, and the Forfeiture of all their Goods, to go out of the said County, or by most strict Deeds of Reverfion, to renounce for ever under the same penalty to perform any Ecclesiastical Duty in the said County. 4ly, By the Confinement of several Ministers, who are kept Prisoners in the Fort of Ledniche, by Order of his Eminence the Cardinal of Kolocza, and can obtain their Liberty on no other Condition, but that of subscribing pernicious Deeds of Reverfion.

Against the III. Here our Sighs interrupt our Complaints, nor can we find words to express how variously and miserably our Ministers have been, and are still disturbed every where, either by the said Commissioners, or by other private Persons. As for instance in short, (not to repeat the above-mentioned Counties, and many Towns of the County of Semlyn, in the aforesaid Dominion of Tokai, and their Ministers) the above-mentioned City of Eperies in Upper Hungary, and in the Lower all the Cities besides Presburg, Sopron, Modra, Crennicz and Ncozium, with their Evangelical Ministers. As also the Minister of Hodoffia in the Isle of Shut, who had all the means of Life, Clothes, Books and Furniture taken from him by the Secretary of the Archbishop of Gran, and by the Soldiers which he brought along with him, which is the Fate of a great many others, that lead a most miserable Life in perpetual Changes, owing their Liberty to a Special Providence of God, or having obtain'd it after they had paid great Fines, or made pernicious Deeds of Reverfion.

Against the IV. The said Commissioners have Order'd, that the Evangelicals should be made to bring their Processional Trophies, and to Walk in Processions, that the Evangelical Peasant should every where be forc'd to frequent Catholic Churches; and that in all the Free Cities where there is no publick exercise of our Religion, the Evangelical should be oblig'd to Ministerial Offices contrary to their way.

Against the V. The said Commissioners having no regard to the Assignment appointed in the opposite Article, have seiz'd upon all the Churches and Chappels in the Counties of Lypcze, of Arva, of Turocz, of Zolnock and

either Banish'd or Kept out of their Employments, by reason of certain Deeds of Reverfion, the same Deeds being hereby made void and of no effect.

From thence it follows evidently, that the Ministers and Schoolmasters are to be restor'd from their Exile to their respective Professions, and may live freely in any City, Town or Village of the Kingdom, performing the Duties of their Religion and Profession, and that no more Deeds of Reverfion can be requir'd from them, since such Deeds are condemn'd in the Article.

III. 'And no Hungarian Subject shall be disturbed any way hereafter in the free Exercise of his Religion.

These words, no Hungarian Subject exclude undoubtedly any Exception; the meaning plainly is, that no Ecclesiastical or Civil Person, no Nobleman, no Citizen, nor Peasant ought to be disturbed in the free exercise of Religion, and no Body will deny, but that an exercise of Religion can in no sense be term'd free, unless there be Ministers that officiate in it.

IV. 'None of the Helvetic Confession, and of that of Ausburg, shall be compelled to any ceremony contrary to his Religion.

The generality of these words, confirms the foregoing i.e. that no Nobleman, nor Gentleman, no Citizen nor Peasant ought to be compelled.

The XXVI. ARTICLE.

V. 'Moreover the Churches (that have been Built by those of the Helvetic Confession, and of that of Ausburg, and whose Members are not yet reconciled to the Catholick Church) shall

1681. 'be assign'd to them by certain Commissioners.

Hereupon we require, that those Chapels and Churches be deliver'd and assign'd to us, whose Members are not yet reconciled to the Catholick Church, of which fort many would be found in the Counties of *Lypcze*, of *Owar*, &c.

make any use of them, either Ecclesiastical or venient and dangerous places, where they have only liberty to Build such Churches as cannot contain the Congregation by several Thousands.

VI. 'It is order'd also, according to his Majesty's Gracious Resolution, that in other places the same Commissioners, assign places to build Churches and Schools, and erect Parishes for the convenience of those of the *Helvetian* Confession, and of that of *Ausbourg*.

Hereupon we require, that instead of the inconvenient and undecent places, which are assign'd out of *Cassovia* and *Esperies* in Upper *Hungary*, others be appointed within the Walls, as also in all the Free and Royal Cities, where there is convenient and large eplaces, since thus much is signified by the words which will be set down lower fig-9.

VII. 'But in other Counties, as in those of *Salamar*, of *Velprim*, of *Saraz*, of *Moramors*, of *Abavivar*, of *Sellia*, of *Semlyn*, of *Ugoza*, of *Bedrogh*, of *Tornau*, of *Komorra*, of *Barzad*, of *Sachfag*, of *Novagrad*, of *Zolnock*, of *Hewecz*, of *Pesth*, *Pellicz* and *Soldth* united, of *Ungbwar*, of *Chege* and of *Zatmar*; since the Evangelicks are actually in possession of almost all the Churches there, the same Churches are left for the use of the actual possessors of them.

Hereupon we require, that the Evangelicks may recover and undisturbedly possess all the Churches, which were possessed by them in the aforesaid Counties when the Article was made, and which for the most part are now taken from them against the said Article.

tion'd Counties be named in the Article, whereby the Evangelicks are left in the Possession of all those Churches, which they had in

VIII. 'The same is granted in the Frontier Towns of the Kingdom, viz. to those of *Zengrod* in the division near *Canisa*; of *Tyhany*, *Vajony*, *Papa*, *Velprim*, *Raab* and *Comorra*, in the division of *Raaby*; of *Leva*, *Carpen* and *Tuletin*, in the division before the Mountains; and of *Putnock*, *Ond*, *Zendro*, *Tokai*, *Calo* and *Zatmar*, in the division of Upper *Hungary*.

By

and of *Sachfag*, although the Churches of *1681. Pribocz*, *Bella* and *Zathuriza*, in the County of *Turocz* have been Built by the 'Evangelick, who were never reconciled to the Catholick Church; there are likewise Chapels in *Kiratlehota*, *Potornia*, *Vicbicz*, &c. in the County of *Lypcze*, that were Built by the Evangelicks and the Lords of those Manors; nevertheless, they are severely forbidden to Civil, being sent to two very remote inconvenient and dangerous places, where they have only liberty to Build such Churches as cannot contain the Congregation by several Thousands.

Against the VI. No Convenient places for Churches, Parishes and Chapels have been assign'd in any free Royal Town of Upper Hungary, but here the Commissioners, there the Officials of the Chamber, and elsewhere private Persons, as in *Cassovia* and *Esperies*, have appointed places for Churches, Parishes and Schools, which are at a great distance in the Fields, out of Desert and Desolate Suburbs; and which are for any Common use of the Three Nations, which rendereth them so inconvenient and nasty, that to dedicate Churches to the most Holy God in such places, were a most detestable Crime for any sort of Christians.

Against the VII. In many Counties as also in that of *Sachfag*, (which is one of the aforesaid) the King's Commissioners have caused all the Churches to be taken from the Evangelicks, and their Ministers to be turn'd out by the Vicount of that County; the Officials have done the like in the Counties of *Abavivar*, of *Semlyn*, of *Ugoza*, and in all the Towns of the Dominion of *Tokai*, as we have already mention'd; and some private Persons have presum'd to seize upon the Church belonging to those of the *Helvetian* Confession, and of that of *Ausbourg* in the Town of *Gyongyos*, (which *Gyongyos* maketh the most considerable part of the County of *Hewecz*) to put out their Ministers, and even forbid the Evangelicks to exercise any way their Religion in that place. The like has been done in the Town of *Jaszbreny*, and the Frontiers of *Legrad*, although the abovemention'd Counties be named in the Article, whereby the Evangelicks are left in the Possession of all those Churches, which they had in the said Counties when the Article was made.

Against the VIII. In the Town of *Maromarus*, and in the places round about it, private Men have forbidden the whole exercise of Religion, charging with Beat of Drums all the Evangelicks; to go and exercise their Religion out of that Frontier under pain of Imprisonment, and other severe Punishments. After the same manner the King's Commissioners in *Carpen*, and the Deputies in *Tokai* have

forbid-

1681. forbidden the exercise of Religion, and seiz'd upon the Churches, although both these places be particularly named in the Articles.

cise of Religion, and use the same Churches as they did in those Towns when the Article was made.

Against the IX. The said Commissioners, or their Deputies have appointed places for Churches, Schools and Parishes out of *Trenschin*, *Modra*, *Cremnicz* and *Novizolium*, and none at all in the rest of the Towns of Lower Hungary; now why should the Case of some be worse than that of others? since all have the same Privilege of Liberty in Upper Hungary. They have likewise appointed some places for Churches, Schools and Parishes not in, but out of the Cities, against the true meaning of the opposite part of the Article, which most evidently declareth, that those places must be appointed within and not without the Walls of the Cities, or else they could not be such as are appointed Fig. 6. i. c. convenient and fit to be consecrated for the publick service of God.

convenient places for Churches, Parishes and Schools, must be assigned not out of the Walls which were to restrain the Article, but in the very middle of the Cities and Towns, according to the genuine and literal meaning of the words of the aforesaid Article.

Against the X. In many Counties, and particularly in that of *Sachfag*, and the Town of *Gyongyos*, the King's Commissioners have taken such Churches together, with their Appurtenances as were possessed by the Evangelicks, when the Article was made, which we have hinted in the foregoing fifth Grievance. Moreover in the aforesaid Town of *Gyongyos*, many private Persons have taken all the Ecclesiastical Revenues, and Pious Legacies from the Evangelicks, forbidding them withal to Bury their Dead in the usual places, which has made many keep Corps in Cellars a long time, rather than Bury them in *Carfax* and *Crossways* as they were appointed. The Commissioners have also deprived the Evangelicks of the use of the Bells almost every where; the Officials have done the like in the County of *Semlin*, and particularly in those Towns of the aforesaid Dominion of *Tokai*, *Thalia*, *Mod*, *Zantho*, *Kerechur*, *Tarcal*, *Lifzka*, *Benny*, *Tolezva*, *Patak*, *Vecely*, *Borzi* and *Tokai* seizing upon all the Churches, Schools and Parishes, (which at the time of and after the Treaty were possessed by the Evangelicks, and left to the same by the said Article) together with the Revenues that have been given to them by the Evangelicks, forbidding with most severe threatnings the free exercise of our Religion even in private Houses, and hindering the Evangelicks from the common use of Burials and Bells, though made at their own care and charge. Likewise the Magistrates and Clergy Men of the Town of *Cassovia* and *Esperies*, have taken by force all the pious Legacies left to our Churches, and forbidden absolutely the common use of Bells and Burials, Threatning with the most severe Punishments those that would make publick Burials within the Walls, with the usual Singing and decent Ceremonies.

By vertue of this Grant, the Evangelicks that live in *Maramarsh*, *Carpen*, *Tokai*, and in any other abovemention'd Frontier Town, ought to enjoy the same free exercise as they did in those Towns when the Article was made.

IX. 'Furthermore, in all the free and Mountain Towns, as in *Trenschin*, *Modra*, *Cremnicz*, *Novizolium*, and in all the Cities of Upper Hungary, places shall be assign'd likewise for Churches, Schools and Parishes.

What more direct and clear can be concluded from these words, but that in the free Cities, such as are *Cassovia*, *Esperies*, *Leuschovia*, *Bartpha*, *Cilinium*, *Kelmurkim*, *Nagybania*, *Presburg*, *Tyrnau*, *Zakoliza*, *Bazinium*, *Modra*, *St. George*, *Kuffesh*, *Rust*, and in the Mountain Towns such as are *Novizolium*, *Veterozolium*, *Carpen*, *Schemnizium*, *Cremnicium*, *Libeten*, *Brennou*, *Baka*, *Bela*, *Vibania*, &c. (for the modifying of which, two of each sort, viz. of the free Cities, and of the Mountain Towns, are brought as instances with a certain distinction, or specification used before)

convenient places for Churches, Parishes and Schools, must be assigned not out of the Walls which were to restrain the Article, but in the very middle of the Cities and Towns, according to the genuine and literal meaning of the words of the aforesaid Article.

X. 'Finally, the Churches which are actually possessed by those of the *Helvetian* Confession, and of that of *Ausbourg* shall be still for their use as before, together with the Parishes and Schools and their Revenues, that they may live in peace and quiet; but the same free use of Bells and Burials is left to the Catholics in those parts as to them.

This confirms evidently the above written seventh Point, and signifieth that the Churches which the Evangelicks were actually possessed of, should remain for their use, together with the Revenues, Parishes, and Schools; the Bells and Burials remaining common for the use of both Parties.

tion'd Counties be named in the Article, whereby the Evangelicks are left in the Possession of all those Churches, which they had in the said Counties when the Article was made.

N

XI. 'Never-

1681. XI. 'Nevertheless the Catholicicks shall not be obliged to pay any thing to the Ministers of the Evangelicks, nor the Evangelicks to the Curates of the Catholicicks, according to the meaning of the 11th Article Ann. 1647.

This cannot be clearer, nor better confirmed upon than by the confirmed 11th Article which runs thus: 'The Evangelicks shall not be obliged to pay any thing to the Catholic Curates, nor the Catholicicks to the Evangelick Ministers: And by the following 12th Article, yet more plainly in these words; 'But where the Evangelicks have no Parishes, let them pay the Ministers that they employ, as the Catholicicks are to pay their Catholic Curates; and where hitherto the Evangelicks did pay nothing to the Catholic Curates, they shall not be obliged hereafter to pay under any pretence whatsoever; 'Nor the Catholicicks to the Evangelick Ministers. Add to this the words of the aforesaid 12th Article in the year 1647, concerning the Revenues and Pensions of the Schools; 'But in any place whatsoever the Catholic Curates, and the Evangelick Ministers shall receive the Revenues of Schools, and Pensions from their respective followers; by which most evident constitution of the Articles, the Evangelicks are freed and discharged from paying any thing to the Catholic Curates; and to this positive Law we desire to adhere.

XII. 'All the Peers and Noblemen that live in the Kingdom have Liberty to Build and Endow Oratories, and Chappels according to their respective profession of Religion in their usual places of Residence.

Hereupon we require, that Noblemen may have Oratories and Chappels according to their respective professions of Religion in their usual dwelling places, as the same was practised in many Counties after the taking of our Churches.

for the Exercise of Religion in its place of Residence, has been much dammified also by the Soldiers of Meria's Regiment, and the Ministers put into the Prison of the Fort of Ledniche, where he is kept to this day; likewise the Noblemen of Hodossia, of the places round about in the Isle of Shut, have been deprived of the free exercise of Religion in their places of Residence, and the Ministers that lived there then, have been Plunder'd of all their Goods, which Injustice the Evangelick Noblemen of Lower Hungary do also complain of.

XIII. 'Hereafter no Churches, Schools and Parishes shall be seized, nor Exercise hinder'd on either side, under the pain expressed in the 8th Article of the 6th Decree of Uladislau.

fions would be extinguished, and taken away for fear of being Punish'd, which, that it may be done is our Hearty Prayer and Desire.

Now having lay'd before Your Sacred Majesty the Articles of Sopron, and the Abuses committed in the executing of them, it is as clear as the Sun, that we require nothing but what is granted in them; We humbly beseech Your most Sacred Majesty, through Christ's Precious Death and Glorious Resurrection, that having known and laid up in Your Royal Heart our lawful Requests, Your Sacred Majesty suffer no longer the same

Against the XI. Every where in the Counties, the Commissioners have adjudged all the Payments to the Catholic Curates, and Ordered in the Cities that they should be paid out of the common Purse, wherein the Catholicicks could contribute but little, they being but few in number in comparison of the Evangelicks; thus they have forced us to manage our selves, to be at extraordinary Charges out of our own States, for the maintaining of our Ministers and School-masters, not only against the right intention of the aforesaid Articles, but also against the plain Sense of the Holy Scripture, which allows a Salary for such as Labour, and even nothing to Eat for such as Labour not: After the like manner the Official of the abovementioned Dominion of Tokai in Upper Hungary, do all their endeavours to make both Noble and ignoble Evangelicks, pay without distinction the Catholic Curates.

Against the XII. In many Counties, viz. in that of Lypcz, of Turocz, of Zolnock, of Arva, &c. the said Commissioners have suppressed and forbidden, under pain of Military Execution the exercise of Religion, which is granted to Noblemen in their places of Residence, and which they had enjoy'd long since the Churches were seized accordingly in the County of Lypcz, the Clergy Men have caused some such Noblemen's Houses to be assaulted, and plunder'd by the Garrison of Likavia, and in the County of Trenichin, the Noble Family of Noidrovsky which did keep a Minister,

Would to God that this Conclusion were observed, and the Punishment hinted in the Article inflicted upon the Opposers thereof; then we might promise our selves to enjoy quietly, and undisturbedly the free exercise of our Religion, and then the fewel of Divisions would be extinguished, and taken away for fear of being Punish'd, which, that it may be done is our Hearty Prayer and Desire.

1681. to be hinder'd by any Person whatsoever, but rather (since after so long time they have been Reported before Your most Sacred Majesty, and before Your Privy Council, together with some Treatises of the appointed Commission; Nay, being inform'd that a certain Point of the said Treatises (that doth not concern us) has been examin'd by the Lords of the Privy Council; it makes us fear, lest something else be taken into consideration, whereby an Answer to our Requests may be occasion'd, and we yet longer detain'd here under the inconvenience of Doubt, of Delay, and of continuance of the vast Charges we have already been at according to Your most Sacred Majesty's Gracious Content (given to the most High Prince President of the Court, and intimated to us by his Highness) to dispatch first the Business of Religion, that Your Sacred Majesty be graciously pleas'd to appoint and commit our Requests, which so narrowly concern the Salvation of our Souls, to be consider'd again, and determin'd by the Lords of the Privy Council, so to Establish us in the Liberty of Religion, to the Immortal Fame of Your Royal Government, after the Example of Your Glorious Predecessors; that being relieved We may speedily Return to our Principals, and God will recompence this Imperial, Royal Favour with all sort of Happines from above.

Deliver'd to His Sacred Majesty at Aix la Chapelle, upon his going to Vienna, the 24th day of April, in the year 1689.

Your most Sacred Majesty's most Humble and Faithful Subjects, the Deputies of the Evangelicks in the Counties, Cities, Towns and Frontiers of Upper and Lower Hungary, about the Business of their distressed Religion.

The First Article of the Peace of Vienna in the Year 1606.

AS to the Business of Religion, notwithstanding the former public Constitutions, and the last Article of the Year 1604, (which was made without the Diet, and the consent of the Subjects, and therefore is annulled,) it is granted, That (according to his Imperial Majesty's former Resolution, to which the Subjects refer themselves in their replying) all and each State of the Kingdom of Hungary, as well the Peers and Noblemen, as the free Cities, and the Privileged Towns belonging immediately to the Crown, and all the Hungarian Soldiers in the Frontiers, shall any where, and at any time profits and exercise their Religion without any Disturbance, either from His most Sacred Majesty, or from any Person whatsoever; a free exercise of Religion being hereby granted to all the said States of the Kingdom. Provided always, That the Roman Catholic Religion be not thereby prejudiced, That the Roman Catholic Clergy, Churches and Chappels remain free and unmolested, and that what has been taken from them in these Troubles be restor'd.

The First Article made before the Coronation in the Year 1608 concerning Religion.

Concerning the first Article of the Treaty of Vienna, it is resolv'd by the States and Orders of Hungary, that the Exercises of Religion shall be left free, not only to the Noblemen, and to the Inhabitants of the free Cities, but also to the Hungarian Soldiers in the Frontiers of the Kingdom of Hungary, and to all the Farmers and Peasants that will freely accept the same; nor shall any of 'em be disturb'd in the free Exercise of Religion, but to prevent any effect of hard and dissention between Roman Catholicicks and Protestants, It is Order'd, That each Party shall have a Superior, or Superintendent of his own Profession.

Although this last first Article of the Year 1608, was renew'd in 7th Article of the Year 1618, inferred in the General Constitutions of the Kingdom by Order of the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, in the Year 1622, restor'd to his Force by the 22d Article of the Year 1625, by the 33d Article of the Year 1630, and by the 29th Article of the Year 1635, confirm'd in the 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14th Articles of the new Treaty of Peace made with George Ragozy, Prince of Transylvania in the Year 1648; Ratified both in the aforementioned Articles of 1649, and in the 10th Article of the Year 1649, and in the 18th Article of the Year 1655 made at Rakocziz; and lastly, confirm'd again and inferred in the Constitutions of the Kingdom, by Order of Leopold the present Emperor, in the Year 1699; yet notwithstanding all these, the said Article remains without Force, and the Exercise of the Protestant Religion is wholly exterminated against the Articles, and the public Constitutions of the Kingdom, as well as against the Sacred Imperial Letters Patent.

1681. And yet all this contributed little towards a Peace, for the Refults of this Diet concerned none but the good and quiet Men, and fuch as were zealous for the Settlement and Peace of their Country: Whilft *Tekeli* and others of that Spirit, whose Minds were poffess'd with virulent Malice and Ambition, were plotting and contriving the means to fet up their own Authority, and give themselves into the Hands of the *Turks*, rather than to the Power of their Sovereign Prince, of whose natural Clemency thó they were well affur'd; yet they suspected and fear'd his Councils, which being chiefly influenced and directed by Jesuits, and the Spirit of the Clergy could never be reconciled in any tollerable manner to the Protestant profession. Thus whilft things were Negotiating in the Diet *Tekeli* besieg'd *Kalo*, which surrendr'd at discretion with little or no resistance; and Prince *Apafi* joining with some Parties of the Malecontents laid Siege to *Zatmar*, with an Army composed of *Transylvanians*, *Moldavians*, *Turks* and Malecontents of *Hungary*, all which acted in four separate Bodies, being well provided with Cannon, and all forts of Ammunition and Provisions; so soon as *Apafi* had form'd his Siege, he put forth a Manifest or Declaration, which he caus'd to be privately floten into the Town, and there dispers'd, signifying, that out of Christian piety, and compassion to the miserable state of that Kingdom, he had left his Country and Dwelling with no other intent, than only to cause their Churches to be restor'd to them, with a free Liberty of Conscience and Exercise of Religion; and that their Estates which had been confiscated for the sake of their Religion, and defence of their Rights, and Privileges might be again restor'd to them: To which he added many Solemn Protestations, that he had no other end, nor intention than the welfare and happiness of the Kingdom. Farther also he said, that he had a power sufficient for this Enterprize, being well seconded by the Grand Seignior, and acted by his Commission, and that the Succession to the Principality was promised unto his Son; to whom, besides the Forces with him, he had left a Guard of 20,000 Men. Having made thus much known to the Inhabitants of *Zatmar*, he vigorously proceeded in the Siege, having received a Recruit of 8000 Men from the *Palsha* of *Buda*, being a Detachment from 40,000, which were Encamp'd before the place, whereof he was Governour: And thó with these Forces the Town of *Zatmar* was taken; yet *Serini* who Commanded the place retiring into the Castle or Citadel, he so well defended the same, that

Apafi was forc'd to raise the Siege and march away; burning several Towns, and taking a Thousand Prisoners in his Retreat. The raising of this Siege was variously interpreted, and so ill taken by the *Turks*, that Complaints were made thereof against *Apafi* at the Port. But it was no time now to make alterations, or disturbances in *Transylvania*.

Towards the end of this year, the Emperor being desirous to Crown the Empress at *Oedemburg*, sent a Convoy of 500 *Hussars*, 100 *Hoyduks*, and 500 *Chirassiers* to fetch the Crown of St. *Stephen* from the Castle of *Presburg*, where it is always lodg'd, which being brought thither the Empress was Crown'd Queen of *Hungary* with great Solemnity: And that this Ceremony might be performed with the more order and security, a Cessation of Arms was agreed with *Tekeli* for six Months. And to make appear, how propitious this day of Coronation was like to be, Count *Caprara* fell on the Rear of *Apafi's* Forces, as they were retiring into their own Country, took all their Baggage, and entering into *Transylvania* burn'd five Castles and divers Villages; and thus ended the Campaign of this year.

ANNO, 1682.

With this year the Scene of War began to open, and the *Turks* to declare their Resolutions bent all their Forces against *Hungary*. Nor would the Malecontents maintain the Truce made by *Tekeli*, or be restrain'd from committing many Acts of Hostility. For thó the Cessation of Arms was again confirm'd and renewed, yet in despite of this Treaty, and contrary to the Faith given, the Malecontents seiz'd on all the Grane, which the Emperor had bought on the Frontiers of *Poland*, as it was carrying to the several Stores and Granaries, where it was to be lodg'd: And about the same time the *Turks* took many Carts laden with Soldiers Coats, as they were carrying to the Imperial Army. Howsoever, *Tekeli* pretended to keep and conserve the Faith and Promises which he had given; and during that Vacation made a Journey to *Buda* with a Guard of 3000 Men, where he was received by the *Palsha* of that Place, at the Head of his *Janisaries*, and conducted with great Magnificence and State to the Palace; where the *Palsha* took off *Tekeli's* Cap, and placed on his Head another after the Turkish fashion richly Embroider'd, and beset with Precious Stones and *Elerons* Feathers, which some call a *Diadem*; and say, that with that Ceremony he was by the *Turks* created

1682.

The Siege rais'd.

The Empress Crown'd Queen of Hungary.

1682.

The Malecontents and Turks intercept the Corn and Salt belonging to the King's army.

Tekeli re-enters at Buda.

1682. created King of *Hungary*. Howsoever it was so carried, that the Emperor understood it not in that manner, or at least would not so interpret it; for at the same time he received a Messenger from *Tekeli*, who came to desire his Majesty's consent, that he might take the Widow of Prince *Ragotski* to Wife; to which the Emperor readily assented, knowing that the Marriage would succeed in case he refused, and so making a Virtue of necessity, he hoped by such a Gracious condescension, to regain the Heart of *Tekeli*, unless it were become obdurate beyond all possibility of being won, either by Generosity or Compulsion. Having thus gain'd the Emperor's Assent, he speedily made a Journey to *Mongatz*, where he consummated the Marriage with the Princess with great Joy and Solemnity, and took Possession of all the Towns, and Castles belonging to that Lady.

She was bred up by her Mother in the Roman Catholic Religion, but her Husband converted her, and made her a Protestant. During the Life of her Mother she was restrain'd from this Marriage, but after her Death, she became an admirer of *Tekeli's* Bravery, and yielded to the Ambition and Flatteries of being a Queen, which was whisper'd to her by her Husband; who told her, that the Cap which the *Palsha* of *Buda* had put upon his Head, was no other than a *Diadem* after the Custom and Fashion of the *Turks*. The Emperor, who was a Stranger to these Matters, believing that some use might be made of this Alliance, whereby to gain the Mind of *Tekeli*, employ'd Count *Serini* to his Sister the Princess, to compass this Design; but so far was *Serini* from answering the expectations of his Imperial Majesty, that he enter'd into the Combination and Conspiracy with *Tekeli* himself.

1682. About the beginning of the Month of July, Count *Albert Caprara*, Brother of General *Caprara*, who retir'd for the Emperor at *Constantinople*, advis'd, That at length he had been admitted unto Audience with the Grand Vizier, who declar'd, That he would neither continue the Truce longer, nor yet renew it, but on these following Conditions.

That *Hungary* should be restor'd unto the Condition, in which it was in the year 1655.

That the Kingdom should pay the Annual Tribute of Fifty thousand Florins every Year unto the Grand Seignior.

That the Fortifications of *Leopoldstadt*, and *Gratz* should be demolished.

That *Neutra*, *Schultz* and *Esckof*, with

the Island of *Schultz* near *Presburg*, and the Forts of *Maraa* be deliver'd, and surrendr'd up into the Hands of Count *Tekeli*.

That a General Pardon be given to the Malecontents, and that they be restor'd to their Goods and Estates, and to all their Privileges and Immunities, in such manner as if none of these Wars or Disturbances had happen'd. But these Conditions were so hard, and shameful to be impos'd on any but a conquer'd People, that it was adjudg'd by the Emperor's Council, that an honourable War, was much rather to be preferred, before such an Inimious and Scandalous Peace.

The time for the Cessation of Arms being expir'd, to which the Malecontents had yielded only to gain time, whilft the *Turks* were preparing their formidable Army, *Tekeli* surpris'd the Castle of *Zatmar*, and put all the Garrison consisting of Eighty Men, to the Sword; and turning afterwards his Cannon on the City, it was Surrender'd to him at Discretion. Thence he Marched to *Cassovia*, and laid Siege to it, and at the same time the *Transylvanians* and *Moldavians* joining with the *Palsha* of *Buda*, laid Siege to *Filek*. Whilft *Tekeli* lay before *Cassovia*, he received a Recruit of Fourteen thousand Men, which were supply'd to him by his Wife the Princess, out of those Troops which were levied in her own Country; and the *Palsha* of *Agria* came with Four thousand Horse more to his assistance. The Town was notwithstanding bravely defended for several days by Lieutenant Colonel *Lamb*; but being out of hopes of all Succours it Surrender'd at Discretion: Many of the Garrison revolted to the Malecontents; but Four hundred of them endeavouring to Retire, and having given no intimation of a Mine, which afterwards was Sprang with great loss and hurt of the Besiegers, they were all put to the Sword: The Governour was made a Prisoner of War, and the Inhabitants to save themselves from Pillage and Plunder, paid the Sum of 50,000 Crowns. The Inhabitants of *Eperies* being affrighted at the misfortune of *Cassovia*, Surrender'd itself on Conditions without striking one Stroke; the German Garrison being Two hundred in all, were permitted to March out with their Baggage, and had a safe Conduct as far, as to the Frontiers of *Poland*, and from thence Licens'd to March into *Silefia*, nor were the Priests and Roman Catholics permitted to remain in the City. After which, *Tekeli* by advice of the *Palsha* of *Buda* demolish'd the whole Town, not being oblig'd to maintain a Garrison for its defence. In the mean time the *Palsha* of *Waradin* laid Siege to *Filek*, and took it in

Success of Tekeli at Zatmar.

Cassovia and Filek taken.

Eperies yields.

1682. despatch of *Strazoldo*, who left the Villages of the Mountains, and marched with Three thousand Horse and Four thousand Foot for its Relief; as also to the same end, Count *Caprara* passed the River *Waagb* with Six thousand Men, whilst Count *Starenberg* defended the Passage with Four or Five thousand Men, and the Palatine *Eberfish* was coming on the other side with Six thousand Men more; yet notwithstanding the Art and Bravery of so many Generals, the Town was taken in their own Sight, as if they had only come with design to be Spectators of the Success, and Victory of their Enemies. The *Hungarian* Souldiers, who were in the Garrison took part with the *Turks*; but the *German*s were made Prisoners of War, and all the Women and Children were carried away Captives, and the place it self was razed and demolished. *Leventz* and *Neutra* followed the like Example, and Surrender'd to the *Turks*; of all which Acts of Hostility, when Complaints were made by the Emperor to the Pasha of *Buda*, no other Answer was return'd, Than that those Actions were not to be esteem'd as Breaches of the Truce, in regard they were only made in pursuit of Thieves and Robbers who had Infested the Countries, and took Refuge and Sanctuary in those Cities.

1682. After these Successes, *Tekeli* made Incursions into the County of *Sepso*, where he Plunder'd and Burnt *Sobora* and *Safszin*, Towns belonging to Prince *Lubomiski* Great Marshal of *Poland*; which was the Cause (as we shall afterwards understand) why Six thousand Polish Horse join'd themselves to General *Schultz*, under the Command and Conduct of that Prince

ANNO 1683.

1683. ALL hopes and expectations of Peace being now laid aside, the Vizier being advanced with his Troops as far as *Belgrade*, the Emperor notwithstanding to leave nothing undone which might tend to a Peace, dispatched *Saponara* to *Belgrade*, to Solicite once more for more easy Conditions than what had been offer'd to Count *Albert Caprara* at *Constantinople*: But because Matters were gone too far, to expect any fruit, or benefit from such Negotiations; and because it was not probable, but rather impossible that the Vizier, who would not accept of the Conditions offer'd him by the Emperor, before he removed from the Port, would now after a long March to *Belgrade*, and after he had raised all the Militia and Power of *Asia*, and been at a vast expence in the Preparations of War; should now condescend, or remit

these Demands which had formerly been requir'd: Wherefore as I say, The Emperor expecting no farther benefit from a Treaty, than only to satisfy himself and the World, that he had done every thing in his Power, which might produce a Peace; he provided for War, and in the first place employ'd Count *Martinittion* on an Embassy to the *Pope*, and other Princes of *Italy* to obtain from them Aid, and Succours both of Men and Money.

The Emperor's Forces towards the end of the last Year, and at the beginning of this, consisted of 20,000 Men; to increase which, Orders were given to all Colonels, and Officers fully to Compleat their Regiments, and Troops against the end of May. Commissions were also given out to raise Six Regiments of Horse, and one of Foot, besides Four Regiments of *Craats*: And the Regiment of Prince *Charles of Lorraine*, being fully recruited was divided into two Bodies: And to raise Money for maintenance of these new Levies, and for the War, the Hundredth Penny was laid on all Rents of Lands, and Revenue or Income from Offices, by which it was supposed, that a vast Sum might be raised: And moreover Four Millions were borrowed; for security of which a Mortgage was given to Count *Swartzenberg*, and other Ministers upon the Demesnes of the Duchy of *Trinbin* and *Stilefia*. The Fortifications of *Vienna* were continued with greater diligence, and numbers of Men than formerly; and the Suburbs were order'd to be demolished, and the Cellars to be filled up with Earth; tho' the Inhabitants being desirous to continue in their Dwellings, so long as was possible, deferr'd to abandon their Houses, until such time as they were assur'd of the certainty of a Siege intended.

The Emperor being by this time farther assur'd, that the *Turks* design'd nothing less than a Peace, having made all the Steps and Preparations necessary towards a War, dispatched his Orders to Count *Albert Caprara*, to take his last Audience of leave, and so depart from the Ottoman Court: But that License would not be granted to him; it being the Custom of the *Turks* in all their Wars, to carry the Person of the Ambassador of that Prince with them in their Camp, against whom they wage War, with intention to make use of his Service, in case the Success of Affairs should at any time incline them to a Treaty. The Baron of *Kaunitz* was sent to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and Count *Windisgratz* to the Princes of the Circles of Lower *Saxony* and *Westphalia*, moving them to enter into such Measures and Coun-

1683. cils with the Emperor, as might tend to the Conservation of *Hungary*,

All Christendom now Allarm'd by the vast preparations of the *Turks*, whose Force appear'd sufficient, not only to over-spread *Hungary*, but to over-run all *Germany* in one Summer; so that the Common safety seem'd now to be in danger: The Diet at *Ratisbon* was then Sitting, and Consulting for the Common Welfare and Security, for which the Emperor was so much concern'd, that he resolv'd once to have been present there in Person; but that his Deputies who resided for him, gave his Imperial Majesty such assurances of zeal, and care the Diet had for conservation of the Empire; that were his Majesty there in Person, nothing could be more done than what was resolv'd, and then acting by that Diet.

Saponara not being able to Prevail any thing upon the Vizier at *Belgrade*, was Order'd to try what he could work upon *Tekeli*, to draw him off from the *Turks*. In pursuance of which he went to *Mongatz*, where *Tekeli* lay Sick of a Fever, and being his ancient Friend and Acquaintance, was some time during the intermission of his Fits admitted into his Chamber, where in the Emperor's Name, he offer'd to him a Sovereignty over all those Places of which he was Master in the Upper *Hungary*, with several other Demesnes appertaining thereto, and to hold the same on the very Conditions which were given to *Boscai*, who raised Arms against the Emperor in the year 1605. Besides which, such Conferences pass'd, as are usual with Sick Men, who are commonly relenting, and desirous of God's Glory and the public Peace: But when *Tekeli* grew better, and return'd to his perfect state of Health, he then confess'd plainly, that his Circumstances were such, and his Union with the *Turks* so Knit and Engaged, that it was impossible for him to separate, or dedicate himself from their Interest and Party. With which Answer *Saponara* being convinced, that nothing was to be done on this side, return'd to *Vienna* to give his Majesty new assurances thereof. Wherefore now to proceed in the provisions for a War, Alliances were to be cultivated; and in the first place, the Treaty with *Poland* was rather to be renewed than begun, for (as we have before mention'd) the *Poles* had press'd the Ratification thereof with much earnestness; but in regard the Emperor was entertain'd constantly with hopes and a prospect of Peace, he deferr'd the Conclusion thereof for the last Reserve, to help and conserve him, after all other Negotiations proved vain and fruitless. Count *Wal-*

1683. leffain was the Person appointed to perform, and compleat this great Work; and accordingly having received a Commission, and Instructions for to great a Management, he made a Journey to *Warsaw* in *Poland*, where he found the Diet then Sitting, but embroil'd in a thousand difficulties, and differences amongst themselves, (as is usual in all such great Councils and Assemblies,) representing Aggrievances, and accusing great Men. The business of the high Treasurer of that Kingdom was then in Agitation, and his Accounts and Administration of that Office were under Examination; upon which many of the Nobility were so intent, that when Count *Walleffain* arriv'd with Instructions, and Plenary Power from the Emperor, to conclude a League offensive and defensive with *Poland*; they oppos'd his admission to Audience, until such time as they had compos'd their own intestine Differences, and provided in the first place, for the safety of their own Kingdom: And so far had some angry and turbulent Spirits press'd this Matter, that the Diet was in danger of being Dissolv'd without any Conclusion, either in reference to their own Affairs, or League with the Empire. But the King, and principal Nobility joyning their endeavours with those of Cardinal *Pio*, Nuntio of Pope Innocent the 11th, and of the Emperor's Ambassador, represent'd unto the Diet in General, the necessity of a speedy Union against the Common Enemies; declaring the *Turks* and *Tartars*, were ready on the very Confines to over-run all *Poland*, *Hungary* and *Germany*: And because, that notwithstanding all that could be said, there were still certain Spirits unsatisfied; it was the care of the King, and of the others to deal with them in private, and conjure them to give no stop, but to concur with them in this important Negotiation: Thus whole Nights were spent in pacifying the Spirits of the Polish Nobility, who love to exert their Authority, and to have Applications and Addresses made to them; and at length they were prevail'd upon, that remitting the Affairs of the Grand Treasurer, and of other Aggrievances to the consideration of the next Diet; they resolv'd to Treat on no other for the present, than what related to the making such Confederacies, as tended to the security and safety of the Kingdom. And in regard the several Points, and Articles with *Moscow* were intricate, and requir'd time to debate; it was agreed, without descending to other particulars in that Treaty, to renew the Truce for three years longer, and during that time to enter into a League Offensive and Defensive with

Saponara previously Treats with *Tekeli*.

1683.

Money rais'd.

Vienna fortified.

Saponara sent to Belgrade.

1683.

1683.

Count Walleffain's relations were there.

His Majesty's relations there.

1683. with the Emperor and King of Poland, against the Common Enemy of Christendom. Thus with much Labour and Assiduity, the Providence of God assisting the Christian Councils, as he did afterwards their Arms; the League was concluded and sign'd on the 18th of April, being the Day of the Festival of Christ's Resurrection; with which the Diet was Dissolved to the General satisfaction of that whole Assembly: The News hereof which filled all Christendom with an Universal Joy, was immediately dispatched to Vienna by an Express, who moving with the Wings of Messengers, who carry such pleasing Tydings, arriv'd in a very short time at the Emperor's Court, to the unexpressible Joy of the whole Empire.

The Chief Heads of the Treaty were these.

First, That the League Offensive shall continue until such time, as that the Emperor, and King of Poland shall make Peace with the Common Enemy, but that the Defensive shall continue for ever.

Secondly, That this Alliance shall be sworn unto by Cardinal Pio in behalf of the Emperor, and by Cardinal Charles Barberini at Rome, in the name and behalf of the King of Poland.

Thirdly, That the Emperor shall Renounce, and quit claim to all Debts and Sums of Money which were due to him from Poland, on occasion of the Succours, and Assurances he gave unto that Kingdom, when it was Invaded by the Swedes: And that the great Seal whereby the Emperor is impow'ed to nominate, and make choice of a new King be Cancelled and Surrendered.

Fourthly, That no Peace be made with the Turks without the privy, consent, and concurrence of both Parties; and that the Heirs and Successors of them be equally obliged to maintain, and confirm the present League.

Fifthly, That this League be limited, and understood of a War against the Turk only, and not against any other Prince or Potentate whatsoever.

Sixthly, That during this War, the Emperor be obliged to maintain 70,000 Men in the Field; besides 20,000 in Garrison: And that the King of Poland shall conduct an Army of 40,000 Men, and March at the Head of them in Person.

Sevently, That the Emperor shall act with the troops of his Army in the Lower Hungary against the Turk; and with another Army in the Upper Hungary, consisting of Six thousand Germans, and as many Auxiliaries, whose business shall chiefly be to subdue the Rebels, and recover the places which they have taken: And that the King of Poland shall endea-

avour to recover Caminice, and other places unjustly usurped by the Turk in Podolia, Ucraina and Volhinia.

Eighthly, That the Emperor shall lend unto the King of Poland 300,000 Dollars, and the payment thereof to be secur'd on the Tythes of that Kingdom, which the Pope hath lately granted to the King for carrying on this present War.

Ninthly, That in case other Christian Kings, or Princes shall desire to enter into this Alliance, their admission thereunto shall be with the knowledge and approbation of both Crowns; and that the Czars of Muscovy be particularly induced to join in this Alliance.

On these Terms was this League concluded, so much the more to the comfort and satisfaction of all Christendom, by how much it had been uncertain and doubtful before; in regard the Divisions in the Diet it self were grown so high, that it was believed no place could be allowed for the Debates of Foreign Matter, which did not immediately concern their own differences; and that the resentment which the King of Poland conceived against the Emperor, for not cloving with the Alliance formerly offer'd, and importunately urged, would have been invincible obstacles against this Union, of which all the World despair'd: But God who directs all things to that end which he designs, had so temper'd and qualified the Animositie of the Poles one against the other, that to the Joy of all Christendom, that necessary and happy Alliance was concluded.

The Grand Vizier (as we have said) being arriv'd at Belgrade, where he attended the Asiatick Troops, and with him Count Albert Caprara the Emperor's Resident, (whom he reserv'd according to antient Custom in the Camp,) for an instrument to move and forward Treaties, in case any singular success should befall the Ottoman Forces: But this Vizier fearing nothing less than ill fortune, and reposing a confidence in his Arm of Flesh, which he thought impossible to be subdued, did easily and with some scorn comply with the instance which Count Albert Caprara made to him for Licence to return to his Matter at Vienna: And in order thereunto he was committed to the care, and conduct of the Bei of Alba Regalis, who was then Marching with his Men towards those parts. Howsoever, a stop was put to his departure for some few days, to the end, that he might be Spectator of the magnificent reception of Count Tekeli by the Vizier, which when he understood, he press'd his departure with more earnestness, that his Eyes might not be offended with the scandalous fight of a Rebel

1683. Rebel promoted to Honour and Grandure, for Treason and Perfidiousness to his Sovereign. And when he heard that he came accompanied with many of the Hungarian Nobility, who were Roman Catholics, and particularly with the Count of Homanai, to the great scandal of the Gospel, and the Christian Profession, he was so transported with Disdain and Indignation, that he openly declared, in case the Vizier delayed to grant him Licence to depart, only because he would give him the Mortification to behold an Object so ungrateful to his Eyes, that he would clofe them rather, or shut himself up in some Retirement, where he might neither see or hear any of these Matters: Of which the Vizier having notice he gave him free liberty to depart, and accordingly he set forward on his Journey on the 13 of June, in company with the Bei of Alba Regalis, who having attended Caprara as far as Moatz, he was thence recalled by the Vizier; and the Bei of Albania appointed in his place, with a Guard of about a Hundred Men, who continuing their Journeys from day to day, happily arriv'd at Buda on the 20th. of June, not without great danger of falling into the hands of Tartars, who not considering the Persons, or Offices of Ambassadors, nor yet the Subjects of the Grand Seignior, whether Christians or Turks, put all to Fire and Sword, which they could not carry with them, not regarding either Age or Sex, but miserably destroyed all, whereforever they could become Masters.

Tho' C. Albert Caprara was well treated at Buda, as to his own Person, yet he was uneasy and impatient of his stay in that City, fearing lest the Barbarity of the Turks, upon any ill Success, should vent their Rage and Revenge upon him and his Attendants; but more sensibly was he affected with the daily sight of poor Christians enflav'd, and led before him in Chains; and with the news of the Surrender of diverse Cities and Towns by Tekeli into the Possession of the Turks, according to the Articles made between him and the Grand Seignior; and which were fo to remain, until a total Conquest was made of all Hungary, and were afterwards to be restored again to Tekeli with the absolute Sovereignty and Dominion of that Kingdom. But how uneasy soever C. Caprara was in his aboad at Buda, he was constrained to continue there in regard to his own Safety, all the Ways and Passages being obstructed by Tartars and Free-booters, who had no respect to any thing but themselves and their own Prey and Benefit; so he remain'd there until the coming of the Vizier, and with him followed the Camp to the Siege of Vienna, from whence he was permitted to

depart, and attend his Imperial Majesty then at Linz, as we shall declare hereafter.

But before we proceed farther, let us look back to the Preparations, and Fore-runners made in the Winter to the bloody War, which was shortly to ensue. The Turks in the Month of February, entered into the Isle of Serino in Croatia, and committed great Disorders; in Buda vast stores were making of all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions for War, with such Timber and Materials as were fit and proper for making Bridges: And in the mean time, Tekeli's Forces besieged or blocked up all the Emperor's Towns in the Upper Hungary: And yet for all this, Tekeli sent to acquaint the Deputies of those Counties, which remained firm and loyal to the Emperor, with the earnest Passion he conceived to conserve the Peace of his Country, which he should certainly have done, had his Imperial Majesty granted him any tolerable Conditions, and should have given undoubted Testimonies to the World of his Loyalty and Obedience to his Sovereign, against whom he took not up Arms out of any Animosity, but only to free his Country from Tyranny and Oppression; and in this good Humour he gave liberty unto 200 German Prisoners, and to Count Herberstein upon his Parole, and protested unto the Emperor, that he had dispatched two of his principal Ministers, namely Fagon and Sirmai, unto the Grand Seignior, to continue and prolong the Truce, and gave the same Assurances to the Diet, which he had convened at Csofvia. In the mean time, the Imperial Troops being ill paid, daily deserted the Service, and revolted to the Malecontents, with whom they hoped to improve and better their Condition.

Toward the end of this Month, the Turks, by a Detachment out of the Garrison of Newhaufel, made an attempt to pass over the Ice to the Isle of Schults, under command of an Hungarian Renegade; but the Ice breaking, many of them were drowned.

In the Month of March the Turks placed a Guard of 10000 Men to defend the Bridge of Elfeck, from being burnt by the Christians: And the Emperor on his side caused his Troops, which were quartered near the Rhine, to march towards Hungary, as also the Regiment of Count Taaf then in Bohemia; and all the other Troops were ordered to draw towards Presburg; and were near thereunto encamped in the Plain of Kitzee by Count Rabatia, that the Emperor might there make a Review of all his Forces, designed that Year against the Turk.

1683.

The rates
revenue of
his army.

On the 7th. of May, the Emperor entered into the Field, attended on the Right-hand by the Duke of Bavaria, and on the Left by P. Charles of Loraine, and followed by a numerous train of Nobles and principal Ministers: The Army was all ranged in Battle, at the front of which, was Count Staremberg, General of the Artillery, with 72 great pieces of Canon, and 15 Mortar pieces for throwing Bombs, all guarded by the Gunners, and Attendants on the Train of Artillery. The main Body of the Army was composed of 14 Regiments; namely, Staremberg, Mansfeld, Diepenthal, Baden, Grana, Strafolds, Souches, Heiffer, Boeb, Wallis, Schaffenberg, Newberg, Thime, and Wirtemberg: The which Body was flanked on each side with a Regiment of Cuirassiers, and 12 Regiments of Horse; namely, Rabata, Gondola, Hallewell, Palfi, Duneval, Caprara, Montecuculi, Saxoluenburg, Taaff, Goez, Dupigny, and Mercy, with 3 of Dragoons, Stirum, Castelli, and Herbeville, and 4 Companies of Croats commanded by Riccardi; all of them well armed, and mounted, and most of them select and veteran Soldiers: To these were adjoined a Body of Hungarians and Hussars, being Horse and Foot, under the Command of Count Hesterhafi, Palatine of that Kingdom, to the number of about eight Thousand with 14 Pieces of Cannon; about a Thousand whereof were armed with long Lances, the number of all which, as some Authors report, amounted unto 70,740; tho as yet the Forces of Asia, with those of the Circles of the Rhine, were not come up; but others perhaps with more reason make this whole Force to consist of no more than forty three Thousand Men in all, besides six Thousand Polish Horse, which the Emperor had hired with his own Money, under the Command of Prince Lubomiski, to which were adjoined great numbers of Gentlemen, and younger Brothers, who came to adventure and make their Fortunes in this War.

After the Emperor had heard Mass, which was celebrated by the Arch-bishop of Strigonia, and sang with Musick, the Arch-bishop read with a loud Voice the Bull of Indulgence, which the Pope had given unto all those who should fight the Christian Battles against Turks and Infidels; after which, he gave his Benediction to the Emperor, and the Nobility, and to all the Army, who received it with much Humility, and Devotion on their Knees; which Ceremony being ended, the Emperor took a View of the whole Army, greatly to his satisfaction: After which he was conducted to a magnificent Tent, raised on the Banks of the Danube, where he was splendidly treated by

Duke of
Lorraine
sister the
Count.

the Duke of Loraine, together with the 1683. Emperors, the Arch-duchess, the Elector of Bavaria, the Prince of Newbourg, (Coadjutor of the Grand Master of the Tunic Order) the Prince Lewis of Baden, and the Duke of Saxelawenburg. After which magnificent Entertainment, the Emperor and the Court returned that Night unto Presburg. Such being the force of the Emperor's Army; let us also take a View of the formidable numbers of the Turks, which were sufficient, like Locusts, to over-spread the face of all Hungary. But first we shall observe the Motions of the Emperor's Army, which being now in it's Vigour and Strength, and encouraged with fifty Thousand Florins, which his Imperial Majesty was pleased as a Donative to distribute amongst the Soldiers; it was agreed by the Generals of the Army, for the Reputation of their Forces, that some Enterprize should be undertaken, before the Grand Vizier, with the gros of his Army, was advanced farther, which according to their Conjectures, was believed could not be in less than in the time of two Months. The Places nominated for to be attack'd, were Gran and Newbaufel; the first seemed the most easie in respect to the weakness of the Fortifications; but Advices being come that the Turks were forming a Camp of 40,000 Men near Buda, whereby the Imperialists might be cut off from all Communication with Comorra; it was resolved to change the Design, and to march towards Newbaufel. Accordingly the Troops 1683. were commanded to march, and on the second of June, some Battalions of the first Brigade posted themselves near the Neker, about Cannon-shot distant from the Town; in two or three days afterwards the whole Army being come up, they too possessed themselves of the Suburbs, and of a Palanca, which covered the Gate towards Buda side, and lodged within a Hundred Paces of the Ditch; and on the 6th. and 7th. of this Month the whole Town was surrounded, Newbaufel besieged. and the Platforms raised to receive the Cannon for Batteries, and all things put into a condition of a formal Siege. But whilst Matters were carrying on in this posture, the Duke of Loraine received Orders from the Court at Vienna to desist from that Enterprize, for that the Turks were far advanced into Stiria, and the Grand Vizier, with a vast Power of the Ottoman Force, as far as Esseck: Hereupon a Council of War being called, and the Orders communicated to them, the Siege which was laid the 3d. of June, was raised on the 10th, and the Army marched towards Raab and Comorra, to reinforce those Garrisons, and from thence to observe the Motions of the Enemy. Many were the Reflections on the Enterprize of

New

1683. Newbaufel; it seeming strange, that so wise a Captain as the Duke of Loraine, should commence so difficult an Enterprize at the beginning of a most perilous War, in which it was hardly possible for him to succeed, there being at the same time an Army of 40,000 Turks encamped under the Walls of Buda, which was not many days March distant from Newbaufel; and the Gros of the Turkish Power, not inferior to the greatest of their Armies, (of which Histories recount such prodigious numbers) were then marching under the command of the Grand Vizier, between Esseck and Alba Regalis, or Stultewessenburg. But we ought not to impute any thing to the ill Conduct of so great a General, whose Successes having crowned all his Actions; nothing can seem Rash or void of Council, where Fortune hath always led him by the hand, and made him Victorious, as we shall (God willing) make appear in the sequel of this History.

But before we proceed farther, we must add what before was omitted, that about the beginning of April, the Grand Signior being desirous to show himself in his Army, began to move towards Belgrade, where he arrived with his beloved Soltana, (who would not leave his Company) and with a splendid Court, on the 2d. of June. The greatest part of the Army being by this time come to that place appointed for the general Rendezvous, the Grand Vizier, was willing to give the Grand Signior a Survey of all his Forces, to let him see how he had employed his Treasure, and with what hopes of being repaid with Kingdoms, and with Spoils of the richest Dominions in Christendom: And so the Grand Signior being placed in a high Scaffold erected for that purpose, all the Soldiers in their several Ranks and Degrees, according to their Countries and Nations, passed in their several Orders before him. And in the first place,

The Forces of Mesopotamia all on Horseback, Numb. 13000
Those of Assyria and Babilon, as far as Babilon, 14000
Other Asiatick Troops, comprehending the Provinces
OF Sias, Amasia, Maras, Bussia, &c. 30000
The Militia of Judea, Egypt, &c. 18000
The Militia of Caramania, 8000
Turks out of the parts of Greece, 16000
The Militia of Armenia, Capadocia, &c. 24000

The remaining Asiatick Troops were from Georgia, and the conquered Countries thereof, all which were the Forces out of Asia, and Horse, 28000
After these marched the Janisaries of Europe, 12000

Next followed the Tartars, ill Armed and worse Clothed, 14000
Last of all marched the most flourishing part of the Turkish Army, consisting of the Sons and Servants of Pashas; also of the richest Spahes, and other young Men, all richly clothed and armed, 35000
Pioniers and others with Shovels, Spades, &c. 12000
Gunners, and other Attendants on the Train of Artillery, 13000
Attendants on the Waggons of Ammunition and Provision, 14000
Other Attendants on the Tents and Baggage, 13000

All which formidable Forces amounted unto, 264000

According to a Calculation made by several Italian Writers; but as to my own Opinion, I cannot believe that Asia could furnish half those numbers, and therefore do rather follow the Computation of the Asiatics, according to this Account:

Mustapha Pasha, Grand Vizier,	15000
Emir Pasha of Adana,	500
Mustapha Pasha of Bala,	330
Kara Mahomet Pasha of Diarbeker,	1500
Mustapha Pasha of Silistria,	1080
Halil Pasha of Sivas,	530
Ammet Pasha of Maras,	710
Osman Pasha of Aleppo,	950
Osman Pasha a Sangiac under him,	510
Mustapha Pasha of Damascus,	2300
Hassan Pasha of Armit,	500
Bei of Gran Cairo,	3000
Basha of Tokai on the Borders of Persia,	340
Bekir Pasha,	500
	27750

This Computation may very well agree with the Forces of the first Year's Expedition out of Asia; to which being adjoined the several Chambers of Janisaries, with all the European Forces both Horse and Foot, as also the Tartars, Transylvanians, Moldavians and Valachians, with the Hungarian Rebels; we may without Romance account the Ottoman Force to consist of a Hundred eighty Thousand effective fighting Men, besides Miners, Pioniers, Suters, Gunners, Attendants on the Train of Artillery, Attendants and Servants belonging to the Tents, with a vast number of Rascals, and Rabbles following the Camp, which may very well be Calculated to amount unto at least 40,000 more: For the Turks above any Nation in the World have their Camp pestered

Q 2 with

1683. with the Incumbrances of Baggage; so that if we consider this vast number of 220,000 Men, it will not seem incredible what we find reported, that they spread the Country eight Leagues in length.

The Report of this formidable, and as to human Appearance, invincible Army, caused the Duke of *Lorraine* to hasten with all speed possible the Fortifications of *Raab*, which he designed to enlarge on some rising Grounds near to the Town, and to defend them with the whole Body of the Army, or at least by the Infantry, which having a Communication with the Garrison, might be able to oppose that great force of the Enemy, and weary them out by a lingering Siege in a Country, which was already become desolate, and without Forage for above twenty Miles round.

But the Duke of *Lorraine* having received Intelligence, that the Grand Vizier on the 11th of July was entered into *Alba Regalis*, and certainly resolved to Besiege *Vienna*, and to stop at no other place on their March thither; He then changed his Measures, and having reinforced *Raab*, with the three Regiments of *Baden*, *Grana* and *Saueches*, and given the command of the Place to Colonel *Wallis*; and having also reinforced *Comarra* and other Places with strong Garrisons, his whole Field-Army became reduced unto 24,000 Men only: And fearing left with so small a number, he should be surrounded by the multitudes of the Enemy, he once resolved to encamp himself under the Cannon of *Vienna*.

In the mean time *Tekeli* having made a Visit to the Grand Vizier in his Camp at *Alba Regalis*, persuaded him to publish a Manifest, signifying unto the People, That the Grand Seigneur did take under his Protection all the *Hungarians*, who should join themselves to the Male-contented Party, and that he would maintain them in their Privileges, Liberties, Estates, Laws, and Religion: And that such, who refused to accept this gracious Offer, were to expect no Quarter, but to be punished with Fire and Sword. This Manifest being divulged by *Tekeli* at his return from the Vizier to *Caloffia*, so operated on many of the *Hungarians*, that the Towns of *Papa*, *Tot* and *Vesprin* accepted of the same, and opened their Gate to *Tekeli* and his Party: And such was the Conspiration of all *Hungary*, that many other Counties and Towns, declared to the Emperor's Commissioners, that they would open their Gates to *Tekeli* at the first Summons, rather than expose themselves to Fire and Sword, where was no hopes or expectations of Relief. This Declaration of the People, giving the Emperor just cause to fear, left *Neutra* and the Mountain Towns

should follow the same Example, Orders were given to Count *Schultz*, Governour of *Neutra*, to demolish that Fortrefs, and bring the gross Cannon, with all the Ammunition from thence; and the like Command was given to the Officers of the Mountain Towns, where the Mines of Silver were, it being impossible to relieve them, because *Tekeli* was Master of all the Passes which led thither; which Orders were readily obeyed by the Officers, Priests and Religious Men, who fled to the Camp of General *Schultz* on the Banks of the River *Waagh*: Where *Schultz* having joyned with the six Thousand *Polish* Horle, under the Command of Prince *Lubomiski*, he had the fortune to meet a Party of the Malecontents joyned with some *Tartars*, and to give them a total Defeat, killing and taking two Thousand of them, with several Colours, and all their Baggage.

In the mean time, whilest the Duke of *Lorraine* was in this dubious Condition, nor knowing what course was best to be taken, he resolved once to retire under the Cannon of *Vienna*, and there to govern himself according to the Motion of the Enemy; but the *Turks* came on so fast, their Van appearing on the Banks of the River *Raab*, followed by the whole Body of their Army Marching in *Batalia*, that there was no time for any thing but a Precipitous Flight; nothing was now to be put to a hazard, for the least Defeat might cause the absolute loss of *Vienna*, and open the Enemies way into the Hereditary Counties. In this exigency, all the Foot was Transported over into the Island of *Schuitz*, under the Command of the Count de *Zely*; and all the Horle being about Nine thousand five hundred in number, Marched away about Midnight, and pitched their Camp near to *Altembourg*. The Infantry being in the Isle of *Schuitz*, The Christian Infantry in the Isle of *Schuitz*, Marched without danger of the Enemy, and were in the way either to Communicate with *Raab*, or to give Succour to *Vienna*, according as they saw the Enemy bend their Course, for they were in a Condition to move faster than the multitudes, and gross Bodies of the *Turks*. In a few Days it appear'd, that the *Turks* aimed at the Capital City of *Vienna*, and to leave all the other Fortresses behind them, as being places which would fall of themselves, and follow the Fate of the Imperial Court. The News of all which being carried from the Duke of *Lorraine* by Count *Caprara* to the Emperor; and also, that the Baggage of the Duke of *Saxelawenburg*, of Prince *Lewis de Baden*, and of the Counts *Caprara*, and *Montecuculi* were all taken by the *Turks*, and their Convoy defeated; and that the Horle

1683.

Neutra de.

multitud.

The great
conferen-
tion at
Vienna.The Empe-
ror and
Court re-
move to
Lintz.

1683. Horle in great disorder had abandoned the Infantry, and left them to shift for themselves in the Isle of *Schuitz*, and were Marching with great Disorder to *Vienna*: No sooner was this Intelligence arrived, than the *Tartars* appear'd at the same time within two Leagues of the City, and set Fire to all the Villages round about, the Smoak of which ascending upwards, gave visible demonstrations of the truth of these Reports, and put all the Court and City into a distracted Consternation. The Emperor after the coming of this News, made no delay to depart away with the Empress, the Arch-Duchess, and all the Court for *Lintz*: There was now no time to spare; and Fear added Wings as well to the Poor as to the Rich: the great Personages whose Offices obliged them to an attendance on the Court, were to be excused from remaining behind in Defence of the City, the Duty they owed their Master disengaging them from showing their Bravery in the Face of the Enemy: And indeed such were the Preparations of all sorts of People to hasten out of the Town, as if none had intended to stay in Defence of it: The Court which at other times would have required at least fifteen Days preparations for such a removal, was now confined to five or six Hours; so that without a larger Description of this Affrightment, we may imagin and figure to our selves, the Confusion there was in *Vienna* upon this Departure. Every Man before he could leave his Home, had something or other to order and dispatch; for which Reason the Emperor at Night had very few, or none to serve and attend him; and what will be thought most strange in times hereafter, he had no Guard, or Convoy to Defend his Person, through the many Perils and Hazards he was to pass, it being necessary to leave all the Soldiery behind for Defence of the City. We may then conceive with what Terror this sad and trembling Court did travel, being continually allarm'd by reports of *Tartars*, who had Plunder'd and Pillaged, and Burnt all the Parts round, the terrible Marks of which appear'd in the Night, and served by the Flames to direct them in their way: And had not the Providence of God, carried that rude and barbarous Nation into Parts more Remote, the Emperor and all his Court, with the Ladies, and Chief Nobility had fallen as a Prey into their rapacious Hands: But God having diverted so great a mischief and shame to all Christendom, the Imperial Court arrived at *Lintz*, more terrified with the continual Allarmes, then tyred with the Journey; the Attendants followed the Court so fast as they were able, as did the Women, Citizens,

and those who were not Men of the Sword; 1683. the ways were filled with Coaches, Carts, Waggones and Horles, the present trembling condition admittin unto the flying Multitude, matter of discourse, so that as they journeyed along their Talk was concerning the ill management of the publick Affairs, which were reduced to that unhappy State by the civil Councils of the Jesuits, who had too great an Interest, and prevailing Power in the Cabinet of the Emperor: Had it not been for them, said they, and for the Clergy, the Protestants had not been divested of their Churches, nor deprived of their Liberties and Properties, whereby they were provoked to take up Arms against the Emperor: Nay, how often was the Imperial Clemency well inclined to grant Pardon, and Terms of Peace to *Tekeli*, and his Malecontented Subjects; which would have diverted this Storm from the *Turks*, which now purifies us, but that the governing power of the Clergy still cherished, and fomented the Differences, until they had brought them to this ultimate precipice of our Destruction: Some there were, who being well disposed towards the French Faction, blamed the Councils of the Emperor, for not accepting the Propositions of *France* made for relief of the Empire: For tho such a remedy might be dangerous, yet it could not be worse than the Disease, nor nothing so bad as the present impending Evil: it were better to put our selves into the Hands of the French, than into the power of *Turks* and Infidels.

The Court continued not long at *Lintz*; for so soon as Intelligence came that *Vienna* was Besieged, the Emperor removed to *Passau*, which is a City about 30 or 40 Miles farther into *Germany*; and was a Bishoprick, which with *Strasbourg* was once in the Hands of the Arch Duke *Leopold William*. Two days after the departure of the Emperor from *Vienna*, the Confusion still continued day and night, caused by Carts and Horles, employ'd to carry away the Goods and Household stuff of those who as useless Persons were permitted to remove out of the City.

At length, upon arrival of the Duke of *Lorraine* the Confusion ceased, and the Inhabitants and Soldiers affrightened before by the timorous multitude which were fled, began to return again into their Wits, and become capable to receive Orders, and solid Councils for the better defence of their City, Estates and Lives. The Courage and good Conduct which appear'd in the Generals, operated the like effect in the Minds of the Soldiery, who now with undaunted Resolution attended the approach

Grand
Cris-
ters and
Rales dis-
pleased.

of

1683. of the Enemy, who had in their March received a Repulse before the Forts of Raab, which gave no little encouragement to the Garrison. The same day that the Duke of Lorraine and Count Staremberg entered into Vienna, being the 13th of July, the Infantry which were before passed over into the Island of Schultze, were come up to the rest of the Army: The first thing ordered by these Commanders was, to repair the Palisades, and finish some Works as well as could be possible in so short a warning; and the Inhabitants of the Suburbs being retired within the Town, were willingly employed with their own Hands, to set fire to their own Dwellings, to devert the Enemy of all Succour, or Shelter therein.

The same Night the Duke of Lorraine caused all the Foot, excepting only eight Battalions, which he reserved to defend his Camp, to enter into the Counterscarp of the Town; and in two Nights after being their 4th and 5th, the Powder and Bullet, which was expected from Lintz were brought in, and lodged in the Arsenal of the City.

After which the other eight Battalions were also brought into the Town, which with those in the Counterscarp made Twelve thousand Men. But for better understanding the State and Condition of the Garrison, we have here set down the particulars of all the Forces therein, that those worthy Persons, who have so signalized themselves by their Bravery in this Famous Siege, may not be forgotten in future Ages.

Count Staremberg Governor.

Regiments of

Staremberg Commanded by Geo. Maurice of Ketlin, 2000 Men.
Half of Reissers Regiment under Wolf fargeloch, 1000
Mansfeld Commanded by C. Alex. Lelby, 2000
Souches by Charles Lewis Colonel of Souches, Son of the Famous General Rad wigh, 2000
Schaffenberg, and Bercks two Regiments, 4000
Seven Companies of Neubourg, 1200
Half of Heister's Regiment, under Baron Heister, 1000
The other half of this Regiment was sent to Lintz, for Guard of the Emperor's Person.
Five Companies of Dimik, an ancient Commander, 6000
Dupignis Regiment of Horse, 6000
Three Companies of the Garrison belonging to the City, 1200

These Regiments when full amounted in 1683; all unto 15600 Men; but so many of them had been Killed and wasted with Sicknes, that scarce Ten thousand of them entered into Vienna; to which being added the Trained-Bands of the City, consisting of 2717, the whole Garrison might be well computed with Volontiers, and Officers at near 13000 Men.

The Chief Officers were.

Count Staremberg Governor, Count Daun, Lieutenant Governor, Marquis Ferdinand Obizzi Major, John Count Serini Assistant to the Count Daun; The Counts Souches and Schaffenberg Assistants to the Lieutenant Governor and Major.

Volontiers were

Count Trotmandorf, who had been a Colonel many years in Flanders, Count Fivekerk Captain of the Provincial Circle of Austria, the Count of Salzbourg, who was Colonel of a Regiment of Croats, but being come to Vienna to be Curd of a Dilectory, which he had got in the Army, and the Siege happening before his perfect Recovery, he offered to serve in nature of a Volontier. The Baron of Kilmence Great Forester to the Emperor, defended the Counterscarp for three days with eighty of his Foresters, who being excellent Marks-men, and used to their Guns, which they charged with an exact proportion of Powder and Bullet, did great Execution upon the Turks, seldom missing their Shot, and the Baron himself killed a Turk at 300 paces distant; who was afterwards known to have been one of the Turks principal Canoniers. The Count Vignacourt a French Gentleman, formerly employed by his most Christian Majesty, in quality of an Ambassador to Ferdinand the Third, Father of the present Emperor, and to other Princes of Germany, was, an other of the Volontiers: As were also the Count de St. Micaele a Venetian, Ernest Sigismund de Zeterz, of an ancient Family in Silesia, Cornelius Rummigen, a Person of Sixty two years of Age, and tho' much afflicted with the Gout, yet being an experienced Soldier, his Councils were more available to the Governor than his Bodily Services. And lastly, There was Sigismund de Reissoff a Gentleman of Moravia, who had formerly been a Major General, who shewed himself at all times daring, and active in the Execution of such Orders, as he received from Count Staremberg the Governor.

This was all the Force which was lodged in Vienna, to defend it against that formidable

1683. midable Army, then ready to encompass it on all sides: But whom God will have are always well protected, and then there never want Provisions nor Councils, nor Courage in the Soldiery.

The Count of Kaldowitz, who was Treasurer of Hungary, did most seasonably furnish the Bishop of Newstadt, with Five hundred thousand Florins for supply of the Garrison during the Siege, with Three thousand Measures of Wine; which this Bishop, who was a Knight of the Great Cross of Malta, and had been in the Siege of Candia, did with good management lay up in several Cellars in the Town, and distributed to the Soldiers in time of the Siege; as also the Money, which was paid out with such order, and on such occasions, as were requisite and necessary, to appease all complaints which might arise for want thereof. But above all, care was taken to establish a Council in the Town during the Siege: The Persons thereunto nominated and appointed were,

Count de Capliers Counsellor of State, and General of the Ordinance; Count de Molard, Grand Marshal of Austria, Baron de Belcamp, Counsellor of the Emperor's Household, and the Chancellor Hoffman. The Governors under Count Staremberg were the Counts of Thun and Serini; and after them Souches and Schaffenberg, Baron de Beck, the Prince of Wirtemberg, and Baron Heister, who were all Colonels of Regiments which served in Vienna.

By this time being the 14th of July, the Duke of Lorraine having given all the necessary Orders for conservation of the City; the Turks began to descend by the Hill of St. Mark with their Horses, Waggon, and Camels laden with Baggage, ranging themselves in form of a Crescent or Half-moon round the Town: Upon appearance whereof, and the News of the near approach of the great Vizier; the Duke of Lorraine on the 15th at night drew off all his Horse, and Dragoons to the other side of the Bridges, and there Encamped: He had once entertained some Thoughts of conserving a part of the Foot in his Camp; but considering the great Force of the Enemy ready to surround the City, the largeness of the Works which were to be maintained, the distance of the Forces which were designed for its Relief, and the daily decay, and diminution of Soldiers in a long Siege; were sufficient inducements to this Wise Commander, to supply the City with all the Infantry without any reserve unto himself. However, he had once some Thoughts of posting some of his Cavalry in the Tabor, to keep a Communication with the Town; but upon a true survey thereof, the Water

was found to be Shallow in many places, 1683. and Fordable that Man and Horse could March into it in Rank and File, so that the Water being of no security to a Camp, the place was deserted: The Tabor is an Island in the Danube, of about a Mile and half in length, planted with Trees and Orchards, and full of Gardens, Fountains and Houses of Pleasure.

The Tabor being judged no place for the Cavalry to Lodge in; the Duke of Lorraine passed the Danube, leaving the Bridges to be defended by the Dragoons of General Schultze. By this time the Van-guard of the Turks were advanced, and great numbers of Tents pitched round the City: And the Vizier with the Gros of the Army was Marching to the Siege, having left the Palha of Buda with Twelve thousand Men to block up Raab, where he remained until such time as he was Relieved by Apafi Prince of Transylvania, with some of Tekeli's Forces, and then he proceeded to the Siege of Vienna. On the 16th the Vizier entered the Camp, highly raised, and pushed up with assurances of finding the Gates of Vienna opened unto him, or at least to run over the Walls without much Opposition. His numerous Force gave him a confidence of Success, and his natural Pride suggested to him an Impossibility of being Overcome: The Country People nourished this Opinion in him by Reports, that all the Christian Infantry were shut up in the Isle of Schultze; that there was no force in the City, and the disorder and Confusion so great therein, that upon the first Summons they would open their Gates: Nor was the Report ill grounded; for at that time the whole Garrison of Vienna did not consist of above Six hundred Men, of which the Vizier was well advised, and knew, that if he made but some more than ordinary haist with his Army, of detached a formidable Body to appear in sight of the Town, before the Duke of Lorraine had Re-inforced the Garrison, and put all things into a Posture of Defence, the Gates might easily have been opened, and the City become the Prey and Reward of the Ottoman Soldiers. But this was not the Vizier's business, his desire was to gain and appropriate all the Riches unto himself, which was to be done only by Articles and Conditions of Surrender drawn, and agreed in the time of a formal Siege; and therefore he would neither hasten his Troops to take Possession of the City, before it was Reinforced, nor yet encourage his Men to Enter the Town by mere Force and dint of Sword; which in the Opinion of the Soldiery, he might have done if when he Stormed the Works, he had pushed forward his Men to the utmost of their Mettle; so that

1683. that here we may observe, that his accursed Avarice, which had been the Ruine of so many Persons, was now the Cause of his own Destruction.

The Vizier began to open his Trenches, about fifty Paces distant from the Counter-Scarp in the Suburbs of St. Ulrich, or the Garden of *Madam Spina*, where the rising of the Walks by the obscurity of the Night, gave them an advantageous ground for raising some Batteries; and in the Morning two *Spakers* were commanded to throw a Writing in a Linnen Bag into the Counter-Scarp, which they performed, running full speed with their Horses. The substance of which was this.

These Presents are to make known unto you, the Generals, Governours, Soldiers and Noble Citizens of the City of Vienna, That according to the Orders, we have received from the most Happy, most Powerful, most Invincible and most Mighty Emperor of the Universe, our Master, who is the true Image of God living on the Earth, and who by the Grace and Favour of the Almighty, following the Example of our Prophet Mahomet Mustafa, to whom be Glory and Honour, and Blessing, is by a Multitude of Miracles become the Greatest Sovereign both of one, and the other World, and the Supreme Emperor of all Kings and Princes; hath sent hither his Armies which are without number, to the intent that they shall take Vienna, and there Establish the Worship of our True Religion. And whereas it is a Principle of our Religion, above all things to Propagate the Muselmán Faith, as is expressly Commanded by the Law of our Holy Prophet; We do instantly exhort you, before we Unleash our Terrible Cymeters to Embrace our Holy Religion, and to suffer your selves to be instructed in the Mysteries thereof, by which you will find Salvation for your Souls. And in case you will Surrender up the City, whether you be Young or Old, Rich or Poor, We assure you, that you shall with all security Live therein: And in case any of you shall desire to go forth, and Live in any other place, he shall have Permission and Licence so to do, and shall be conveyed forth with his Goods and Substance, with his Wife and Children. And as to those who shall desire to remain behind, they may Live in the Town in such manner as they did before. But in case you are obstinate, and constrain us to take your City by Force, then will we spare no Person whatsoever: And we Swear by the Creator of Heaven and Earth, who never had nor never shall have an Equal, that we will put all to the Sword, as is Commanded by our Holy Law, and will take your Goods and Estates, and carry away your Wives, and Children into Captivity. Pardon is only for them, who obey the Divine Ordinances.

Given at the Emperor's Camp before Vienna, the 8th of the Moon *Regeb*, and in the Year of the Prophet's Transmigration, 1094. 1683.

To these Summons no other Answer was Return'd, than by Cannon and a Vigorous Defence, and by a Bloody Conflict in the Suburbs in which the *Turks* were greatly worsted. The Courage of the Besieged, which was evidenced during all the time of the Siege was most eminently Signal'd at the beginning thereof; when the *Scotch* Convent of *Benedictin Fryers*, (which was a very stately Edifice) took Fire, and endangered the Arsenal, which was near adjoining therunto, and where Two thousand Barrels of Powder were lodged; but by the diligence of Young *Starembeg*, and the Officers of the Artillery, the Powder was all carried to some Remoter place: And it pleasing God by his Gracious Providence, to cause the Wind to blow the Flames to other Quarters, the Arsenal was preserved and all the Ammunition therein, tho' several great Edifices, and Palaces thereunto adjoining were consumed before the Fire was extinguished. The Original of this Fire was attributed to the Treachery of a Youth of 16 Years of Age habited in Girls Cloathing; whom the People in their Fury tearing to pieces, prevented the Discovery of this Treacherous and Horrid Plot. The *Turks* all this while with much Joy beheld the Flames ascending from the City, and ply'd their Cannon and Bombs towards that part, which at first broke in the Air without other Execution; and the better to prevent the accident by Fire, Count *Starembeg* order'd the Roofs off all those Houses to be taken off which were cover'd with Shingles, and apt to take Fire with the least Spark. This was a terrible beginning of a Siege, and such as was sufficient totally to dismay the Spirits of the Defendants, but that they were supported with more than ordinary Courage inspired into them by the Providence of Heaven.

All this while the Cavalry maintained their Stations at the Foot of the Bridges, to keep a Communication so long as was possible with the Town, and hinder the Passage of the *Turks* into the Isles of *Leopoldstadt*, the which Action the Duke of *Lorraine* committed to the Care and Conduct of General *Schultz*, and Prince *Lubomirski*, whilst he with the greater part of the Army retir'd to *Langenzendorf*: But the *Turks*, and *Tartars* with a very great number coming to force the Pass, carrying the Foot on their Horses behind them, and Wading over the Water, which was foardable on all sides, were received with such a wel-

A Fire on Vienna.

1683. a Welcome as cost the Lives of most of those, who were the most forward to gain the Pass; but the numbers of the Enemy encreasing, the *Christians* found themselves not able to sustain the shock, and therefore having burnt and destroyed all the Houses thereabouts, they orderly retired to the Army, having broken the Bridges to prevent the more hasty pursuit after them.

The *Turks* having by this time encompassed the whole City with their numerous Camp, and Tents of diverse colours, advanced their Trenches within thirty Paces of the Counter-Scarp, on the side of the Bastions of the Court and the Lobel, and continually so plyed that Quarter with their Cannons and Mortars, that they entirely ruined the Emperor's Palace, with the Houses and Churches thereunto adjoining. Whilst Count *Starembeg* was busied in all places to give necessary Orders, and provide against every Misfortune which might happen, he was unluckily wounded by the Blow of a Brick upon his Head, which had been carried by the stroke of a Cannon-shot, which confined him to his Chamber for three Days, and the Count *Dann*, one of the Deputy Governours was sick at the same time of a Fever: However the care of the Counts *Serini*, *Souches* and *Staffenberg* was such, that the Enemy gained no advantage by the absence of those Governours.

Whilst Matters were thus acting in the City, Count *Lestie* was sent to *Krembs* to convoy the Train of Artillery thither, and attend the coming of the Auxiliary Troops of *Bavaria*, *Saxony* and *Franconia*, and the Regiments which were marching from several other Places of the Empire; and also to restrain the Incursions of the *Tartars* into *Austria*, who with much Violence and Cruelty laid all Places, whersoever they came, in Blood and Ashes, tho' many of them were cut to pieces in divers Conflicts, there being a Hundred and fifty of them killed by the Peasants, who were felling the Trees about *Vienna*, to hinder and disturb the March of the Enemy. But why the *Tartars* should destroy all the Villages and Provisions near to *Vienna*, whereby they deprived the *Turkish* Army of all Provisions and Subsistence from parts near unto their Camp, and caused their Horse to fetch Forage at twenty Miles distance, no sound Reason can be given, unless it be, that those People having always been used to Spoil and Destruction, have it not in their Power, and nature to leave any thing unblasted, and not consumed in the Country of an Enemy whersoever they pass. Some Troops belonging to General *Schultz* had the fortune at the same time to take a considerable Convoy of the *Turks*, consisting of above three

The Christians forced from the Bridges.

The Turks batter the City.

Starembeg wounded.

C. Lestie sent to Krembs.

Hundred Waggons, killing on the place about six Hundred and fifty, and taking two Hundred Prisoners.

The *Turks* had drawn two parallel Lines, one on the side of the Court-Bastion, and another on the Lobel-Bastion, with a Line of Communication between both; and here they raised their Batteries of thirty Pieces of Cannon: And tho' *Vienna* was fortified with eleven Bastions, yet three of them only were attacked, so that the whole Force of the Town was drawn that way for its Defence. The Grand Vizier took his Station on the side of the Ravelin, and with him the Janissar-Aga, or General of the Janissaries, named *Kara Mustafa*, and his *Kia* or Lieutenant, and also the *Patha* of *Romelia*, who was killed with a Cannon-shot. The Attack of the Court-Bastion on the Right-hand of the Vizier was committed to *Chussein*, *Patha* of *Damascus*, who tho' he was a stout Man, and a good Soldier, yet he had been unfortunate, having formerly been beaten by Prince *Ragotski* in *Transylvania*, by Count *Souches*, at *Leventz* (as we have at large described in the former part of our History) and by the King of *Poland* at *Coczin*. The Bastion of the Lobel on the Left-hand of the Vizier was committed to *Achmet*, *Patha* of *Temeswar*, who died on the 2d. of September of a Discontent; he had formerly executed the Office of High Treasurer, and after his decease, *Hussein* *Patha*, who also had been Treasurer, was promoted to his Place. In describing this Siege, it will not be necessary to recount all the particulars of the Traverces, Mines, Countermines, and other minute Actions, provided (as we intend) we do not omit any considerable Passage, or Fears of Arms, which were most memorable thro' the whole course of this Siege.

Count *Starembeg* observing that the *Turks* worked continually in their Lines, resolved to obstruct them by a vigorous Sally, for which the Besieged having now lost all their Fears, were very forward to do: The Sally was managed by one *Samson Steimbach*, a Captain in the Regiment of *Manfeld*, and Count *Guy of Starembeg*, who signalized themselves with such Valour and Success, that they killed many of the Miners, and brought in a Prisoner alive, who discovered many Particulars then acting by the Enemy.

On the 23d. of July, the *Turks* taking the advantage of a strong Gale of Wind, which blew towards the City, to throw diverse Bombs therinto, one of which bear down the Spanish Embassador's House, with little other damage to the Town. The same day in the Afternoon the *Turks* sprang a Mine near the Lobel Bastion, but it taking vent,

The Destruction of the Turkish Force.

The Bishop of Mainz is Saly.

1683. reverted on themselves, damaging only a corner of the Bastion, and over-turning some Palisadoes, which were repaired again in the Night; howsoever the *Turks* took this opportunity to make a furious Assault upon that Bastion, but were valiantly repulsed, with the loss of two Hundred Men killed, and three taken Prisoners.

About the same time, a Messenger from the Duke of *Lorraine* having swam four times over the Water, with his Letters in a Bladder hanging about his Neck, with much difficulty got into the Town, which brought them the happy and encouraging News of being speedily relieved; for that all the Troops of the Circles, and of the Emperor's hereditary Countries, came daily to the general Rendezvous at *Krembs*; and that the King of *Poland* with his Army was come as far as *Olmutz*. Nor were the Troops of the Duke of *Lorraine* idle all this time during the Siege, but making Incursions and enterprizing some Design or other every Day, brought many Prisoners into the Camp with their Horles and other Booty: But the joy of these Successes were not a little damped by the News that the City of *Presburg* with *Timavia*, *Emdenburg*, *Prekalla*, *Leita* and *Halentat*, being dismayed by the formidable Force of the Vizier, had submitted themselves to *Tekeli*, and to his Protection. Howsoever considering Men reflected, that such Accidents as these were to be expected, where a mighty Army predominated; and were as easily reversed by the turn of a contrary Fortune, and that they would follow the Fate and Success of *Vienna*.

The 25th. of this Month, the Duke of *Lorraine* receiving Intelligence, that *Tekeli* had formed an Army of 20.000 Malecontents, and eight Thousand *Turks* under the Command of the *Pashas* of *Waradin* and *Pest*, and designed to Besiege the Castle of *Presburg*; which being a Place of considerable Consequence, was a Matter of long Debate, whether in that Conjunction it was to be relieved in despite of all the Difficulties and Obstacles which appeared to the contrary. For in the first place it was alleged, that the Ways thither were rocky, woody, and inclosed, that the Forces of the Enemy were much superior to theirs in number; and that the Army ought not to be put into any hazard of being Defeated, at a time when the Relief of *Vienna* was the main and ultimate Design. To these Arguments it was urged, that in case the Castle of *Presburg* was surrendered to the Enemy, it would facilitate a Communication between their two Armies, and hinder the conjunction of the *Polish* Army with the Imperial, unless they took a large compass about, which would both harraiss the Men by a

long March, and defer the Relief of *Vienna*; 1683. the Extremities of which required nothing more than Haft and a speedy Succour. These last Reasons prevailed above the former, it being esteemed of absolute necessity to conserve the Castle of *Presburg*, the which was wavering, and ready with the other Towns to accept and embrace the Protection of *Tekeli*. In pursuance of this Resolution, the Duke of *Lorraine* passed the *Danube* with his Horle and Dragons, namely, the Regiments of *Palfi*, *Caprara*, *Rabata*, *Gondola*, *Taffi*, *Merci*, *Hallenwiel*, *Montecuculi*, *Veterani* and *Gott*, which were all Horle, to the number of eight Thousand; and of Dragons, those of *Stirum*, *Schultz* and *Herberwiler*, making in all an Hundred thirty six Troops and Companies, besides the *Poles* under *Lubomiski*, which made about two Thousand Men more. In the Night Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* and the Baron of *Merci*, were Commanded in the Van to secure the narrow Ways and Passages; and being come upon certain Hills, where they see round about, they discovered the Enemies Fires and Lights below in the Plains, and two Camps at some little distance one from the other; of which, Advice being given to the General, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was ordered to Attack the Suburbs of *Presburg*, where some of the Malecontents were quartered; upon this Surprise, the Malecontents flying into the Town, made way for the Imperialists to enter without much Resistance: The City being in a suddain consternation, upon sight of the Imperial Army at their Gates, surrendered upon Summons, as did also the Castle; the Garrison whereof, whilst the Town was in Treaty, escaped out to seek for Refuge in the Camp; but many of them were intercepted in their Passage, and cut to pieces.

This happy success in fight of the Enemy was an evidence of their Weakness and want of Courage, and animated the *Christians* to give them Battle: The Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* with his Dragons, was hereupon as ordered, drew up in the Vineyards and Gardens adjoining to the Suburbs, and extended his whole Body to the right and left, along the *Danube* to the foot of the Hill, the better to secure *C. Caprara*, whilst he with his Horle defended down by the Vineyards, and had drawn up in *Batalia*.

The Enemy made a show as if they intended to fight, and detached some Parties to begin a Skirmish, but the Duke of *Lorraine* would not Engage, until all his Forces were drawn up; upon appearance whereof the Malecontents changed their Minds, and instead of advancing, the Imperialists perceived, by a great Dust rising on one side and

The Duke of Lorraine forces Presburg.

1683. and the other, that the Enemy retired: The advanced Parties of the Enemy, which were to begin the Battle, finding themselves abandoned by the main Body, turned their backs and fled; and were hardly pursued by the Imperialists and *Poles*, with much loss and slaughter, until they came to a great Wood, with a stream of Water running by it, where they made a Stand; but a detached party of *Poles*, with some Squadrons of *Germans*, and some of the Regiment of *Palfi* charged them with such Vigour and Bravery as put them to a Rout, so that they killed about five or six Hundred of them, and took about twelve Hundred Waggon of Baggage, and pursued them so hotly towards *Tirnan*, that many of them saved themselves in the Woods, and others threw themselves into the *Danube*; the Affrightment and Disorder was so great through the whole Army, that they recovered not themselves until they had passed the *Waagh*.

Tekeli having Intelligence of the March of the Imperialists, by the Party which had been beaten the Evening before; he retired in the Night-time, with a great Body of his own Horle and Foot, (leaving very few of his Men with the *Turks*) and resolved to attend the Duke of *Lorraine's* coming, and to fall upon him; which occasioned that Quarrel and Misunderstanding between the Malecontents and the *Turks*, that they separated each from other, and acted apart, until they were reconciled, and again united by Mediation of the Vizier, as appeared by certain Letters, which were intercepted.

But to return again to the Siege: In the mean time, whilst these things were acting abroad, there was continual firing and shooting on both sides; and on the 26th. the *Turks* designing to make a furious Assault, caused all their warlike Musick, such as Flutes, Cymbals, and brass Trumpets, which give a shrill Sound, to play with their highest Notes, to encourage their Soldiers to make the On-set; but just as they were beginning, the Besieged gave Fire to a Mine, which made many of the *Turks* to take capers and frisks in the Air, according to the Measures of their Musick. But the *Turks* not dismayed hereat, prest hard to gain that Ground which the Mine had laid open, but were valiantly repulsed by those who had the Guard of that Place: Howsoever, the Matter was long in dispute, until Count *Serini*, and St. *Croix* Lieutenant Colonel of *Dupigni's* Regiment of Horle came in with some Granadiers to their Relief, and forced the Assaultants back again into their Trenches, leaving many of their Companions dead upon the place, whose Heads the *Christians* afterwards fixed upon Poles, and exposed 'em to the View of the *Turkish* Camp. Howsoever, this Act

Discontent between the Turks and Tekeli.

A Mine sprung by the Besieged.

The Duke's forces are put to flight.

on was not performed without some loss 1683. and hurt to the Besieged, for Count *Goy* of *Staremb* and Count *Souches* were wounded: *George Mifner*, General of the Artillery, had his Arm broken by a Shot, of which he died in a few days afterwards, to the great Sorrow of the whole City, which could not but miss a Person so excellent in his Art, having been Ingenier at the Siege of *Philipsburg*, in the Troops of the Marquess of *Baden*: In this Action also were killed Baron *Walter*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Wirtemberg*, and *William Schemnitz*, a Captain in the Regiment of *Staremb*; as also Baron *Dubski*, who was shot through both his Buttocks with a Musket Bullet; and the Governour, *Staremb* himself, was again wounded in the Hand with the stroke of a Stone, as he had before been in the Head.

The *Turks* having this Day intercepted a Letter, which the Governour had sent by an express Messenger to the Duke of *Lorraine*, to give an account of the state of the Town; the Vizier, that he might give notice thereof unto *Staremb*, he caused the same Paper to be fastned to an Arrow, and shot into the Town, with an additional Letter from the Vizier, wrote in *Latin* to this Effect: That it was to little purpose for the Besieged to write in Characters unto the Duke of *Lorraine* to render him an account of the ill Condition of their Town, since the same is sufficiently known to the Besiegers, without any Key or Explanation of the Cipher. Howsoever the Grand Vizier, out of compassion to the Creatures of God, had already offered them his Mercy; but that being rejected by the Besieged, he thought fit to let them know, that the time was now come, in which they were to feel the rigour of the Divine Indignation, which would cause them, tho' late, to repent of this their inflexible Obstinacy. This Letter being read among the Officers, moved Laughter, rather than occasioned Fear.

As the Besieged continued still in good heart within the Town, so the Duke of *Lorraine's* Camp received a double Encouragement from two happy Successes: The first was, That the *Bano*, or Lord Lieutenant of *Croatia*, had conferred that People in their Loyalty and Devotion towards the Emperor, and for Security thereof, had made them to enter into a solemn Oath: But that of a greater Importance, was, That General *Dunwald* had again defeated a Body of two or three Thousand *Tartars*, with the slaughter of about thirteen Hundred killed upon the place, and many Prisoners taken, besides all their Baggage and Booty which they had plundered in *Hungary* and *Austria*. Within the Town they were forming and contriving all Ways and

Several of the Christians slain.

A Letter sent unto the Duke of Lorraine.

A Body of Tartars defeated.

1683. Instruments for their Defence; and amongst the rest, they had forged a certain Weapon in manner of a Scyth of about six Foot in length besides the Handle, which proved of excellent Use and Effect against the Scymeters, and would cut off a Man at the middle without much difficulty, and some times take off four or five Heads at a stroke.

The 18th. the *Turks* attempting to make themselves Masters of the Counterscarp, on the side of the Court-Bastion and Lobel, sprang a Mine, which they had prepared on that Quarter; but it being not far enough advanced, it reached not the Palisadoes, howsoever, about twenty Soldiers were killed, besides several wounded.

The 29th. about five a Clock in the morning, the Besieged fired sixty Pieces of Cannon upon the Enemy, which they modestly answered with one single Gun; but in the Afternoon they stormed the Palisadoes with great fury, but were repulsed with much loss; in which Action, the new-invented Scythes were very serviceable, and did great execution on the Assailants, amongst which *Kara Miskinet Pasha* of *Mesopotamia* was wounded in the Thigh, as also the *Gebege Balsha*, who is chief of the Armourers, and the Vizier's *Kalya* or Deputy was killed and buried at the entrance into his own Tent.

On the 30th. Count *Staremberg* fired a Mine, which as believed did great execution on the Enemy, for that they employed the whole Day following in repairing the Damage which that Mine had caused.

The 31st. the *Turks* advanced their Trenches so near to the Counterscarp, that the two Parties could speak and discourse one with the other, and fight at Arms end, and with the Stakes of the Palisadoes, which they had plucked up; but the Defendants with their long iron Crooks, such as we use for pulling down Houses, in the time of Fire, caught up the Bodies of Men, and drew them over the Walls, and with one cut of their Scyths would Mow off three or four Heads at a stroke.

The *Turks* finding themselves greatly incommoded in their Trenches by the Bombs and Granadoes, which were shot from the Town, contrived ways to cover them with Beams of Timber, over which they laid Sacks of Earth, which kept off all Fire-works, Cannon and Musquet-shot; and in many places of the Trenches they made Pavements of Brick, which were so commodious and secure, that the Grand Vizier, and many of the principal Officers and Pashas lodged therein, with as much convenience as in their own Houses.

On the 3d. of August the *Turks* having

raised their Trenches much higher than the Counterscarp, began a Fight against the Defendants with Musquets and Arrows, which they continued for a long time, and relieved their Men often, with new Supplies, but were always bravely repulsed by the *Christians*. Towards the Evening, the *Turks* endeavoured to gain the Counterscarp of the Court *Ravelin* by Assault; and with much Blood, after a vigorous Defence, they took it: The Pasha of *Damascus* was killed in this Action.

The *Turks*, encouraged with this Success, the next Day pursued their Fortune with redoubled Force, and attacked the Counterscarp, at the Gate of the Lobel-Bulwark, with such fury, that with the loss of four Hundred of their Men, they became Masters of it.

And then on the 5th. they threw into the Ditch of the *Ravelin*, such quantity of Faggots and Sacks of Earth, as served to fill it up; but yet the *Turks* possessed not long this spot of Ground, for that very Night they were driven from that Post with great loss by the Valour of the Defendants, and Diligence of the Governour, who was all that Night upon the Works, and took no repose until four a Clock in the Morning.

On the 6th. about nine a Clock in the Morning, the *Turks* sprang a Mine, which opened the Earth very much in the Counterscarp, towards the Court-Bastion, and there-with began a terrible Fight, which continued for the space of five Hours; during which time the *Christians* lost about a Hundred Men killed and wounded, amongst which was Count *Lestie*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Mansfelt*, and Brother of General *Lestie*, who at first being wounded in the Arm maintained his Ground, not retiring so much as to be dressed, but still continued the Fight, until being shot in the Breast with a Musquet-Bullet, he died under the Walls of the City with much Glory; but notwithstanding all this Valour of the Defendants, the *Turks* crowded on their Soldiers in such multitudes with continual Supplies, that like a violent Torrent, not being to be withstood, they became Masters of the Ditch of the Counterscarp of the Court *Ravelin*, at the cost of the Lives of six Hundred and Seventy of their Men, and that Day in all were a Thousand *Turks* killed, and about a Hundred and eighty *Christians*.

On the 7th. the Centinel, that was placed on the top of the Steeple of St. *Stephens*, gave notice, about five a Clock in the morning, that he discovered a great Smoak arising on the farther side of the *Danube*, which continued until eight that Morning, and afterwards vanished; the Governour rightly con-

1683.

4th.

5th.

6th.

7th.

1683. conjectur'd, that the Smoak was caused by some Fight between the *Christians* and *Turks*: The truth of which wasthe next day brought by a *Rafican*, (who was of that Province which produces excellent Spies) and he related, That the *Turks* having detached a Party of about Three thousand Horse, to make a Discovery of the State of the Duke of *Lorraine's* Camp, and see what numbers were come in from *Saxony*, *Sabia* and *Franconia*. Upon advices of their March an Ambuscade was laid for them, into which they unwarily falling, the greatest part of them were slain, and an Aga, and *Tekeli's* Secretary, an *Hungarian* Count, were made Prisoners: And also, That they had taken many of the Enemies Waggon's laden with Ammunition and Provisions, and that upon this Success, divers of the Malecontents had deserted their Party, and were gone unto the Emperor. The same day the *Turks* sprang a Mine on the side of the Lobel Bastion, which reversed on themselves, with the same loss and hurt which they design'd for the *Christians*.

On the 8th, the *Christians* thunder'd their Cannon from the Curtain of the *Carinthian* Bulwark, which ruined some of the Works of the Besiegers, and dismounted their Cannon: Howsoever, the same Day the *Turks* sprang a Mine, just at the Point of the Court Bastion, by which twenty three *Christians* were killed. But what in this matter is strange and worthy to be remembered, a certain Gunner was tossed up into the Air by force of this Mine, and thrown into the Ditch of the Town without any hurt, to the great wonder of all those who were Spectators thereof. The *Turks* seconded the Mine with an Assault, and began to remove the Earth under the *Ravelin*, and to cover the Galleries with Beams and Earth, by which they descended into the great Ditch, without receiving any damage either by Cannon or Granadoes; so that the Governour judging it impossible to defend that *Ravelin*, caused the Cannon to be withdrawn from thence: Howsoever, the Counts of *Dann*, and *Saunders* (the Governour being Sick of a Dysentery) made a Sally that Night at the Head of Three hundred Men, and Charged the Enemy so Vigorously, that they drove them out of their Galleries, and burnt all their Works.

On the 9th, the *Turks* fired a Mine on the side of the *Ravelin*, which killed five Soldiers, and over-turned some Palisadoes; but a greater damage was thereby done to the *Turks*, who by a reverse lost Thirty two of their own Men, and the Palisadoes were again repaired in the Night.

On the 10th, a strong Party of Horse under the Command of the Count *Sirau*

their Colonel, defeated Two thousand Malecontents belonging to *Badian*, near *Frissenfelden*, killed Four hundred and eighty Prisoners, took above Three hundred Prisoners, with five Colours. In like manner a Party of *Germanes* belonging to the Garrison of *Rasch*, under Colonel *Heister*, meeting with a Body of *Turks* and *Tekelies* near *Altenberg*, which were Conveying Waggon's laden with Ammunition and Provisions to the Turkish Camp before *Vienna*, Charged them so furiously that they totally Defeated them, and put them to Flight, and in the Pursuit killed them with great Slaughter; an Hundred and eighty Waggon's were taken; but those which were laden with Powder, and Fire-works were blown up, rather than they should become a Prey to the Enemy, and be made use of against themselves. The same Day the *Turks* sprang a Mine at the Point of the Lobel Bastion, which tossed three *Christians* Soldiers into the Air; and set them down again in the same place upon their Legs without any hurt: But it proved of much greater mischief to the *Turks* by its reverse upon themselves. All that Day many Cannon-thor were fired on both sides; and the Besieged threw many Bombs out of their Morter-pieces into the Enemies Trenches, which did considerable Execution.

The Scholars of the University in *Vienna*, whose Motto might be *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*, finding this no time for Books, apply'd their Minds to the War, for preservation of their Lives, City and Christian Religion, against the Common Enemy of the Faith: And forming themselves into a Body, made two or three very good Companies: The Merchants also of the Society of *Netherlanders* following their Example, raised a Company of Two hundred and eighty Men, all Armed with Fire-locks, which they maintained at their own cost and charge; and being used in their Common exercises to shoot with Guns, they became excellent Mark-men; and from the upper Rooms of the Emperor's Palace, where they were commonly Quarter'd, they did good Service, annoying the *Turks* greatly with their Shot; nor were the Scholars less expert than the Merchants, for one of them having shot a *Janisary* dead with his Musquet, he drew his Body within the Palisadoes with one of the long Hooks, and cut off his Head, which at the end of a Pike he carried through the City; and having ript open his Stomach, he found there six Ducats in Gold, which he had swallowed; supposing that part to be the most secure, and the most private Purse, free from the Robbery either of his Friends or Enemies: It seems; it was known afterwards, that this

1683.

4th.

5th.

6th.

7th.

8th.

9th.

10th.

1683. this was the Common way of Concealment of Gold amongst the Turkish Soldiers; which when the *Imperialists* discover'd, they made it a common practice to dive into the Frairails, of as many as they took: Examining their Bowels like the ancient *Augurs*, who Inspected the inwards of Beasts, to make their pretages of good, or bad Fortune.

11th. On the 11th, the *Turks* Sprang two Mines without any great effect; howsoever it serv'd them for a Signal to make an Assault; but the Defendants making use of their smaller Guns, or Field-pieces planted on the Walls, charged with Chain and Partridge shot, with Spars and pieces of old Iron, which together with Hand-Granadoes made such a Slaughter amongst the *Turks*, as caus'd them to Retire. Howsoever, Forty of the Defendants were killed and wounded.

12th. The next day the *Turks* about Noon fired another Mine, which blew up one of the Flankers of the Ravelin, with so much noise and thunder, as gave an Allarm to the whole Town, and caus'd the Officers, who were than sat down at Table to arise and leave their Dinner, to see what the matter was. The *Turks* were ready hereupon to have made the Assault, but finding that the Breach was not wide enough, they retired again within their Trenches.

13th. Howsoever, still continuing their Works, they at length on this day blew up the whole Ravelin; howsoever the quantity of Powder being very great, the Mine rever'd upon themselves with such Execution, as abated the Courage of the most bold Assaultants.

14th. On the 14th, having sunk their Trenches nine Foot deep, they endeavour'd to penetrate a Way into the Ditch, and about six a Clock in the Evening they Sprang another Mine on the right Hand of the Ravelin, with as little success as the Day before.

The Christian Camp daily increased to such numbers, as were judged sufficient to give Battail to the *Ottoman* Army; but to make the Game more secure, it was judged necessary to attend the coming of the King and Army of *Poland*: To hasten which, diverse Messengers were sent, to desire his Majesty to expediate and quicken his March, lest he should come too late for the Relief of *Vienna*, whose Forces every Day diminishing by continual losses, could not possibly hold out long, tho' they were well assured, that the utmost Extremity would be sustained, before the Defendants would yield to a Surrender. The *Polish* King being sensible hereof, promised to hasten his March, so as to be at *Krembs* on the 28th of the Month.

The 15th and 16th, the *Turks* continued to Batter, and to throw Bombs into the Town, and Sprang several Mines, tho' not with much Execution; and were in divers Assaults vigorously repul'd. Howsoever, all this was done at the expence of much Blood, and with the diminution both of the numbers and strength of the Garrison, which by hourly losses on the Breaches, on the Works, and by Sickneses caus'd by the want of good Diet, was much decayed, and the Defendants were reduced to that low Condition, that they could not long sustain the violence of so forcible an Enemy. And tho' the Turkish Camp was not free from Diseases and Mortality, yet they were less sensible of their losses by their numbers, and the daily Recruits which they received. To make known the true state of the City to the Duke of *Lorraine*, some crafty and bold Men undertook to be

Messengers, some of which were intercepted, and others escap'd; amongst the rest one *Francis Koltchizki alias Kotlenski*, who was Interpreter to the *Levant or Eastern* Company, being perfectly practiced in the Turkish Language, undertook to carry into the Duke of *Lorraine*, not only Letters but also by word of Mouth, to inform him of the true State and Condition of the Town. Accordingly *Kotlenski* having disguis'd himself in the Turkish Habit, silently pass'd through the *Palisadoes*, and enter'd into the Camp, where with much Confidence he set up his Throat, and began to Sing with the highest Notes of the Turkish Air; no Man suspected him in the least kind, and an *Aga* observing a Fellow pass so merrily by his Tent, call'd him in, and for his good Humour entertain'd him with Coffee. After which without any Examination he proceeded on his way, and pass'd the Mountain of *Kulenberg*; and being descended down to the side of the *Danube*, some of the Christian Soldiers Fired at him from an Island, but having made it known to them by certain Signs, that he was a Messenger sent from *Vienna*, he was kindly received, and conducted with expedition and safety to the Duke of *Lorraine*, to whom with great sincerity, he gave a true and exact Relation of the State of *Vienna*; and deliver'd his Letters, one of which of the 4th of the Month, was from the Deputies of the Council of State; two of the 8th from the Counts de *Stareberg* and *Capliers*; and one of the 12th from *Capliers*; all which gave an Account of the Siege, and of the advances of the Enemy upon them, and the necessity of the place, with a List of those who were killed and wounded, concluding with earnest desires for speedy Relief; that

1683.
15th.
and
16th.

A Messen-
ger sent to
the Duke of
Lorraine.

1683. that Count *Stareberg* was very Sick, and weakened by a Disentery, and that they began to be in want of Granadoes.

The Duke of *Lorraine* was very careful to inform the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, the Electour of *Saxony*, and all Persons concerned, of the Condition of *Vienna*: And dispatched Count *Caraffa* to the King of *Poland*, praying him to order the March of General *Siariiki*, who with some advanced Troops had been fix days in *Silesia*. And that *Vienna* might not in the mean time languish for want of hopes, and information of the care which was taking to Succour and Relieve them; the Duke of *Lorraine* having commended the resolution of the Messenger, and promised him a Reward agreeable to the hazard of such an undertaking, so soon as the City should be deliver'd from the Siege, he dispatched him away with a full Answer to all Demands. *Kotlenski* return'd with the same Confidence, as before to the Turkish Camp; and privately Roal into the City through the *Palisadoes*, where he was received with all the Joy, which distressed Men could express to one, who brought them the comfortable hopes of a speedy Deliverance. Many Questions (we may believe) were put to him by all sorts of People, and in all places and Companies where he was; and in all of them he infused Heart and Spirit, by the Relations he gave of the increase of the *German* Army, of the Preparations which were making, and of the near approach of the King of *Poland*. *Kotlenski* was not absent above four Days before he return'd; and what Intelligence he gave, was confirm'd by the Letters he brought from the Duke of *Lorraine* to Count *Stareberg*, signifying that he had defeated *Tekeli* near *Presbourg*; and taken a Convoy with all sorts of Ammunition, and Provision design'd for the *Ottoman* Camp, and that the King of *Poland* was upon his March for Relief of the City. This News was entertain'd with a General Joy, certify'd by Ringing of Bells, and Firing all the Cannon of the Town, and Volleys of small shot upon the Enemy; and for a Signal to the Duke of *Lorraine* that his Letters were come to Hand, Three Rockers were fired from the top of *St. Stephen's Steeple*.

The *Tartars* had destroy'd all the Countries round, that the Turkish Horse were almost Famish'd for want of Forage: Nor was there any to be procur'd within two or three days Journey of the Camp; but the necessity was such, that the Vizier detached a Party of Four or five thousand Horse, to fetch in Provender from Parts far Remote: And it is said, That so great

was their want, that they were forced to strip the Trees of their Leaves, for the present nourishment and sustenance of their Horses, for which they were beholding to their Friends the *Tartars*.

On the 17th, the *Turks* rais'd a new Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, against the Bastion *Lobel*, but they were soon dilodg'd: Howsoever, between seven and eight a Clock in the Evening, the *Turks* fired a Mine under the Breach of the *Ravelin*, intending to make an Assault, but it was too hot work, the resistance being great, they were driven back into their Trenches.

On the 18th, the Defendants consulted how to dispossess the *Turks*, of the Quarters they had taken at the Foot of the Ravelin: But whilst they were considering thereof, the *Turks* Sprang a Mine under the Ravelin, which carried away all the Front of it towards the side of the Town; and immediately planted twelve Colours on the Ruins, with Resolution to make an Assault: To prevent which Count *Dupigni* with Sixty Men made a Sally, but pressing too forward into the Enemies Works, he was shot into the Belly with a Musquet Bullet, of which he died on the place, with Twenty four of his Soldiers and eight wounded, and also the Marquis of *Charville* was killed. The Governour to relieve this small Party, appointed a Sally of Three hundred Men; which having pass'd without the Works, perceived a formidable Body of *Turks* ready to Attack them, at which being dismay'd they refus'd to advance, and crouding back at the Sally Port, where but one Man could enter a-breast, they were in such disorder that the *Turks* killed many of them, and had made a far greater Slaughter, had not Count *Schaffenberg* with those few that were with him, covered and defended the Retreat; in this Action the *Turks* lost Four hundred Men, and the Defendants about Forty five.

On the 19th, the Defendants Sprang a Mine, which totally over-threw all the Enemies Works on the side of the Ravelin, and buried many *Turks* in the Ruins. The same day the Duke of *Lorraine* received other Letters from *Vienna*, written by *Stareberg*, and *Capliers* giving an Account of the decaying State and Condition of the Town. To which Answers was made on the 20th, informing them, that the Auxiliary Troops were advancing towards *Vienna*; and that the next day, he would take a view of the Country for ordering the March of the Army; that they should speedily be relieved, and in the mean time, that they should be of good Courage:

1683.

17th.

18th.

about 10
Mines
sprang.

19th.

and

20th.

A Mine
sprang by
the Defendants.

The Christian
Camp
increased
strengthened.

The Turkish
Camp in
want of
Forage.

The Duke
of Lorraine
received
Letters
from Vienna.

1683. The 21st, very early in the Morning the *Turks* ply'd all their Cannon very hotly upon the Town, and about eight a Clock, they set Fire to a Mine under the Lobel Bastion, but with little effect; and in the Evening about six a Clock they Sprang another with like Success.

22th. The next day the Defendants to make an agreeable return to the *Turks* for their kindness the day before, Sprang a Mine under the Ruins of the Ravelin; which threw fo much Earth into the Traverfes of the Enemy, as buried many of their Labourers and others, who being sunk up to the very Shoulders in Earth, were drawn out by their Companions: All the remainder of the day was spent in Fighting, the *Turks* labouring to gain the Ravelin, and the *Christians* to defend it. Towards the Evening, the Besieged threw divers Earthen Pots filled with Pitch, and Sulfur into the Ditches of the Court-Bastion, and of the Lobel, to burn the Enemies Traverfes; the Flame of which could not be extinguish'd, until the Matter was totally consumed, and in the mean time it served the *Christians* for a Light, to see the Enemy when they approached near the Palisadoes.

Whilst the Relief of *Vienna* was delay'd, the Imperial Troops not to remain Idle and without any Action, Colonel *Hufeler* with Two thousand Horse, and *Schultz* with as many more, with several other Troops under other Captains, fell upon some Auxiliaries coming to Reinforce the Camp before *Vienna*, and defeated them, and likewise a Party of *Turks* endeavouring to pass the *Danube* were repulsed. At length Three thousand five hundred of them having Ferried over the River in Boats, were attacked by the Imperialists, and beaten back with the loss of Eight hundred and seventy Men; and many of them endeavouring to save themselves escaped in Boats, but others trusting to the Waters, and to Swim over, were drown'd, to the number as is supposed of Fourteen hundred Men, amongst which were two Palhas, and the Son of the *Tartar Han* was there wounded. Next Morning were brought in unto the Generals divers Colours and Standards, with Turkish Drums and Timbrels, and many Prisoners of Quality and Note. The Grand Vizier having received this News, Ordered *Tekeli* to repair immediately to the Siege of *Vienna* with all his Forces: But *Tekeli* having received Information of the great Army which was in form in a readiness to March to the Relief of that place; and fearing left upon ill Success, the Vizier should Reak part of his Revenge upon him, he excus'd himself by pretence of the great urgency of Affairs, which required the utmost of his

Force, and attendance in the Upper Hungary.

The *Turks* this day having carried on their Galleries to the very Foot of the Ravelin, Affaulted it with all their Fury, and after a long Fight they possess'd themselves of a third part of it, and lodged therein: But the *Christians* who were Intrenched and Fortified behind the Breach, kept still Possession of the other two thirds of that Work. It being observed from the Town, that the *Turks* were very busy in removing Earth, the *Christians* feared, as it was their common Discourse, that the Enemy was making their way Under-ground into the Cellars of the Emperor's Palace: And thò the Governour gave not much Credence to this Report, yet he Ordered the Yeomen of the Guard, who were armed with Halberts, and left behind for preservation of the Court, to set their Centinels in the Cellars, and to relieve them from time to time; and to be very Vigilant, and Attentive to hearken to the noise of Workmen, labouring under Ground. The same day one *Kimpler* a very ingenious Ingenier, working at a Counter-Mine under the Gate of the Castle, chanced to open his Way into a large Vault encompassed with Walls; and therein he found a round Box of Tin, which he at first took for some Urn, or Coffin of a Dead Body; but having open'd it, he was surpris'd with a Treasure of Gold and Silver, and searching farther into it, he found a Parchment at the bottom with these words, written in Old Characters.

Gaudes
Si inveneris, Videbis, Jacebis,
Sed
Orabis, Pugnabis, Adificabis.
Non Hodie
Nec Cras, sed Quia.
Universus Equus.
Turris Erecla & Armata.
Diversa Ordinata Arma.

Subscribed
Rolland. Hung. Mog. possit.

Or, Rowland Hunn an Inhabitant, or Citizen of *Mentz*, who was the Person that had deposited it in that place: Some are of Opinion, That this Rowland had buried this Case or Box, with a certain Spirit of Divination, as if he had Prognosticated that this Treasure should be found during the Siege of *Vienna*: And as if this Rowland Hunn should say to *Kimpler*, if prove thy fortune to find this Treasure, thou shalt rejoice, behold it and say nothing; but give Thanks and Pray to Almighty God, and Fight. Thou shalt Build, but not to Day,

nor

1683. nor to Morrow, but hereafter; thou shalt Erect Churches, when thy Country is freed from its Enemies, but not now while the *Ottoman* Horse encompasses you, and that the Towers are Armed, and a Formidable force Besiege you. This was the Interpretation, which some pass'd on this Writing.

24th. The 24th, the *Turks* Sprang another Mine, but with little effect, more than the casting up of great quantities of Earth: But that which admittid the highest Comfort, and Joy imaginable to the Defendants, was the Entrance of a Messenger into the Town with the News of the great preparations making, and assurance that the Town would be relieved in eight hours time. The same day the Great Vizier detach'd a Party of Five hundred Horse to pass the *Danube*, to Spoil and Burn some Villages on the other side; but being encountered by Colonel *Heisler*, they were defeated, and many of them in their Flight drowned in the River.

25th. The 25th, the *Christians* made a Sally with such Resolution and Fury, that they drove the *Turks* out of the Ditch, overthrew their Galleries and Gabions, spiked six Pieces of their Cannon, and discharged one of their Mines of the Powder, which was ready to be fired, which a *German* Miner had luckily discovered in the Ditch.

26th. The 26th, the *Turks* fired two Mines under the Ruins of the Ravelin, with Resolution to make an Assault; but were still bravely repulsed by the Defendants, one Cannon shot having carried away five *Turks* Heads at once.

27th. The *Turks* fired their Cannon and Mortar-pieces with continued Peals for some hours; during which time in the Morning, Three hundred Musqueteers, and Fifty Horsemen of the Regiment of *Dupigni*, defended by certain Subterranean Vaults into the Ditch of the Court Bastion, where they ruined the Traverfes of the Enemy in such manner, that they required three days time to be repaired; which was of highest concernment to the Defendants, to whom nothing was so necessary and important, as to put the Enemy backwards in the Approaches, and Precipures they made upon them. In this Action one of the principal Officers of the *Turks* was slain, as appeared by the Conflicts, that were made to regain his Body, for which there was a Dispute that lasted a whole hour; the same day the *Turks* fired two Mines, one on the left side of the Ravelin, and an other under the Counterescarp which joyns to the Court Bastion; and immediately mounted on the Ruins, intending to possess themselves intirely of the Ravelin; but they were repulsed by Count *Stassenberg* with great Slaughter. At the close of the Even-

ing, Forty Rockets were fired from the top of St. Stephen's Steeple, to give notice unto the Duke of *Lorraine* of the great distress of the City, and of the daily advances the Enemy made upon them, and the hourly diminution of the Garrison.

The next day to confirm these Signals, the Duke of *Lorraine* received Letters from *Stramberg* and *Captiers*, representing the sad and extreme misery of the City, which could not hold out much longer, but must (if not speedily relieved) be yielded to the Besiegers: Howtsoever, they concluded with a Resolution to defend themselves to the last drop of their Blood.

The 29th, the *Turks* fired the greatest Mine of any they had yet done, but to no little purpose, that they durst not adventure to second it by an Assault, as they had formerly done.

This day about three a Clock in the Afternoon, a Mine of the *Turks* overthrew a great part of the right Flanker of the first Retrenchment of the Ravelin, which was still defended by the Imperialists, thò the outward Retrenchment was possess'd by the *Turks*. The *Christians* lost only two Men by this Mine, who were buried in the Earth; but the *Turks* pressing forward, were repulsed with loss of twenty of their Men who were killed.

The *Turks* to conclude this Month, fired their Cannon and Mortars so incessantly, that it was believed a General Storm would follow: And having fired a Mine in the Morning, they hoped to have become Masters of the Ravelin, now as it were at its last gasp, and Affaulted it with such Fury, that it seem'd ready to yield: But the *Christians* fought with so great Resolution, that they kill'd Sixty *Janisaries* upon the Ruins, and recover'd all the third, and part of the first Retrenchment. And thò the Defendants were well assur'd that they should be Relieved in very few days; yet not knowing what Accidents might occur, which none could foresee, they with all diligence made another Retrenchment at the Foot of the Court Bastion, and at other places. Towards the Evening it was discovered, that the Turkish Miners were at work under the Ravelin; in which to disturb them, it was agreed the next day to make a brisk Sally; and to burn the Galleries by which they pass'd to the Mine.

The next Day being the first of the Month, the Sally was accordingly performed by three Hundred Men, who descending into the Ditch of the Court-Bastion, advanced as far as to the Galleries, intending to burn and destroy them with Granadoes and diverse sorts of Fire-balls; but the Works being deep, and the *Janisaries* pressing on them in great numbers, the Defendants were forced.

A Party of the *Turks* defeated.

Tekeli refused to come to the Turkish Camp.

Spent 1st.

Q force.

1683. forced to retire with the loss of about twenty Men, tho' with many more on the Enemy's side. Towards the Evening, the Fight was again renewed by a fresh Assault of the *Janisaries*, purposing with full resolution to become entire Masters of the *Ravelin*; but the *Christians* being spirited with the hopes of speedily Succour, so valiantly opposed them, that at length they were forced to retire with great Slaughter: Immediately after which, the Besieged made another Sally with about four hundred and fifty Men, burnt their Galleries, and ruined those Works, which they could not repair again in less than three Days. In this Action the Citizens behaved themselves with much Bravery and Dexterity in the execution of their Fire-works; and tho' this Sally cost them Ninety Men, yet it was attended with the death of above three Hundred *Janisaries*.

The Day before was remarkable for the Encounter of the Duke of *Lorraine* and the King of *Poland*; the first going to *Olbrun* to meet his Majesty: So soon as they came in sight of each other, about the distance of twenty five Spaces, the Duke defended from his Horse, as did also the King; and coming near they embraced. The King in very affectionate Terms demanded after his Health, and commended his Valour and Conduct, by which he had sustained so long the force of such powerful Enemies. Then he presented to him his Son, Prince *Alexander*, whom, he said, he had trained up betimes in War, to serve the Emperor; and did not doubt but he would improve much more by the Guidance and Example of so great a General. To which the Duke returned answer, That his Majesty had not only amazed him with the heroic and generous Act of so long and tedious a March, but had astonished him with the excess of his Favour and obliging Expressions towards him: That next to the Service of the Emperor, he desired to live, that he might perform something acceptable to his Majesty, and to all his Relations: That as to the Forms and Rules of War, no Person alive was so well versed in them as his Majesty, from whom all the Generals and Captains of the World might without discredit nor be ashamed to learn the Lessons of Military Discipline: After which, the Generals of the Army, the Nobility and Vice-Chancellor of that Kingdom, came and paid their Respects to the Duke of *Lorraine*. And then, being mounted on Horse-back, the King having the Duke on the Right-hand, and the Prince on the Left; they entered into Discourse concerning the State of the War, and continued the same, until they came to the Camp, where, in the King's Tent, a sumptuous Supper was prepared at

a long Table; the King sat in the middle; 1683. on his Right-hand the Duke was placed, and on his Left the Prince of *Poland*; after which the King ordered all the Nobility, who came with the Duke of *Lorraine* to sit also. The Supper being ended, at which various Discourses passed, but most relating to the present Enterprize; the Duke of *Lorraine* returned to his own Camp, much satisfied with the Courtesie and Resolution of the King, who dispatched Messengers with all diligence to the General, who brought up the Rear, to hasten the March of the Army, with all convenient speed. And the next day the King dining with the Duke of *Lorraine* at his Tent, resolved to meet the Emperor at *Krembs* on the second of *September*, where the Interview was appointed, and there it was where all things were to be concerted about the Passage over the *Danube*, and Conjunction of the Armies. Whilst these things were projecting, Count *Scaramburg* came from *Nayburg*, bringing Advice, That the Elector of *Saxony*, with his Forces, could not be at *Krembs* until the third or fourth of this Month, upon which it was computed, that the Relief of *Vienna* could not possibly be until the 12th.

Intelligence of all these Matters being carried to the Emperor, the Presence of his Imperial Majesty was judged necessary at *Krembs*, where the place of general Rendezvous was appointed, both to animate and inspirit the Army, and to accommodate, compose and silence such Quarrels and Punctilio's as might arise amongst so many Princes of different Countries, concerning Place and Precedency; but the Emperor in his way thither, being taken ill of some Indisposition in his Health, proceeded no farther than *Lintz*, where he remained until he received the happy News of the Relief of *Vienna*, and the Confusion of his Enemies.

In the mean time, a general Council of War being held at *Edendorf*, at which the Elector of *Saxony* was present; the Duke of *Lorraine*, by his Prudence, so ordered and disposed Matters, that no Questions about Place or Precedence came into competition. For so it was order'd, That at a long Table the King of *Poland* should sit in the middle, on his Right-hand the Elector of *Saxony*, and next to him all the Generals of the Empire; and on the Left, the general Officers of *Poland*: Over-against the King, the Duke of *Lorraine* took his Place, who was to be chief Speaker at that Assembly, in regard he was best able to render a true Account of the State of the War. The Council being fate in this form, it was laid down as a General Rule, That all Colonels, with the concurrence of their General Officers, should give

1683. in writing to the King of *Poland* a true State of their respective Regiments, and of the Places where they were Quartered; and that from his Majesty they should receive Rules and Instructions for their March to the Relief of *Vienna*. It was farther agreed, after some debate, That the Conjunction of the Army, with the Auxiliary Troops, should be on the 5th. of *September* in the Plains of *Tuln*: That the Army of *Poland* should pass the *Danube* at the same place with the Emperor's Army: That the Forces of *Saxony* should pass the River, by way of the Bridge at *Krembs*: And that all the *Bavarian* Forces which lay encamped with some *German* Troops, under the Command of Count *Lefly*, should March directly towards *Tuln*, to joyn with the Imperial and Polish Forces.

The execution of these Designs was deferred until the 7th. when the King towards the Evening began to pass the River, and was forthwith followed by the Duke of *Lorraine* at the Head of the Imperial Army; having first made a Detachment of three Regiments, which were to joyn with three Thousand *Poles* to cut off all Communication of the *Turks* and Malecontents, with the *Vizier's* Camp. Colonel *Hessler* with his Regiment of six Hundred Horse was ordered to take his March by the way of *Cloffen-neuburg*, and to make Fires upon the Hills of *Kalenberg*, to give notice unto the Besieged of their approaching Relief, which was the Signal agreed between them. But before we come to this glorious Achievement, let us see what was acting for Defence of the Town, and Difficulties to which the Besieged were reduced.

Sept. 2. In the Morning of this second day, the Point of the Court-Bastion was overthrown, which gave the *Turks* occasion to carry their Galleries farther, to the utter ruin of that Fort. Count *Staremburg* believing that the remaining part of the Bastion could not be longer defended, gave Order to *Huiterian*, a Captain of his Regiment, whose turn it was to mount the Guard that Night, to abandon the *Ravelin* in case he found himself over-pressed by the *Turks*, and under covert of the dark Night to make his Retreat. But this stout Captain having taken this Post with fifty Men, so bravely defended the remains of the tottering Fortrefs, that tho' the *Turks* burnt the Palisades which were his chief Fortification, yet he repulsed them by the Fire of his Muskets, with loss of twenty of his Men, and remained on the place until the Morning, having killed two *Janisaries* with his own Hands.

3d. Next day the Governour finding it impossible to maintain that Post any longer,

gave order to the Guards to retire, and abandon it to the possession of the *Turks*, who had little more to boast of, than the acqui- 4th. sition of that *Ravelin*, after an Attempt of six Weeks continuance made thereupon.

The fourth was a bloody day, both to the *Christians* and to the *Turks*; for the latter had sprung a Mine under the Court-Bulwark, which not only opened a Breach of seven Geometrical Paces, but shook the whole City with the violent concussion of the Air. Five thousand *Turks*, immediately with Comymers in their Hands, mounted the Breach, and sheltering themselves under some Sacks of Wool, which they carried before them, they mounted the Breach with their Cries, *Allah, Allah*, and planted four of their Standards thereupon. But notwithstanding all this Fury of the *Turks*, they were repulsed with equal Bravery by the *Christians*. The Fight continued the whole day, in which the Generals, Caprains, and common Soldiers performed the Offices and Parts of valiant and stout Defendants, who fearless of the Enemies Cannon, small Shot, Bombs, Granadoes and Mines, tho' twenty of them were killed that day by one Bomb, and thirty by the Mine, yet still they remained resolute not to grant one Palm of Ground to the Enemy; but what they gained with the Lives of thousands. The *Christians* lost in this day's Conflict one Hundred fifty four common Soldiers, besides some Officers; but this Loss was recompensed with the slaughter of twelve Hundred *Turks*, whose Bodies filled up the Ditch, amongst which twas believed that diverse were Men of Quality, because their Corpses were carried off with much diligence and hazard by those, who attended them at their fall.

The *Turks*, enraged with these Repulses, fired their Batteries incessantly against the Walls of the Town; and towards the Evening a terrible Fight began in the Ditch, at the foot of the Court-Bastion near the Breach, in which the *Turks* were beaten off with much Bravery by the Defendants, who not only repaired the Breach, but retrenched themselves so strongly, that the *Turks* durst attempt them no more on that side. This day Arms were given into the Hands of four Hundred Inhabitants, who had not as yet been engaged on the Walls, having been employed in other Services.

On the 6th. the *Turks* fired two Mines; one of which was under the Lobel-Bastion, and being extremely deep, it over-threw a great part of the Wall, opened a Breach of nine Paces wide, and blew up twenty four of the Defendants. However, the *Turks* did not immediately proceed to an Assault, because the Mines had thrown up such vast quantities of Stones and Earth, as had almost fil-

The Duke of Lorraine meets with the King of Poland.

The order of their Supper.

A meeting at Edendorf.

A Council of War held there.

A bloody Fight.

5th.

6th.

A Mine fired.

1683. led up their Trenches, and buried many of their Soldiers. Howsoever, having breasted and considered a while, they advanced to an Assault with their usual Multitudes, which continued for two Hours; till at length the *Turks* finding it impossible to prevail, with drew from the Breach, and fled with such fear, that not regarding the way they took to avoid the Enemies Shot, many of them came within reach of the Ravelin, called *Mulk*; where they were so received by Cannon and Granadoes, filled with Nails and old Iron, and by small Shot from behind a Redoubt placed in the Ditch, that whole Chambers of *Janisaries* were destroyed in the Fight, and greater numbers killed than had been in any of the Assaults; the Loss having been computed at the least two Thousand Men. With this Success, and with the daily hopes and expectations of Relief, the Spirits of the Defendants were raised and exalted; as the Courages of the Enemy, with the many Slaughters sustained in the Siege, and apprehensions of the approach of a vast and formidable Army against them began to abate and decline. And as a fore-runner of the expected Succour, five Rockets were discovered that Evening in the Air, from the Mountain of *Kalemberg*, which was the Signal agreed upon in that case; and as a Token, that they were so understood by the Town, five Rockets more from the top of St. *Stephen's* Steeple were returned in answer. This day was the last that the *Turks* made their fiercest Attacks, being well assured, that what was not then obtained could not afterwards be effected, but by a total defeat of the *Christian* Forces; so that the Vizier did little more the day following being the 7th, than continue their Batteries without hope of much execution; and expecting every day to be Assaulted by an Army not much inferior to his own, he drew out his Troops to take a review of them, and to see in what Condition they were to encounter so formidable an Enemy. The Army being drawn out, every *Beglerbeg*, *Pasha* or *Sangiac* gave in a List of the Men which remained under his Command; the numbers of which being cast up into one total Sum, amounted unto One hundred sixty eight thousand Men; which probably might have been the full account of the whole Army, when they first surrounded the Walls of *Vienna*: Afterwards during the Siege, those which were slain or died by Sickness were computed at Forty eight thousand five hundred and forty four, as appeared by a List found in the Grand Vizier's Tent after the Siege was raised; so that then the Turkish Army was reduced unto One hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and fifty six fighting Men, besides

Turks
killed.

Signals
of the
Turks
seen.

Account
of the
Turks.

What
were
killed at
the Siege.

Camel-drivers and Attendants on the Camp; and with this vast Force the *Turks* shamefully turned their Backs and Fled, as we shall shortly see in a few days following.

On the 8th, there was an appearance of Smoak ascending from Mount *Kalemberg*, which gave an undoubted assurance to the Besieged, of the approach of some advanced Troops designed for their Relief: And with this joyful Spectacle the Defendants beheld the *Turks* loading their Camels, and preparing to pack away with their Baggage. Howsoever, they continued still to fire great quantities of Bombs, and Granadoes into the Town, and to dig their Mines; one of which they fired this day under the Bastion of the Lobel: By which they blew up part of the Wall, which as believed would be seconded by a General Assault; and accordingly expected by the Defendants, who in fear thereof remain'd all day in Arms on their Guard, and with them the Regiment of Horse commanded by *Dupigni*, all serving on Foot, armed with their Helms and Coats of Mail; but instead hereof the *Turks* only made a small Attempt with about Three hundred Men, with which they had the fortune to beat the *Christians* out of the Trenches of the Palisadoes, which united the Communication between the Lobel and Town: But *Santa Croce*, Lieutenant Colonel to *Dupigni*, with Fifty of his Regiment, armed as aforesaid, coming in to their assistance, repulsed the *Turks* from those Trenches, and again possessed themselves thereof: In which Action the Lieutenant Colonel was wounded in the Leg, as was also one of his Captains called *Grove*, and Sixteen of his Souldiers killed and wounded, besides Twenty five Foot Soldiers belonging to other Regiments; but still good fortune so favoured them, that they met with a Mine of the Enemy furnished with Twenty eight Barrils of Powder, which was ready to have been fired that Night, had they discharged it, and filled the vacancy again with Earth.

The *Turks* having News of the near approach of Relief, resolved to make their ultimate Effort on the Town, which they thought was now reduced to the last Gasp and Extremity, and that they must carry it now or never: Upon which accordingly they fired their Cannon, and Mortars double to what they had done on other days: But this was but like a lightning (as they say) before Death; for presently in the Afternoon the Turkish Camp began to move, and their Cavalry to Ride from one side to another in a confused manner: Their Servants and Attendants were taking down their Tents, and loading their Camels with their

9th.

1683. their Baggage; all which was in order to the removal of their Camp, and pitching it in another place more commodious for Engagement, and Fighting with the Enemy. Howsoever, those who were left behind to secure the Trenches, and make good the Siege, still proceeded in their Subterranean Works, and this day fired nine several Mines under the Curtain, which was between the Court and Lobel Bastion, without much execution.

10th. On the 10th, a Discovery was made of three other Mines, which the Enemy had opened under the Curtain between the said Bastions; to defend which, all the Cannon on that side were brought to that place, and behind them so many Trenchments, Retrenchments and Palisadoes were made and erected, that it was almost impossible for the Enemy to advance ten Paces, without meeting some difficult Pass, or Fortification to overcome: And indeed the *Turks* had already found by good experience, that one span of Earth had cost them the lives of a Thousand Men to purchase it. Notwithstanding which the place was reduced to its last extremity, and to a sensible want of all Provisions and Ammunition; and nothing could keep up their Courage and Resolution, but the hourly expectation of Relief, which they signified to the Duke of *Lorraine*, by the continual firing of Rockets and other Fire-works, giving him thereby to understand that the Town was in it's last Agony, and the saving thereof, and of all their Lives depended only on some few Moments of time.

11th. On the 11th, the *Turks* plied their Cannon and Mortar-pieces, as violent as at any time before, tho' the Fury of them continued not above three Hours; for the noise of the approach of the *Christian* Army began to silence the Roaring of Cannon, and turned their Thoughts from the offensive part, to a care of providing for their own security. In the Afternoon appeared three several Smoaks on the Mount of *Kalemberg*, which was the certain Signal of the approaching Succour; at the sight of which, the Defendants full of Hopes and Courage, prepared to make a Sally on the Enemy: The People full of Joy ran to the Ramparts which were least exposed to danger; the Women and others who were feeble and Sickly left their Beds, and brook themselves to the Tops of Houses, to behold the pleasant Spectacle of their long desired deliverance; some of which were still desponding with fear, and conceiving that the numerous Troops of the *Turks* so Valiant, and so well Intrenched were almost invincible: Others prefigured some wonderful Slaughter to ensue; others of more sanguine and cheer-

ful Temperament, beheld the *Turks* as lost, and figured unto themselves their shameful and ignominious Flight. In short, all People were full of Prayers and Vows to his Divine Majesty, that he would be pleased at length to Relieve, and Deliver them from the many Dangers with which they were encompassed: Their Prayers were heard, and towards five a Clock in the Evening, some advanced Troops appeared on the Mountain near the Monastery and Castle of St. *Leopold*, between whom and the *Turks* some Shot were exchanged; but Night coming on, the darkness put an end unto a farther Engagement, which was reserved for the day following.

This being the day appointed by Heaven for Relief of this expiring City, which could not have held out twenty four Hours longer, the Imperial and Polish Army with the Auxiliaries joynd at the Foot of the Mountain of *Kalemberg*, which before the Armies began to ascend, it was judged fit in the first place to take a Survey of the Town, and the several Posts therein. The Marquis *Parella*, a Gentleman of illustrious Birth and clear Courage, represented the Ground in an exact Map to the Generals, and offered with his own Person and Followers to possess himself of the Castle *Leopold*, and the Monastery, which were very advantageous Posts on this occasion. The Enterprize seemed so hazardous to the Duke of *Lorraine*, that he commended the generous offer, which the Marquis had made, but judging it a more fit undertaking for Soldiers of less note, he drew out a Party of Sixty Granadiers under the command of a Lieutenant, to whom he committed this dangerous Service: The Duke having also in Person by night taken a more exact Survey of the place, and judging it to be of great importance, reinforced it with Three hundred Soldiers more; after which he returned back to the King of *Poland*, to inform him of the disposition of the Army. After which all the Forces were ranged in form of Battalion, and began to March over the Mountain of *Kalemberg*: The utmost part of the right Wing was committed to the Conduct of the King of *Poland*.

The Numbers of the Christian Forces were as follow.

Imperial Horse in Twelve Regiments consisted of,	8200 Men
Imperial Infantry in Forty two Companies,	6400
Dragoons of the same in Forty Companies,	2400

Cravatt

1683. Cravats Nine hundred, Poles under Lubomiski, Fifteen hundred,

2400

In all

19000

Poles Twelve thousand Horse and Two thousand Foot, Commanded by himself in person, and under him by his Great General Jablonski,

14000

The Bavarians Commanded by Baron de Gensfeld, were Three thousand Horse, and Seven thousand five hundred Foot, in all

10500

Duke of Saxony's Forces Commanded by himself, were Two thousand Horse and Dragoons, and Seven thousand Foot

9000

Franconia, Commanded by Prince Valdeck, Horse Two thousand five hundred, and Foot Six thousand five hundred,

9000

61500

To which being added the several Princes, Volunteers with their several Attendants which followed them; this whole Army was computed to amount unto Sixty five thousand Men, which were now Marching to Engage the Turkish Army, which after after all their losses, had still remaining (as we said before) 119456 fighting Men; in this March over the Mountain of Ralenberg, the Prince of Saxelawenberg General of the Cavalry, with eight Regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and one of Cravats belonging to the Emperor, with all the Cavalry and Dragoons of Bavaria and Franconia, were placed on the Right Wing, next to which marched the King of Poland with his Army. The Infantry of Bavaria and Franconia were drawn up in the third place or middle, Commanded by Prince Waldeck; near unto whom all that day was the Elector of Bavaria, who pretended to serve as a Volunteer, it being his first expedition in the War. All the Emperor's Foot, and that of Saxony commanded by Prince Herman of Baden, were drawn up on the left Hand, and Marched directly along the Danube, and towards the Monastery of St. Leopold. Next to these on the left Wing marched Count Caprara with seven Regiments of the Emperor's Horse, to which the Poles, under Lubomiski were joyn'd, with all the Cavalry and Dragoons of Saxony, commanded by the Elector himself in Person. In this Order the Army mounted the Hill, with a slow pace, to attend the Motion of the Artillery, which tho' consisting of small Pieces; yet the Ways were so Rough and Rocky, that with double Teams of Horses, they ascended slowly to the Top of the Hill.

And now both Armies with opening of the Morning began to take a view of each other: The Stars were not with drawn from the Sky, when the Christians heard the *Alab, Alab* found from the Turkish Camp, which are the Lauds or Praises which they sing to God in their Prayers. The Fires and Lights in their Camp discover'd the excellent symmetry, and order in the disposition of their Tents and Troops; which had been the most pleasing Spectacle in the World, had it not been of Enemies and Infidels, who came to destroy the Christian Religion, and the German Empire. From hence it was that the King of Poland, and the Duke of Lorraine taking a view of the Enemies Forces, did conceive that the orders in which they were placed, did look as if they intended to dispute every Foot of Ground between each Army; which they might have done with great advantage, in case they had possessed themselves of the Woods in the Forest of Vienna, and of Ambuscades, which according to the nature of the Ground might be placed to hinder the descent from the Mountain. Wherefore the King desired of the Duke of Lorraine Two thousand German Foot to flank his Horse at the entrance out of the Wood, and to support them in the descent down the Craggy Hill, and accordingly four Battalions were granted for that service.

Count Lesly, who was General of the Artillery, had received Orders to Raise a Battery at the coming out the Wood, for better security of the Army in their March over the Hill, which he almost effected with one nights work; but before he had quite finished it, the Turks made a discovery of what was there doing, and were put in mind thereby of what they themselves should have done to impede the Enemies passage that way: But certain it is, they were so confident of their invincible strength, that they thought it too mean for them to take the advantage of Posts, or Situations against an Army, of which they conceived to low an Esteem: But finding themselves at last deceived in those imaginations and Councils, they detached early in the Morning some Forces to demolish the Work, which Troops came very near, and posted themselves behind certain Trees which were felled, and Planks, which served for Baricades against the Shot of the Battery.

The Duke of Lorraine observing from the Monastery of St. Leopold, the motion of the Turks against the advanced Troops, Ordered several Battalions under Command of the Duke of Croy to support them, which coming seasonably to their Assistance caused the Imperialists to enlarge their Front in that Line, and gave them Resolution to Attack

Attack

1683. Attack the Enemy, who were drawn up behind certain Banks, and charged them with so much Gallantry, that they forced them to retire into their main Body. In this Action the Duke of Croy being wounded in the Shoulder by a Musquet Shot, was carried out of the Fight, and his place of Command supplied by the Count of Fountaine.

The Duke of Croy wounded.

The whole Body of the Turkish Army beginning now to move, the Duke of Lorraine gave Orders to his left Wing to advance, and to Prince Waldeck, and to Duke Saxelawenberg to Sally out of the Woods, and fall upon the Enemies Front at the Head of their Encampment. In the mean time the King of Poland was advanced as far as to the Chappel of St. Leopold, where he heard Mass with great Devotion, which was celebrated by Father Mark Aviano, a Capuchin and Confessor to the King, which being finished, the Blessing was given to him and all his Army: And then the King Cry'd with a loud Voice, *Now we may March with entire assurance that God will give us Victory*; And then mounting on Horse-back, he Road in amongst the Ranks of his Army, and made this Speech to them as follows.

Generous Polish Cavaliers: 'Tis not only the Work of this Day to maintain the Glory which your Ancestours have acquired, and your own Courage hath Achieved by passing to the Succour of the Invincible Bulwark of Christendom against the Ottoman Troops: Nor is it our Aim only to Defend our own Country, which in case Vienna were lost, would lie miserably exposed to the Invasion of those Enemies against whom we Fight at present. But our chief design is, to defend the Cause of God, and save the Western Empire which hath done us the Honour to have recourse unto our Arms; an Honour which our Ancestours never durst to hope for, and which is rewarded, as a Reward of your Valour: We resolve to Conquer, or to Die nobly in this Cause, in which Martyrdom is held out for the Prize and Recompense. Behold therefore your King, who Fights at the Head of your Battalions: And be confident that the God of Hosts, whose Cause we are going to maintain, will Fight on our side.

The Mountain of Ralenberg, and the Woods of the Forest of Vienna resounded by this time with the Echoes from the Peals of Cannon, and Volleys of small Shot, which called the Inhabitants of Vienna to the Tops of their Houses, and of the Ramparts to behold the long wished for Sight of their approaching deliverance: However they were not so much taken up in seeing, and admiring, as to neglect their Guards and Watches on their Fortifications;

but on the Contrary, they plied all their Cannon, Small shot and Grandcocks, against the Enemy in their Trenches, with much profuseness, knowing that the time of their deliverance being come, they might the more lavishly bestow their Ammunition on their Enemies: The like quantities of Cannon, Fire-works, Bombs, &c. were returned from the Turks on the Town, and in greater abundance than had been at any time since the beginning of the Siege; and all the Mountains, Plains and Places round the City were filled Fire, Smoke and Noise: In the mean time the King of Poland continued his March down the Hills, as did the Regiments of Dragoons of Hessler and of Saxony, which were posted on the left Wing, near the Chappel of St. Leopold: The like Orders were given to all the Imperial Army to advance towards the Enemy, who began now to shelter themselves under Rocks, and behind Trees, and in rough places: The right Wing also moved at the same time, and all with equal paces. The Turks made some resistance as yet, but so faintly as was not able to withstand the Fury of the Christians; and the several Shelters unto which they began to have recourse, showed plainly their intentions to quit the Field. The Devotions which the King of Poland used this Morning, retarded his March for the space of a full hour, during which the whole Christian Army made a Halt near to Neudorf, until the Poles were come up into the Line equal to the rest of the Forces. The left Wing of the Imperialists without much resistance, possessed themselves of the Post which the Turks possessed at Holststadt, and the Prince Waldeck caused the Enemy on the other side to give way. The appearance of the Poles on the Top and on the side of the Hill, looked very formidable to the Turks. The King, who marched at the Head of his Army, detached several Troops of his Hussars to skirmish with the Front of the Enemy; but being over-powered, were forced to retire to a place where Prince Waldeck had very seasonably caused some Battalions of Bavaria, and of the Regiment of Mercis to advance, which gave a stop to the pursuit which the Turks made after them. The King upon this disorder of the Hussars caused the first Line of his Army to advance, which charged the Turks with so much Fury, as caused the Grofs of their Body to retire unto the Top of a Hill, where some of their Foot were drawn up, and several Batteries of Cannon planted. And now all the Polish Army moved, the Enemy opposing them in divers scatter'd places, from whence they fired Volleys of Musquets, with much damage to the Poles; but as yet they were

The Poles charge the Turks.

1683. not broken, but still advancing gained Ground on the Enemy.

In the mean time the Duke of *Lorraine* being far advanced with the left Wing towards the Enemy; the *Turks* to avoid the Effort which was making on their Right, drew themselves into *Batalia* before their Line of Circumvallation, and fortified themselves with some Pieces of Cannon, as if they intended to have made a strong resistance; but their Resolution continued not long before they gave way, and abandoning that Post, opened a way to the *Christians* into their Camp, without any opposition. Then it was, that the Duke of *Lorraine* commanded all the left Wing to Wheel about unto the Right, taking in the whole compass of the Turkish Camp, without breaking their Ranks, or falling upon the Plunder of the Enemies Baggage, or Tents which they had left Standing. The King of *Poland*, and Prince *Waldeck* with their several Troops, enter'd the Turkish Camp about seven a Clock in the Evening: And the Duke of *Lorraine* about half an hour after made himself Master of the Countercarp, and Suburbs of the City; the *Fansiaries* who were lodged in those Quarters escaping by favour of the Night, with much less Slaughter than if it had been Day; and in deed they behaved themselves with much more Valour, than others of the Turkish Militia: The Darknels put an end to the Battail, in which the *Christians* had gained a compleat and an undoubted Victory. And now the Duke of *Lorraine* had leisure to tend to complement the King upon this fortunate Success, a great part of which Glory, he attributed to the Valour and good Conduct of his Majesty and his generous Cavaliers: The King returned an Answer on the other side, with tho' every Nation and Battalion in the Army did their parts; yet much of the Honour of the Success of this Day, was due to the Bravery of the *Germans*, who were the first to enter into the Camp and Trenches of the Enemy.

Thus were the *Christians* become Masters of the Turkish Camp, where they lodged that Night in the same Form and Order, as the *Turks* had done the Night before, with Fires and Lights in all the Tents; only it was a more grateful Spectacle to the Besieged, which they could behold with more Comfort and Security, than ever they had done the Nights before; for this was of Joy, and the others of Terror.

In the Night the *Turks* passed the River at *Sweket*, with so much Fear and Precipitation, that they not only left their whole Camp standing, but even the Standard of

the Empire, which is the Sacred Banner of their Religion, with the three Horse Tails, which are the Ensigns of the Vizier's Authority. Moreover, they abandoned to their Enemies all their Tents, Baggage, Ammunition and Provisions, with all their Cannon and Artillery, being One hundred and eighty Pieces; and so speedily were they in their Flight, that before the next Day in the Evening, the Van of their Army had passed *Raah*.

Next day early in the Morning Count *Staremberg* attended with his Son, and several of the principal Commanders of the City, went out to return Thanks to his Benefactors for so great deliverance, and to Congratulate with them their Fortunate Successes and Triumph, which would appear Glorious over all the World: But the first thing which the Duke of *Lorraine* did that Morning by break of Day, was to Order all his Army to put themselves into a readiness to March, whilst he consulted with the King of *Poland*, how, and in what manner they might pursue the Enemy, and improve the Victory. But the King seemed to well satisfied with the advantage already gained, and with the Prey and Booty of which he was possessed, fitting Master in the Vizier's Tent, with all the Appurtenances and Accommodations thereunto belonging, that he excused all farther Proceedings at present; saying, That his Army was much Harassed, and required Repose, and not in a Condition to pursue an Enemy, whom they beheld at a far distance advanced in their way before them, by the Fires and Smoak which ascended upwards; for as the *Turks* fled they burnt all the Villages through which they passed. And now in the *Christians* Camp, and in the City was time for Joy and Triumph. Count *Staremberg* having paid his Respects, and made his Complements to the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Lorraine*, he conducted them into the City, with a numerous attendance of Nobility and Gentry, who had served in the late Siege; all the Forces were drawn up on both sides of the Streets, between which they passed with loud Acclamations of Joy, unto the Church of the Augustin Fryers, where in the first place, as was most just, *Te Deum* was Sung, and Thanks returned to God with Sincere Devotion: Thence they went to the House of the Governour Count *Staremberg*, where he received the Applause and Praises of the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Lorraine*, which were due to his Conduct and Valour; and the like Commendations were bestowed by them upon all the Officers and Souldiers of the Garrison, who had every one signalized themselves during this Siege, by some

1683.

Action

1683. Action, or piece of Service or other which was Remarkable and worthy of Observation: Afterwards these welcome and long-desired Guests were entertained with a sumptuous Feast at the Governour's House; after which, towards the Evening, with the like Joy and Felicity they returned to their respective Quarters and Tents in the Camp. In the mean time, the Besieged Inhabitants, who had long been pent up and inclosed within the Walls of the City, were not only desirous to breath in a more open Air, but were carried with a Curiosity to see the Approaches, which the Enemy had been making on them, and how near they had entered to the Heart of the City, that it may be doubtful, whether it was more pleasant to Men, lately delivered from the extremity of a perishing Condition, to behold how near they were to the devouring Enemy, and yet to escape; or to survey, with an amazed Curiosity, the Tents, Batteries, Trenches and Approaches, which the *Turks* had formed against them with wonderful Art and Industry.

The Face of all things was now changed, Want and Famine into Plenty, Fears and Anguish into Joy, and War into Peace: In the Vizier's Tent, of which the King of *Poland* was possessed, the rich Vestments, Jewels, and Money there found, were valued at a Million, and became the Prey and Booty allotted to his Majesty, which no Man envied considering the generous and heroic Action of that Prince, for whose Merit no Reward seemed too great: Amongst other things in that Tent the Standard of *Mahomet* was found, which the King sent to Pope *Innocent* the XI. by his Secretary *Tulenti*.

On the 14th. the Emperor, with the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, entered into the City of *Vienna*, which he beheld with Eyes of Compassion and Tenderness; for seeing the Desolation, which the Enemy had made, and considering the Slaughter of many of his trusty Citizens and valiant Soldiers, he could not refrain from Tears of Sorrow, mixed with Joy for the Deliverance and Safety of the surviving Farry. Being entered within the Gates, he went directly to the Cathedral of St. *Stephen's*, not on Horse-back, or on a Triumphal Chariot, but humbly and meekly on Foot, carrying a Taper in his Hand, in a kind of penitential manner, went to the great Altar to pay his Duty, and offer up his solemn Thanks to Almighty God, according to his usual Devotion, for the wonderful and miraculous Deliverance of that City. And having thus in the first place complied with his Service towards God, he went in the next to visit the King of *Poland*, whom he overtook at *Sweket*, a Village about a League distant

from *Vienna*, as he was proceeding on some farther Enterprise against the Enemy: Upon notice of the Emperor's Approach, the King, whose Army marched in the Van, made a stop; and the *German* Army being in the Rear, the Emperor placed himself at the head of them; and the *Polish* Army facing at the same time about, the King appeared at the head of his; and so between the two Armies these two great Princes, attended with a numerous Train of the chief Nobility and Gentry belonging to each Court, met and embraced each other, and with very affectionate Complements, and Expressions of Kindness and Friendship; having entertained Discourse together for the space of near half an Hour, after second Embraces, they departed. Never was there a more heroic and generous Action performed in the World, than was this of the King of *Poland*, who, after a long and tedious March, so valiantly exposed his own Person to Hazard, and his Army in the face of an Enemy, which to human Appearance was Invincible; and all this to bring Relief and Succour to an Ally, and to maintain the Bulwark of *Christendoms* against Infidels, and Enemies to the Christian Cause; 'tis such a piece of Bravery as cannot be paralleled with all its Circumstances in any History of past Ages; and therefore with much Reason and Justice were his Praises celebrated over all the Christian World; and the Poets, and other refined Wits in diverse Countries, and different Languages, exercised their Pens in Panegyrics and Elegies, striving to out-vy and surpass each other in the Excesses of Praise, which how Hyperbolicsoever could never reach to the imputation of Flattery. We shall repeat one, which was composed at *Rome* by *Guicciardin* Procur. Gen. of the *Celestines*:

ELOGIUM
JOANNI SOBIESKO
Dominatore Polonico, Lituanico,
Liberatore Austriaco, Pannonico,
Profligatore Ottomanico, Tracico,
Religione Christianissimo,
Pietate Catholicos,
Zelo, & obsequio Apostolico,
Inter Reges Praestantissimo,
Inter Duces Invidiosissimo,
Inter Imperatores, citra fabulas;
Solo nomine tremebundo,
Solo aspectu Hostes profliganti
C U I
Gloria Militaris Regnum peperit;
Clementia firmavit,
Meritum perennabit.
Q U I
Raro Probitatis, & Religiosis exemplo,
Propria deserens, Aliena defendens,
R Docuit

The King of Poland enters the Turkish Camp.

The Joy at Vienna.

The Vizier's Tent allotted to the King of Poland.

The Emperor's Entrance into Vienna.

The happy flight of the Turks.

1683.

Docuit, quo patio, sacra Fœderum Jura
Incantur, Colatur, Perficiantur.
Ottomanicam Lunam fulgentifimo Crucis Exililo,
Æternam Eclipsim Minitantem,
Adco proprie, fortiterq; Christianorum finibus
eliminavit.

Ut unum, & idem fuerit;
VENISSE, VIDISSSE, & VICISSE.

Inter, igitur, Christiani Orbis planius,
Interindicatæ Religiois, & Imperii lætitiæ,
Inter cunctatæ Lunæ extrema deliquia,
Agerçant Præsentes, credant Posteris,
Non tantum nascenti Evangelio, quo promul-
garetur,

Sed & jam promulgatæ, ne prostigaretur;
Utroque fuisse missum à DEO Hominem
CUI NOMEN ERAT JOANNES.

Del P. Maest. Guicciardini
Procur. Gener. Dei Celestini in Roma.

Which Noble and Heroick Action would have remained on the Records of History to all Posterity in honour of this King, had he not afterwards sullied and tarnished the Glory thereof, by confederating and flopping to Actions as low, and mean, as this was Sublime, and only worthy of the Dignity of a Heroe, as we shall show in the following Year.

But to return again from whence we have digressed, the Emperor and King having passed their Compliments, Prince Alexander, Son of the King, whom his Father presented with the Complement of having Enlisted himself early into the Service of his Imperial Majesty. The young Prince, by order of his Father, had habited himself in the German Fashion, and was admitted to Kiss the Emperor's Hand, as were all the Persons of Quality belonging to the Army, and Court of Poland.

The King after having viewed the Riches taken in the Vizier's Tent, which he assumed to himself as the Reward of his own Achievements: Out of Complement, he sent to the Emperor to make tender of one half of the Booty, accompanying the Message with the *Tugh*, or Horse-tail on a Staff, with a brass Knob on the top, which was one of the three Staves of Authority carried before the Vizier: Such another kind of Present like this, being Mahomet's Standard, he sent to the Pope; which being Gifts of no great Value, more than for the Curiosity of them, he frankly and really offered; but as to half the Prey, it was generally believed, that his Majesty was well informed beforehand, that the Emperor was of too generous a Nature to accept thereof; and would not have been so prodigal of his Officers, had he imagined he should have been taken at his word.

But it is not here to be forgotten, that 1683, after the Bishop of Newdory had sung Te Deum before the Emperor, and performed the other Ceremonies, which lasted for the space of four Hours; at the Conclusion of all, when the Emperor was come out of the Church, the Arch-Bishop of Vienna turned him about, and pointed to the Spire of the Cathedral Steeple: Behold, Sir, said he, that Spar which issues from the Spire, at the end of which is a Star within the Crescent or Half-moon; and consider that that Monument was there fixed in the Year 1539, when Soliman Besieged the City, and was so to remain by Compact with the Citizens, conditionally, That the *Turks* should not batter the Steeple with their Cannon: And now whereas that Article was broken, by the continual Shootings, which the Enemy had made against it at the last Siege, it is but reason that the Crescent should be taken down; and in Memory of the present Deliverance, that a Cross should be erected in the place thereof; for which the Emperor having given present Orders, they were accordingly executed.

On the 10th, the Duke of Saxony returned home with his Troops, which speedily departed so soon after the raising of the Siege, (which seemed too short a time for Refreshment of his Soldiery) was interpreted for a Sign of Discontent, perhaps to see the *Poles* Rewarded with the greatest Spoils, and the Auxiliaries neglected, as if they had no Share or Merit in the Victory.

The Emperor finding his Palace much ruined and unfurnished at Vienna, staid but few days there before he returned to Linz, where he intended to remain until the Repairs of Court and City were made, and the Walls and Trenches cleared of the dead Bodies, which rendered the Air Unhealthful and Infectious: During the time of his stay at Vienna, he took delight to visit the Retrenchments and Fortifications, which the Defendants had made behind the Walls and Batteries, to dispute every Foot and Inch of Ground, as occasion had required: He also surveyed the Batteries, Trenches and Approaches of the Enemy, and saw the Stores of Ammunition and Provisions which they had left behind them, which served again to recruit and replenish the Arsenal at Vienna. The Lift and Account whereof was as followeth: Six Thousand five Hundred Tents, four Thousand five Hundred Barrels of Powder, six Thousand weight of Lead, 20,000 Granado Shells, eight Thousand Hand-granadoes, 11,000 Shovels and Pickaxes, one Thousand six Hundred weight of Match, two Thousand five Hundred Fire-balls, 52 Hundred weight of Pitch, eleven Hundred weight of Oyl of Petrolum and of Tar, and five Hun-

dred

1683.

dred Thousand of Linnet-oyl, Ninety five Hundred of Salt-peter, five Thousand one Hundred Pieces of coarse Linnen, two Hundred Thousand Hair Sacks for carrying Earth and Sand, eighty one Hundred weight of Barres of Iron and Horse-shoes, an Hundred Ladies for melting Pitch, two Hundred weight of Pack-thread, and Thongs made of Camels Hides, and Buffaloes Leather for binding, four Thousand Sheep-skins, two Thousand Halberts, four Hundred Scythes and Scybles, five Hundred and sixty Barrels of Guns for use of the Janisaries, Fifty two Sacks of Cotton and Cotton-yarn, one Thousand five Hundred Wool-sacks empty, two Thousand Plates of Iron for covering Targets, an Hundred and twenty three Hundred weight of Greese and Tallow, two Hundred thirty Powder-horns, two Thousand six Hundred Bags for Powder, four pair of Smith's Bellows for a Forge, twenty one Instruments, or Engines for raising Carts when overturned, eight Thousand Carts for carrying Ammunition and Provisions, all empty, one Thousand great Bombs, eighteen Thousand Cannon-bullets, great and small, an Hundred and ten Pieces of Cannon of all sorts, as Culverin, Demiculverin, demy and whole Cannon, Sakers, &c. thirteen Mortar-pieces, mounted for shooting Bombs, six great Anvils, diverse Sacks for use of the Ordnance, and many Ladders made of Cords. All which, as we have said, were carried into Vienna, and laid up amongst the Stores of that Arsenal.

After this Work was done, the next was to employ all the Labourers belonging to the City, with the captivated *Turks*, whom they made to assist in filling up the Trenches, Holes and Vaults which the *Turks* had made; some of which were so deep, that they seemed rather to be Caves and Dens than Trenches for covert and shelter for Besiegers: So that had not the *Turks* busied themselves in such fruitless Labours, they might have compassed that in half the time, which was not effected in the space of sixty two Days. Amongst these other Works, several Vaults were found filled with dead Bodies, putrid and stinking, and all the Country round for many Leagues were strowed with dead Carcasses; for Burying of which, or Burning, or casting into the Danube, strict Orders were given, and which with much diligence were executed, to prevent a Pestilence, the Putrefaction of which began already to infect the Air. Amongst the dead, the Bodies of many Women and Children were found, who had been made Slaves and Captives by the *Turks*, and Massacred by them, either out of Revenge, or because they were an Incumbrance to them in their Flight; but to these Bodies some Respect was shown, being carried to *Cimetaries*, and

there interred after the Rites of the Christian Burial, with Crosses erected over their Graves. Howsoever some *Turks*, who were Men of more tender Bowels than the others (for we must not figure them all to be of the like fierce and cruel Disposition) did quit the Possession of their Slaves with more gentleness, and set them at liberty with their Lives, of which most were Women and Children, the which the *Germans* and *Poles* took up and brought them back again to Vienna.

By this time, that the Trenches were filled without the City, and the Walls and some Houses repaired, the News of the happy Deliverance of Vienna had spread it self over all the Countries, from whence Provisions of all sorts came, and Boats laden with Corn, Wine, Fruits and Herbs arrived daily in, to supply the Wants of the City; the Face of which was totally changed, from Famine to Plenty, from War to Peace, and from Terror and dismal Apprehensions to Joy, Triumph and Festivals.

The Spirits of the Imperialists and *Poles* being highly raised by these Successes, some Parties pursued the *Turks*, who were as much dejected as the others were elevated; and thó they hastened in a precipitous Flight, apprehending an Enemy just at their backs; yet many of them in the Arrear, appointed to conduct twelve Pieces of Cannon, and some Baggage were over-taken in the Pursuit, and brought back to Vienna, where these Captives, with their other Brethren, were ordered to work in Chains for filling the Trenches, which they had before opened, and repair of the Walls and Batteries, which they had battered down with their Cannon, and blown up with their Mines.

The Grand Vizier hastning his March, or rather his Flight, for (as we said before) he actually Ran away and shamefully turned his Back with near 120,000 Fighting Men; meditating (as we may believe) of the Disgrace, Ruin and evil consequences of this Misfortune, sought and endeavoured to clear his ill Conduct, and want of Courage by calling it upon others, as is common to the Nature of Mankind. Accordingly he dispatched away a Letter to the Grand Signior, giving him an account of the unfortunate Success before Vienna, caused by the Cowardice, or Treachery of several great Officers and Generals of his Army: Particularly he named the Vizier of *Buda*, to whom having given command to Charge the Enemy with a Body of Twelve thousand Men, as they defended the Hill of *Kalenberg*; he, and his Soldiers instead of obeying these Orders, shamefully turned their Backs and put themselves unto Flight; which when the rest of the Army saw, they

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The Grand
Vizier com-
plaining to
the Grand
Signior a-
gainst the
Folly of
Buda.

1683. were struck with a common Conspiration and Fear, suggested to them to secure their safety by following the Example of their Fellow-Soldiers: So the whole misfortune of the Day was attributed to the ill Conduct, and Cowardice of the Vizier of *Buda*, which was sent to the Grand Seignor, then residing at *Belgrade*, and in hourly expectation of better News.

The Vizier of *Buda*, who had received Information by several Hands of the Difficulties which the Grand Vizier entertained all the Officers concerning him, laying to his Charge the Loss and Ruin which had happened; thought fit to disculpate, and clear himself by a more faithful Relation of Matters in a Letter to the Grand Seignor; wherein he set forth, That by the unskillfulness of the Grand Vizier, and his want of Resolution in Military Affairs, this important matter had miscarried: For had he fortified the Forest of *Vienna*, and erected some few Redoubts on the descent of the Hill of *Kalemberg*, the City by all the Force of the World, could never have been Relieved: Or had the Vizier spent that time, which he employ'd in sinking Vaults and Caves for shelter, in bold Storms and Attempts, tho' with loss of half the Army, the importance of the place, and the consequences of the Success, would have largely paid for the effusion of Blood; but using unnecessary cautions of Mines, and formal Approaches, by which he hoped to have constrained the City to Surrender upon Articles, and hereby assumed to himself the Riches and Plunder of the place, which taken in Heat of Blood, and by Dint of Sword, would have become the Prey and Booty of the Soldiery; he gave occasion to such delays, as served the *Christian* Army, and turned to the Ruin and Misfortune of this whole Enterprize.

The Grand Vizier being weary of such Complaints as these, resolved to Sacrifice the Life of the Pasha of *Buda* to his own Folly and Destiny; commanding him to be Strangled, together with the Pashas of *Esfek* and *Poffega*, and the Aga of the *Janisaries*, great Friends and Confidants of the Vizier of *Buda*, and the best and most experienced Officers of the whole Army, with above Fifty Officers and Soldiers more, whom he accused of Cowardice; but this Execution of Justice (as they call it) could not secure his own Life, but rather furnished his Enemies at Court, such as the Kuzlir Aga and others, with influences where- to aggravate his Crimes to the Grand Seignor; and indeed there now offer'd a surprising occasion to wreak their Malice on the Vizier, since it is almost impossible, for a Man to be unfortunate and yet to be

effemed Innocent. Nor did the Vizier escape clear, with the remainder of his shattered Army to *Buda*; for being Attacked in the Rear by the Garrison of *Raah*, he lost Six hundred Men more: Howsoever, he proceeded in his March, and Reinforced the Garrisons of *Newbanfel* and *Strigonium*. The Death of these Pashas, by which the Vizier hoped to have saved his own Life, raised such Mutiny amongst the *Turks*, as stirring in the Minds of the Soldiery, than they had lately endured of Fear from the Enemy; between which two Passions, there was nothing but Confusion, Discontent and Discouragement in the whole Army: For the Pasha of *Buda* was popular, and well beloved by the Soldiery, and esteemed the most Martial Man in the whole Camp: And the Aga or General of the *Janisaries* was so well affected by that Militia, that they highly resented his Death; for at no time, (much less in this) can they endure to have their General punished or cut off, unless it be by themselves, and in their own Mutinies.

In this confusion were the *Turks*, when the Chief Captains of the *Christian* Army considered, that the present Relief of *Vienna* would be of little benefit to the *Christian* Empire, unless the Victory were purified, and improved by succeeding Enterprizes: All the Princes and Commanders agreed herunto, (except the Elector of *Saxony*, who as we have said before return'd home) and wisely judged, that the *Turks* having made a Retreat with a Body of near 120,000 Men, entire and whole, they might reasonably be expected the next year to return again unto the Siege, unless advantage were taken of their present Confusion, to break and confound them beyond a possibility of Recovery: At this Council, it was propoed to Besiege *Newbanfel* or *Gran*, and for enlargement of Winter-quarters, and Annoyance of *Buda* and *Gran*, that *Pell* and *Barcan* should be taken: In fine, after some debate it was concluded, That nothing could be resolved at present concerning the manner of Proceedings, for that the Actions of War, were to be regulated according to the Motions of the Enemy; but that something was to be undertaken speedily, whilst the Iron was hot, and the Spirits of the *Turks* cold, and still under their late Conspiration: The King of *Poland* being of the same Mind, Commanded his Troops to advance towards *Presbourg*, which on the 18th Encamped near *Ficken*, together with the Imperial Forces, and came thither on the 19th where they were forced to continue until the 25th for want of a Bridge, which

1683. which could not be finished until that time.

Whilst the Bridge was framing, and the Army detained on the Banks of the River; a Messenger from *Tekeli* brought a Letter to the King of *Poland*, containing certain Proposals in order to an Accommodation. The King having received a Character of *Tekeli* to be a Man of Intrigue, and False, and who had frequently made Offers of Peace, but never observed any; admitted his Messenger to Audience in a manner of Coldness and Jealousy, and yet with respect due to the Person from whom he was sent: But before he would receive the Letter, he asked, Whether it was Dated before, or since the Raising of the Siege of *Vienna*: To which the Messenger making answer, That it was Wrote two days before that Success: The King thereupon Replied with an angry Frown, Go said he, and return the Letter to your Master again, and tell him, That he should correct and amend the Style, and change the Substance and Sense thereof, according to the alteration of Times and Affairs.

Such is the force of Success and Prosperity of a Prince, that so soon as the News of the Relief of *Vienna* was divulged in the Upper *Hungary*, many Counties declared for the Emperor; and the Fortresses of *Papa* and *Totis*, were the first to give Examples of Obedience and Duty to other Cities. News also came at the same time, that the Count of *Budiani*, who upon the formidable appearance of the *Turks*, had deserted the Post he maintained on the Passage over the *Raah*, and had taken Party with the Malecontents, and joyned with a Body of *Turks* and *Hungarians*, and had Fought against the Imperial Troops, and Burnt and Plunder'd several Villages on the Frontiers of *Stiria*: Had now with the turn of Fortune, changed his side and interest; and having Surprised, and Cut in pieces those very *Turks* with whom he was Associated, had united his Forces with those of Count *Aprenmont*, and therewith troubled and infected the *Turks* in their Retreat.

The Bridge over the *Danube* being finished, the Poles were the first to March over it into the *Ile* of *Schultz*; and were followed by the Imperial Army: But the Troops of *Bavaria* and *Franconia*, remain'd still Encamped near *Vienna*, for want of Orders to advance farther; but Letters were sent to the Princes of that Circle, to continue the Aid of their Forces for some farther design; and a Messenger was dispatched to the Elector of *Bavaria*, who by Reason of some indisposition of Health, was advised by his Physicians to go to *Brin*, for benefit of the Air, which was esteemed

more wholesome than that of *Vienna*. But the year being now far advanced towards the end of September; to stay for such Orders, and the March of these Auxiliaries, the Season would be too far spent, to undertake any Action of great moment; wherefore the King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Lorraine* resolved to advance with their Army to *Comorra* without the Reinforcement of the Allies. Being come to a place called *Wismar*, within an hours March of *Comorra*, Advices were brought, that *Tekeli* had dispeised a Detachment from his Camp before *Levents* to *Berghade*, that the Vizier was at *Buda*, from whence he had Reinforced the Garrison of *Newbanfel* with Four thousand Men; but that in the Turkish Army were such Discontents caused by the late ill Successes, and by the Cutting off of the Pasha of *Buda*, and other great Men well affected by the Soldiery, that there was nothing but Mutiny and Confusion in the Camp. Upon this Intelligence, it was resolved at a Council of War to attempt *Gran*, and which to make the more Feasible, it was concluded necessary in the first place, to take the Fortresses of *Barcan*, which is a Palanca opposite to that City, and covers the Foot of the Bridge over the *Danube*, which makes a Communication between the two places. By this time Four thousand *Swedish* Infantry and One thousand *Horse*, with some other Auxiliaries (which by reason of the distance of the places, from whence they came, could not Arrive in time to partake in the Honour of relieving *Vienna*), were all sent with what expedition was possible down the *Danube* to Reinforce the Army, which was thereby become more numerous and flourishing, than before the Fight at *Vienna*.

The first to pass that Arm of the *Danube*, which is called the *Waag*, was the King of *Poland* with his Army; which was the work of the 4th and 5th of October. The Imperial Cavalry followed, but the Foot could not pass the same day: The 6th they Marched to *Mofe*, two Leagues distant from *Comorra*, where Count *Stareberg* had Orders to March the Foot; and on the 7th to joyn the Army, which would stay and attend them at that place. But the King of *Poland* impatient of delay, contrary to expectation immediately mounted on Horseback, and sent to advise the Duke of *Lorraine* that he was Marching towards *Barcan*. The Duke being surprised at this sudden Resolution, returned Count *Dunewald* to him, to represent unto him the necessity of taking the Foot with him, and the danger of dividing the Army, in a place so near to the Enemy's Quarters, being between the *Turks* on the one side, and the

The Vizier of *Buda* writes to the Grand Seignor.

Tekeli sends a Letter to the King of *Poland*.

Some Cities Rebel.

Budiani changes his side.

The Grand Vizier, together with the Pashas of *Esfek* and *Poffega*, and the Aga of the *Janisaries*, are strangled.

The Christian army follows the *Turks*.

The King of *Poland* returns to his Majesty.

1683. the Malecontents on the other. But the King being already mounted on Horseback, when *Dunewaldt* came to him, he answered, That he knew no Reason which might cause him to defer his Proceedings, having certain Intelligence, that the Detachment of the *Turks* near *Barcan* was very considerable, and desired that no time should be omitted in following with the rest of the Army. The Duke leaving only a Regiment of *Cravats* to support the Infantry, Marched away with all the Horse to attend the *Poles*: The King being come within an hour's March of *Barcan*, understood from the advanced Troops of his Van-guard, that they were in fight of some Squadrons of the Enemy; which they having orders to Charge, the *Turks* gave ground, but being supported by a greater Body, the Van was forced to Retreat; to Succour and Support which, other Troops were commanded to Charge the Enemy; and at length, the King in Person with all his Cavalry was engaged. The *Turks*, who until now had concealed Seven or eight thousand Men under covert of a Hill, began to appear, and Sallying forth, Charged the *Poles* both in the Front and Rear with such Bravery, as that they killed Two hundred of them, with the Palace of *Pomerania*, and put the rest unto Flight, taking several of their Colours, Kettle-drums and some Baggage. Count *Dunewaldt*, who had Marched with the King of *Poland*, observing the Skirmish of the first Troops, sent to advise the Duke of *Lorraine*, that the *Poles* were Engaged with the *Turks*; upon which News he hastened his March with all the diligence that was possible; and having passed certain narrow Ways and Bushes, he espied at the opening of the Plain, the *Turks* in hot pursuit of the *Poles*: At the sight whereof, he immediately took care to draw up his advanced Troops into Battalia, and gave order to Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to do the like with those Marching in the Rear. The appearance of the *German* Regiments, which stood firm and entire before the face of the *Turks*, caused them to desist from their pursuit, and to return under *Barcan*. The Duke of *Lorraine* thought not fit to follow them that Day, but rather to Rally and Fortify the *Poles*, and to enquire after the King, who was said to be lost; but at length his Majesty appearing and found in safety, it alleviated something of the ill Success of that Day; which by that time that the Story was told, and Matters related in what manner things had passed, it grew towards Night, when it was thought fit to Encamp until the Morning.

All that Night there was great disturbance in the Polish Camp; the loss sustain'd

by the Slaughter of so many of their Friends and Comrades, was such a Grief and Discouragement to them, that they were desirous that Night to yield the Quarter on the right Wing, which was nearest to *Barcan*, unto the *Germans*, who had formerly challenged that place as their due: And towards Morning the principal Officers insinuated unto the King the many Circumstances, which presented to render the Success difficult, alleging that their Army was Galled, and fear of their Wounds and much Discouraged, and the Enemy flushed with Yesterday's Fortune, and more numerous than was believed. The news of this Discontent and Wavering in the Polish Camp being brought to the Duke of *Lorraine*, he immediately went to the King to keep him steady to the former Resolutions and Measures; and so well mannaged his Discourse with him, producing many Reasons why the Enemy could not be very strong, and arguing the Probability and almost Certainty of Victory; that in fine he prevailed upon the King, his Senators, and chief Officers to make Tryal of next Day's Engagement.

The Duke of *Lorraine* having taken a full Survey of the Ground, and of the Situation of *Barcan*, gave a description thereof unto the King; and offered the Honour of the right Wing unto the *Poles*, for which they had formerly contended; but being much taken off of their Mettle, they desired to change their Station, and mix some of their Troops with those of the Imperialists.

An hour before Day the Duke of *Lorraine* was caused to sound to Horse, and with the dawning of the Morning the whole Imperial Army was drawn into Battalia, consisting of Horse and Foot, to the number of Sixteen thousand two hundred Men, besides the King of *Poland's* Army, and the Fifteen hundred *Poles* under the Command of *Lubomiski*, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* Commanded the right Wing, and under him Count *de Gondola*, and the Baron of *Mercy*. Count *Dunewaldt* commanded the left, and under him the Counts of *Palffy* and *Tassffy*; and the main Body of Infantry was conducted by Count *Staremberg*, the Duke of *Croy* and Count *Serini*. The *Poles* being expected in their Station, seemed still tardy and backward to draw out, by Reason that the King had in the Night received Intelligence, that the Enemy was greatly recruited by a strong Body, Commanded by *Holly* Palsha of *Aleppo*, and the *Palshas* of *Silistria* and *Grand Cairo*; and that it was much to be doubted, whether the whole Turkish Army were not joynt with them. But the Duke of *Lorraine* opposing unto these Doubts undeniable Reasons,

The King of Poland unwilling to adventure another day's engagement.

The Orders of the Christians drawn up.

The Poles deliberate again to fight.

1683. fons, why it was not possible for the Gros of the Turkish Army to be joyned with these Forces before *Barcan*; and yet on supposition, that they were yet considering the advantageous Ground on which the Army was drawn up, they needed not fear the whole Ottoman Force; of all which he made such clear Demonstrations, that the King was again confirmed in his former Resolutions, and so with a Party of his *Hussars*, and of his Infantry, and of the Flower of his Cavalry, he posted himself on the right Wing, between the Imperial Cavalry and the Dragoons: And the great General *Jablonitski*, with some of the *Hussars* Foot and Cavalry marching on the left Wing, between the *German* Horse and Dragoons, and the rest of the Polish Army made a third Line. In this order they marched about half an hour, when about nine a Clock they discovered the Enemy drawn up in Battalia upon the Plain, marching very slowly, and in such manner, as that their Force seemed equal to that of the *Christians*: The Armies being come very near, the *Turks* of the right Wing charged the left of the *Christians* with much fierceness, as if they had had a particular sight, and aimed chiefly at the *Poles*: And at the same time, the *Turks* who were on the rising of a Hill advanced, as if they intended to Charge the main Body of the *Christians*. But being within half Musquet shot of them, they on a sudden wheeled about, and fell upon the left Wing; which when the Duke of *Lorraine* observed, he crossed the Line of the Cavalry on the left Wing; and with all the party of the first Line which had not been engaged, he in Person charged the Enemy in the Flank with so much Courage and Bravery, as put them to a General Rout, and into that Confusion, that they were never more able again to Rally: *Dunewaldt* was Commanded to Pursue them, and with the *Poles* of the left Wing enter'd pell-mell with them at the very Gates of *Barcan*, at which place many of them were killed, and perished in the Marshes of *Gran*.

Whilst *Dunewaldt* pursued the flying Enemy, the whole Army advanced in Battalia towards *Barcan*; and in the way thither it was resolved by all Parties to Assault the place in this heat of Action, whilst the Enemy was Affrighted and in Disorder: The King accordingly drew out some Troops of his *Cosacks*, and the Duke of *Lorraine* five Battalions of *Staremberg*, *Grana* and *Baden*, which were appointed for that Service: Which Detachment was no sooner order'd, than Information came, that the Bridge over the *Danube* by the Crouds, and Multitudes of the *Turks* pressing over it was broken; and that *Barcan* it self

was so filled up with People, that they had scarce room to stir, and were ready to trample one another Under-foot. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* with these Forces, and three Regiments of Dragoons, and three Pieces of Cannon assaulted the Fort, and took it by main force. The Slaughter which was there made by Fire and Sword was very Cruel and Bloody: But most, to avoid the Fury of the Enemy, threw themselves head-long into the *Danube*; some endeavour'd to save themselves by Swimming, others by their Horfcs, hanging on their Mains and Tails; others on Planks and Boards of the broken Bridge; in which Passage tho many saved themselves, yet the greatest part perished in the Waters; as appeared by the Bodies of Men and Horfcs, together with their Garments, which cover'd the Surface of the River, in places where the Current ran not so rapid on the Sides and Banks, as in the middle of the Water. In fine, of these great numbers in *Barcan* none escaped, unless Seven or Eight hundred Men, who having betaken themselves to a Redoubt belonging to that Fortrefs, obtained Quarter for their Lives on Condition of quiet Surrender. In this Action the *Turks* lost their best Captains, and the Bravest of their Soldierly, and so fatal was this Fight to them, that they never recovered their Courage and Spirits again, but suffer'd themselves for several years afterwards to be beaten, and baffled by their Enemies: After which we shall find them still decaying and giving Ground; and at length falling into Disorders and Civil Diffentions, the Ottoman Empire had nearly expired, had not the *Christians* falling into Wars amongst themselves, (which have always proved advantageous to the *Turks*;) given new Life and growth again unto that People.

This Victory obtained, the King of *Poland* with his General and Senators, justly applauded the Wisdom and Conduct of the Duke of *Lorraine*, and Valour of the *German* Troops, to whom he acknowledged the whole Success of that day was to be attributed: In the Quarters of the King *Te Deum* being sang, and Thanks returned to Almighty God for so signal a Blessing; the Duke of *Lorraine* took a Survey of the Fort of *Barcan*, to see in what manner it was possible to be put in a condition to offend *Gran*, which was Situate on the other side of the Water, just in opposition to it: But such was the Fury of the Soldiers, that they burnt almost all the *Palisadoes*, and set fire to part of the Town; and so ravenous were they after the Plunder of the Place, that the *Germans* and *Poles* had fallen into Civil Wars amongst themselves, had not Count *Staremberg* put an end to the Scuffle, by commanding the *Germans* to with-draw;

The Fight begun.

The Turks routed.

And pursued.

Barcan taken.

1683. and leaving the *Poles* Masters of the Place, they made all the Spoil they were able, in revenge of the Loss they had suffered the day before. Nothing could come more favorable, nor more advantageous to the Christian Arms than this Victory; for besides the Loss (as we have said) of the best of their Men, there remained not above two or three Thousand alive of all that Army, which consisted of Fourteen thousand of their best Horse, and Twelve hundred Janissaries, commanded by the new Pasha of *Buda*, *Haly*, Pasha of *Aleppo*, and six other Pashas. Twelve hundred or One thousand Prisoners were taken, and amongst them the Pashas of *Aleppo* and *Silistria*, with several other Agas. The Consequences of which Victory were very happy to the *Christians*; for besides, that it administered new Courage to the drooping Spirits of the *Poles*, it totally disordered in the Turkish Army, that the Great Vizier, with all the Authority with which he was clothed, was not able to contain them within any bounds or limits of Duty; but rather fearing to be Murdered by them than hoping to Appease them, was forced to abscond himself from their Rage in obscure Retirement. By this Overthrow the Grand Vizier lost all the remainder of his Baggage, which had been saved at the Battle of *Vienna*, with Twelve Pieces of Cannon, which had been advanced some Hours on the way before the Siege was raised, and was employed by the new Vizier of *Buda* for the Service of this Camp.

The Duke of *Lorraine* pursuing the course of his good Fortune, was desirous to conclude this Campaign with the taking of *Gran*, which was the glorious period to which the Emperor directed him, if possible, to advance his Affairs. In order hereunto the Duke of *Lorraine* taking first (according to his usual Methods) a judicious Survey of the situation of the Place, and the way thereunto; observed, that in the middle of the River, something below *Gran*, there was an Island, in which was not only good Forage for the Horse, but also an ancient Intrenchment, which, with some little Labour, might be made useful and defensive against the Cannon of the Town: And from the farther side of that Island, with the help of a few Boats, the whole Army might find an easy Passage. The King of *Poland* approving this Design, Boats were ordered down from *Comorra*, for framing the Bridge: But whilst this was doing, the late Successes which had brought great Reputation to the Emperor's Affairs, had moved *Tekeli* to send the Count de *Humansy* in Behalf of the Malecontents, to offer Terms of Peace and Pacifi-

cation. The Duke of *Lorraine*, who had been long versed in the Practices of *Tekeli* and his Associates, was of opinion, That the Malecontents were not as yet reduced to such Terms, as might render them fit and disposed for a Treaty: Howsoever, at the desire of the King of *Poland*, being admitted to Audience, they proposed a Cessation of Arms, and an assignment for Winter-quarters: To which the Duke of *Lorraine* reply'd, That such Concessions at present were not agreeable to the Interest and Dignity of the Emperor, and took from hence occasion to make some Discourse of the Laws and Constitutions of their Kingdom, and to reproach them for their Rebellion, and want of Faith towards their Sovereign. In short, he told them, That if they would hope to taste of the Emperor's Clemency, they must without any previous Conditions lay down their Arms, and renounce all Alliance with the *Turks*, which was the first Preliminary or Step to a Treaty. With this answer the Deputies being retired, in a few days afterward, not only *Papa* and *Totis* (as we said before) submitted, but *Wespring* and *Levents* received German Garrisons; and the Counties of *Trinschin*, *Tirnaw*, *Nitria* and *Levents* declared against the Cause and Interest of the Malecontents, and received the Garrisons into their Castles and Fortresses, which were sent thither by order of Count *Caraffa* to take Possession thereof.

The Bridges being finished by the 16th of this Month of *October*, and the *Bavarian* Troops come up to join with the Army; the Duke of *Lorraine* desired the King of *Poland*, according to his Place of Precedency, to lead the way with his Troops; but the King made some difficulty thereof, the King of *Poland* proposing enquiries concerning the State of *Gran*. alledging, That a Survey ought first to be taken of the situation of the Place, and Enquiries made how well it was provided with Men and Ammunition, and how far the Vizier, with his Forces, was retired from affording it Relief, or disturbing the Siege. Accordingly Two thousand Horse being appointed to take a View of the Country, they passed the Bridges without opposition or disturbance, and so dismayed the *Turks*, that they deserted *Thomas-burg*, a Palanca not far from *Gran*, and set it on Fire, but was soon quenched, and Possession taken by the Imperials. Upon the appearance of a Party on this side of the River, two *Hungarians* of *Totis* brought Intelligence, that the Vizier was marched with his Army towards *Esseck*, having left a small Force encamped near unto *Buda*. This News hastened the Passage of the *Christian* Army over the River, (who the *Poles* remained in their Camp, and moved not as yet) and gave Encouragement to the Generals to hope, that the

Siege

1683. Siege would not be of long Continuance, or of much loss of Time, or Men. The Horse and Foot marched apace over the Bridges unto the Island, and so by a short cut, crossed over another Bridge to the Banks of the *Danube*, something above Cannot-shor below *Gran*. In the mean time, the Duke of *Lorraine*, with the Chief Officers of both Armies, took a particular Survey of the Town, and of the Ground and Country thereabouts.

Gran is situate about six *Hungarian*, or thirty *English* Miles below *Comorra*; it was anciently called *Strigonium*, but now by the *Hungarians* it is named *Gran*; from the River *Gran*, which comes out of the Upper *Hungary*, and empties it self in the *Danube*, just over-against the City. Under the Name of *Strigonium*, four Cities are comprehended, together with the Castle which is situate on the pitch of a high Rock hanging over the *Danube*, and over-tops the Cathedral Church, where *Stephen* the first, King of *Hungary*, a holy and devout Prince, lies interr'd. In the Year 1543, this City was first brought under the Turkish Dominion, by *Solyman* the Magnificent. In the Year 1594 it was Besieged by *Matthias*, Arch Duke of *Austria*, but was not taken until the following Year by Count *Mansfeld*, who in a bloody Fight totally defeated the Ottoman Force. The *Turks* esteeming this Place of necessary Importance to the Conquest of *Hungary*, returned before it in the Year 1604; but finding a vigorous Resistance, were forced to raise the Siege after Twenty three days continuance. Howsoever, in the Year 1605, investing the Place with a more formidable Power, it yielded it self into the Hands of the *Turks*, who have since that time remained Masters thereof until this happy Year 1683.

The Imperial Army continuing its Passage over the Bridges, the Two thousand Men of the advanced Troops took their Post on the 21st and 22d at Night, not doubting but that the King of *Poland* would follow with his Army in the Rear, as was before resolv'd; but, contrary to all expectation, the Duke of *Lorraine* received Advice, that the King, by persuasion of his Senators, had changed his Mind, and designed not to pass the River, letting him know, that he should continue his Camp for three or four Days longer; but after that he should be constrained to March away. This alteration in the King of *Poland's* Counsels, was strangely surprising to the Duke of *Lorraine*; for tho he doubted not but in a short time to become Master of the Place with the Imperial Forces only, without the Assistance of the *Poles*; yet considering that the News of the Separation of the two Armies, might encourage the Grand

Vizier with his Army (which as yet was not far distant) to return to the Relief of the Town, and the Besieged to a more vigorous Defence; and that the Malecontents might be induced to Post themselves on the *Danube*, to intercept and interrupt all Communication between *Comorra* and the Camp: Which Matters were of such high Importance, that the Duke of *Lorraine* thought not fit to form the Siege, until such time as he had first fixed the King in his former Resolutions; unto which he sent the Counts of *Staremberg* and *Rubata*, to press him with all the earnestness imaginable, giving him to understand how difficult it was for the Imperial Army to retire from an Enterprize, to which all the Methods and Forms were already laid and prepared; and of which the Design appeared so promising, that in a few Days they might with good reason expect a happy Success and Event thereof. Moreover the Emperor had given his Orders for investing *Gran*, and was already in expectation to hear that the Siege was laid, esteeming it of high Advantage to the Reputation of his Affairs, to have the Campaign concluded with the success of so glorious an Action: Yet whatsoever was or could be said by these Officers did not prevail on the King, until the Duke of *Lorraine* himself went in Person, to represent the great Inconveniences, and even Subversion of the late happy Successes, which would be the necessary Consequences at this time of the Separation of the two Armies. In fine, he so managed his Discourse with those Reasons, and in such obliging Terms, that the King concurred with him, desiring him to hasten the execution of this Enterprize, in which there was no time to be lost, considering how near the Winter-season was approached.

The Siege being now in good earnest resolved, the Polish Army passed the Bridges with all the Artillery, Ammunition and Baggage; and the Duke of *Lorraine* with the chief Officers taking a second Survey of the Town, and the Ground round about it; the Approaches were ordered to be made, and the Army began to take their several Quarters, as directed by the General Officers. The Foot were encamped on the tops of some rising Hills; the Croats and Dragoons, with a Party of Horse on the side of the *Danube*. The *Bavarians* were posted on the River above the Town, at the foot of the Bridge which passes over to *Barcan*, where a Battery was raised: The rest of the Infantry was divided into two other Squadrons towards *St. Thomas's* Mount, where other Batteries were raised, all things proceeding with such expedition, as the Season of the Year; and other Circumstances of

1683. the Army requir'd. The Lines being drawn, which extended three Miles in compafs, the Cannon, of which ten Pieces being twenty four Pounders, and eight Mortars were by force of Mendrawn up and plantd on the Top of the Hills of *Marinberg*, and *Thomaiberg*, and on the 25th by break of Day in the Morning, they began to play upon the Town, and much Batter'd the Castle on that side of the Gate, which looks towards *Buda*, and all that Day Bombs were thrown, whilst the Imperialists in despite of the Enemies Fire advanced to the very Ditch, and there lodged near to the Quarters of the *Bavarian* Troops. On the other side, which looks towards *Barcan*, about five a Clock in the Afternoon the Imperialists storm'd the Lower Town, and without much resistance made themselves Masters of it, with the loss of the Major of *Starenberg's* Regiment, and seven Soldiers. The Inhabitants retir'd into the Castle, from whence they fired incessantly both small and great Shot: Howsoever, that very Night the *Christians* gain'd the Foot of the Hill, on which the Castle is Built, and began to undermine the Place, there being a wide Breach already open'd in the Wall of the Castle, so that every thing seem'd in a readiness for an Assault; but before things were put upon that Extremity, the Duke of *Lorraine* thought fit with the consent of the King of *Poland*, to send a Summons to the Castle in his Majesty's name, which was done by a Turkish Prisoner, offering them Conditions of safety for their Goods and Lives, provided that a Surrender were made that very Evening: But the Defendants desiring until next Day to give their Answer it was deny'd them, and Attacks were made and the Ditch pass'd, and two Lodgements made on the side of the Hill, and another Mine began; of which the Defendants being sensible, and fearing to be taken by force of Arms, they returned an Answer by Eleven a Clock that Night, how that they accepted the Conditions.

In the Morning early, being the 27th, Hostages were exchanged for securing the performance of the Conditions, which were these.

First, 'That all the Cannon, Ammunition, on, Provisions, and all offensive Arms, (excepting those hereafter excepted) should remain in the Castle.

Secondly, 'That those of the Garrison might carry with them, as much Bread, Fleth and other Victuals, as should serve them for two Days Provision.

Thirdly, 'That the Duke of *Lorraine* should provide them with Carts, for carrying their Baggage to the Water side.

Fourthly, 'That Boats should be granted

1683. them for carrying away their Persons and Goods, and that in case they could not be cleared away at one time, that then they might have Liberty to fetch them off at twice: And that in case the Boatmen were not sufficient to carry away all the Goods, that the Proprietors might have Liberty to perform the same.

Fifthly, 'That so soon as these Capitulations were Signed, that the Garrison should immediately quit the place, and resign it into the Hands of the *Christians*, who were to take entire Possession thereof; and that the Carts and Boats being in a readiness, they should without delay lade their Goods and Household-stuff.

Sixthly, 'That the Prisoners taken during the Siege, be forthwith releas'd and set at Liberty.

Seventhly, 'That the Defendants shall have Liberty to March away with their Wives, Children and small Arms, and also with their Horses, Camels, and other Beasts of Burden. In fine, That these Articles be kept, and observ'd inviolably on both sides.

On the 28th of this Month of *October*, all the Garrison, being in number about Three thousand five hundred Soldiers, march'd out of the Castle between the Regiments of *Grana* and *Lorraine* drawn up in double Files; but before they would suffer them to depart, a search was made after the Mines, which the *Turks* discover'd to them, they were discharged of their Powder: The Garrison march'd forth without any Order, but mix'd together with their Wives, Children and Families: Those who design'd for *Buda*, were embark'd on Boats provided for that purpose; and such as were willing to go unto other Parts by Land, which were about Eight hundred Persons, were convey'd by Colonel *Heiller* with One thousand six hundred Horse.

After all the Matters were pass'd, and the *Christians* in possession of the Fortres, the late Governour thereof call'd *Beker Pasha*, and *Oslan Pasha* his Deputy, the Commander in chief of the *Janisaries*, the *Sagar-gibashce* and *Samsongibashce*, who are Major Generals of the *Janisaries*, with many other *Agas* and others, who had escap'd out of the Battel of *Barcan*, desir'd greatly to salute the Duke of *Lorraine*; who willingly admitted them to his Presence, and treated them with much Humanity: In their Discourses with the Duke they told him, That the defeat which the *Turks* had receiv'd before *Barcan*, was seen from the Top of the Castle of *Gran*, by the Garrison and Inhabitants therein; which sad Spectacle made such impressions of fear in their Minds, that they had no power or

remaining

1683. remaining to resist the Vigour, and speedy proceedings which the *Christians* shew'd in the Prosecution of this Siege: The Arms and Ammunition found in this Fortres, were Sixty Pieces of Cannon, besides Twenty two belonging to the City below the Castle, Six thousand Barrels of Powder, Three Mortars, Match, Bullets, Granadoes, Bombs in great quantities, as also Flour, Barly, Salted Fleth, Rice and all sorts of Provisions sufficient to sustain that Fortres in a Siege for many Months.

Thus was this City reduced in a far shorter time, and with much less loss than was expected by the King of *Poland* and his Senators; for which *Te Deum* was Sung, and Thanks render'd to God Almighty in the Cathedral Church of that Archbishoprick, after it had remain'd a Mahometan Mosch, in possession of the *Turks* for above One hundred and forty years: The Command of the place with a Garrison of Two thousand Men, was committed to the charge of one *Carlovitz*, Sergeant Major to the Regiment of *Starenberg*.

The Elector of *Bavaria*, who for the sake of his Health, remain'd at *Bria* to take the Air by the prescription of his Physicians, hearing of the Siege of *Gran*, hasten'd thither to partake in the Triumphs of it: And coming into the Camp on the 26th of *October*, early in the Morning with a part of his own Cavalry, which was not employ'd in the Siege; he had the good fortune within the space of Twenty four hours, to behold the form and manner of the Siege, a Treaty offer'd and the place Surrender'd. Soon after which the Imperialists making their Incursions into the Country, took two Castles, one call'd *Scembeck* Situate between *Gran* and *Buda*, wherein were Four hundred *Turks*, and four Pieces of Cannon with much Provisions: And also another Castle call'd *Sordeck*, lying towards *Alba*, wherein were six Pieces of Cannon mount'd, with abundance of Ammunition and Provisions of all sorts. The news of these happy successes were posted to the Emperor by the Count of *Ansperg*, to the great Joy and Triumph of the Imperial Court.

In this manner the Campagne being gloriously concluded to the great Reputation of the Emperor's Affairs, and to the Disgrace and Discouragement of the *Turks*: The next care and incumbence of the Generals was to provide Winter-quarters for the refreshment and welfare of the Army, which had been much harass'd by the Fatigues of many and great Actions. The Elector of *Bavaria* desirous in like manner to provide for his own Troops, hasten'd their march into the Country of *Hungary*, together with the Marquis

1683. of *Dorlach*, who with Three thousand Men, which he had conducted out of *Sabia*, accompanied the Elector, having remain'd but one day in conjunction with the Imperialists. To regulate and assign the Quarters of the two remaining Armies, Commissaries were appointed: And th'o according to the Articles of Treaty, the Emperor was not oblig'd to allow Winter-quarters to the Army of *Poland*, intending to reserve all the upper parts of *Hungary* for the accommodation of his own; yet in regard Conditions were not too strictly to be insist'd on, with persons unto whom great acknowledgments are due, Quarters were assign'd unto the *Poles* on the other side of the *Tibiscus*, in Parts near adjoining unto *Transylvania*, which were the Quarters that the King declar'd he had desir'd, from the time he first enter'd with his Forces into *Hungary*. Howsoever, when his Majesty was on the place, the Prince of *Transylvania* paid unto him a Sum of Money on Condition, that his Army should be removed from thence, after payment of which they march'd into the three Counties of *Esperies*, *Cachan* and *Tokay*, which were appointed to receive them, five of the Imperial Regiments being dilog'd from thence.

But as the German and Polish Armies were marching towards their Quarters, on the Banks of the River *Gran* in sight of *Leventz*; they sent their Summons requiring the Governour to Surrender the place taken.

In the place were twelve Pieces of Cannon well mount'd, and Provisions and Ammunition in great quantities. The Croats found the like good fortune; having in their march taken the Castle of *Raboniz*, about six English Miles distant from *Kanisa*, and the Town of *Proberz*, Situate on the River *Drave*; as also the Castle of *Essegbet*, and the City and Castle of *Brevenitz*, which was so near to *Kanisa*, that it seem'd already block'd up, if not taken. And here these generous Soldiers thought fit to fix their Winter-quarters, which they had conquer'd and won, as if they had seem'd to abide in any place which was not open'd to them by their own Swords.

The Duke of *Lorain* being at *Sequi*, about an hours march from *Leventz*, and busied in assigning Quarters for Twenty seven Regiments, was visited by the General of *Lituania*, accompanied with the principal Officers, who gave him to understand, that they were come with an Army of Ten thousand Men, which were Quarter'd in the Neighbouring Towns and Villages, and

Thanks re-
turned to
God.

The Castle
Surrender'd.

The Defen-
ders accept
Credit.

The *Chri-
stian* Army
drawn into
Winter-
quarters.

Essegbet,
Proberz,
and other
places ta-
ken.

Rec-
sion
of
Litu-
ania
with
the
Duke
of
Lorain.

1633. that they were marching to joyn with the other Troops of his Majesty of Poland, and to follow his Orders and Instructions. The Duke after having courteously received them, preferred them the Roads which they were to take, and deliver'd into the Hands of the General a Letter for the King, perswading him to employ that Army which was fresh, and not harrailed with the Fatigues of War, upon some Enterprize, it seeming somewhat absurd, and perhaps of ill report in War, for so considerable a Body of Soldiers, to take a long march out of Lituania into Hungary, and to perform nothing, but to return again. To this Letter the King made no other Reply, Than that for maintenance of his Winter-quarters, he should have occasion of those Troops.

The King of Poland in his march towards *Cackaw*, (which with *Esperies* and *Tokai*, were appointed for the Quarters of his Troops) passing near to the City of *Sefzin*, sent his Son Prince *Alexander* with Summons to Surrender, which being refused, the Poles made an Attack in two places, with which the Defendants being affrighted, offered to Capitulate, and in that Amazement before the Articles were agreed, they opened their Gates and let in the Enemy, who being obliged by no Terms, made a miserable slaughter of the poor Inhabitants, of which there were Two thousand *Turks*, besides Twelve hundred *Janisaries* and *Spahies*; and on the Walls were twenty Pieces of Cannon mounted. A Garrison of *Germans* being put into the Town, the King continued his march towards the Quarters designed for his Troops, where having refreshed himself for some few Days, he passed on towards *Cracovia*, attended only with the Servants and Officers of his Court: And not long afterwards was followed by his whole Army into Poland; where we will leave them to their own Fortune, which seemed favourable to them abroad, whilst they were directed by the auspicious Conduct of the Duke of *Lorraine*, and other the greatest Captains in the World. But looking on them in their own Country, as we shall hereafter do, we shall find their Successes much different from their late Triumphs and Glories: For being left to themselves, and inspired with French Councils and Interests, we shall hear of no great Achievements afterwards gained upon the *Turks*, nor attempts made to recover *Kaminiec*, the Bulwark and Fortresses of their Kingdom from that side: Of which the *Turks* being sensible, made but weak Preparations against them, leaving them to the *Tartars*, who (as things were then governed) proved a sufficient match for their Neighbours

the Poles. Notwithstanding this separation, 1683. and that the *Polanders* were withdrawn into their own Country; yet the Reputation of the Emperor was highly exalted, and his name terrible to his Enemies, so that every small Castle and Fortress Surrender'd upon the first Summons; as the Castles of *Jafem*, *Zalabhat*, *Sumsion* and *Serawz*, with other places all belonging to the Malecontents, of which divers Persons of Quality returned to their Duty and Allegiance, and particularly the Count of *Zabhor*, who by the Count *Esterhazy*, being introduced to the Presence of his Imperial Majesty, he was with his usual Clemency received, and a gracious Pardon granted to him.

These Triumphs in Christendom increased the Troubles, Discontents and Commotions in *Turky*, which are always attended with Tragedies and Destruction of their Chief Ministers and Rulers. We shall begin with the fate of *Kara Mustapha* the Grand Vizier, the Chief Author and Cause of all the Evils which are past, and those which for many years following are to ensue. We have in the beginning of this History, made mention how that the *Valide Sultana* which is the Queen Mother, the *Kuzir-Aga*, who is the black Eunuch of the Women, and the *Embrabore*, who is Master of the Horse to the Grand Signior, were all mortal Enemies to this Vizier, and attended only an opportunity to destroy him, which was now very practicable, under the present Circumstances of Affairs, especially having the Widow of the *Pasha of Buda*, whom the Vizier had lately put to Death, and who was Sister to the Grand Signior, to joyn with them in their methods of Revenge. The Grand Vizier being sensible of his Danger from these Enemies, and from the ill success of Affairs, which usually prove fatal to the Generals or Commanders in Chief, marched away towards *Belgrade* with a great part of his Army, esteeming it a Matter of higher consequence to his own safety, to purge himself from blame in the Opinion of his Master, than to return back to the Relief of *Gran*, being already advanced as far on his way to *Belgrade* as the Bridge of *Essek*, where he received the first intelligence of the Defeat, of the several *Pashas* before *Barcan*, and the Siege of *Strigoniun*. These misfortunes hastned his proceedings to *Bel-*

The Grand Vizier causes his misfortune before the Grandees: near.

1683. thereunto belonging, had not these fair hopes been defeated by the Cowardice, and ill Conduct of the *Pasha of Buda*, and several other Officers whom he had justly punished with Death for their Treachery, and want of Courage. He also laid much blame upon *Tekeli*, and on the Princes of *Transilvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, for not performing their Duty, either out of Treachery or Fear, or some secret Correspondences or Reserves for the *Christian* Interest. In fine, he so well managed his Discourse, and justify'd all his Actions with such Colours and appearances of Truth, that the Grand Signior who was naturally constant to his Ministers, and particularly favourable to this Vizier, who had often feasted and treated him with Presents, and brought great Sums into his Treasury (no matter by what means) did accept of the Excuses he had made as justifiable, and acquitted him of all the Crimes of Misgovernment, which were laid to his Charge; and having received him to Pardon, and Grace, the Sultan bestow'd the usual Presents on him in such Cases given, and bid him do better the next year, and so return'd to *Adrianople*, leaving the Grand Vizier at *Belgrade*; but notwithstanding this new Re-establishment in the favour of his Master, and tho' as some say, in Confirmation thereof, he obtained a Writing under the Hand of his Master, *Promising and Engaging never to take off his Head upon any Instance and Adresses that could be made him*: yet his Enemies were busy in Contrivances to take him off; amongst which the most irreconcilable of any was a Woman, the Grand Signior's Sister, Widow of the late *Pasha of Buda*, who perceiving that her Letters were not prevalent enough to obtain her desired Revenge; she undertook a Journey from *Buda* to *Adrianople* in Disguise, not being known on the way, until she discover'd herself at her Arrival at the Court; where being come, she was entertained at the Entry into the *Seraglio* with the unhappy News of the Death of the *Valide* or Queen Mother, a Person much lamented by all, for her Piety and good Works, but especially at that time by this Sultana, who hoped to have used her as the chief Instrument of her Revenge: Howsoever, she was not a little comforted by the *Kuzir-Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women, when he told her, that the *Valide* upon her Death-bed, had charged him to tell her Son the Sultan, that his Affairs could never prosper, so long as they were in the Hands and Management of so vile, and unfortunate a Person as this present Vizier: But whilst they and others of the same Faction, were meditating of these Matters; *Tekeli*, who

1683. had heard of the Complaints made against him by the Vizier, and that he was in part charged with the misfortune of the late Successes; fearing his own safety, came and boldly presented himself at the Feet of the Grand Signior, and in discharge of himself, solely laid all the blame upon the Vizier, which he confirmed by so many particular Instances, and by such Reasons, that the Grand Signior assented to all his Allegations: But howsoever, not thinking it reasonable at present to stir greater Commotions by change of Officers, (to which he was never much inclined) he favourably dismissed *Tekeli* with new assurances of his Protection, and of sending him very considerable Forces, and Recruits against the next Spring.

This Address of *Tekeli* had a little prepar'd the Grand Signior's Mind to receive different Impressions, than what he had hitherto conceived against his Grand Vizier; which were soon afterwards ripened by new Commotions raised by the industry of the Faction amongst the *Janisaries*, who tumultuously assembling ran to the Grand Signior, and crying out, that the Vizier had Treacherously forsaken their Commissions, and suffer'd them miserably to perish in their Trenches before *Vienna*, and had Unjustly and without any Reason put their *Aga* or General to Death; for which Crimes, and many other Mischances they demanded the Head of the Vizier. The Sultan (to whom nothing was so terrible as the Toleration of the *Janisaries*) entertained them with fair Words and Promises, and by distributing Money amongst them, for that time dispersed this Tumultuous Meeting. But fearing the return again of the Rabble and this unruly Soldiery, a *Divan* or Council was called, at which the *Mufti* and all the Viziers of the Bench, with other Grandees of the Court were present: After a mature Consideration of the State of Affairs in the Empire, it was concluded of absolute necessity for appeasing the Minds of the Soldiery, that the Grand Vizier should Dye, who had been the Cause and Author of all the late Misfortunes. Nothing could be more grievous to the Grand Signior than this advice; but being again terrified with the Threats of next days Commotions, the Imperial Command was signed for the Vizier's Death, and the Execution thereof committed to the care of the *Chiaus Bajhee*, or Chief of the *Pursuivants*, and to the *Kapigellar-Kajasse*, who is Master of the Ceremonies; which two Officers, with some few Servants were dispatched away Post to *Belgrade*. These Ministers of Death being near to the City, sent privately a Messenger

Scarcely had the Poles

The King of Poland and his army return home

And is acquired.

The Queen Mother Dead.

Tekeli being sent to the Grand Signior.

The Janisaries demand the Head of the Vizier.

His Executioner.

1684. ger to inform the *Aga*, or General of the *Janisaries* of their Business, requiring him in the Name of the Grand Signior to be aiding and assisting to them in this Work, that it might be performed with all the quiet, peace and silence imaginable. All things being disposed by the *Aga* accordingly, both he and the two Executioners went directly to the Vizier's Apartment, who, so soon as he had cast his Eyes on these new-come Guests, tho' they were really his Friends, and had been his familiar Confidants formerly, yet he suspected much the Import of their Message; but being nothing surprized at what he had some time expected, he cheerfully gave them the usual Salams or Salutations, demanding of them their Business, which brought them to *Belgrade*. To which the *Janifar-Aga* made answer, That the Sultan demanded the Seal from him. To which the Vizier reply'd, Most willingly; and putting his Hand into his Bosom, he took the Seal out, and resigned it. What more, said he, is it that you require? The Standard, said the *Aga*; which was immediately produced and delivered. At last they produced the Command for his Head, which he having read, he said, *Oh Deceitful World! After my Death the Grand Signior will remember me, and the whole Empire too late lament my Fall.* He then after their usual manner washed, kneeled down and prayed, and yielded his Head to the fatal Cord: Being dead, the Skin being flaid off, it was fluffed with Straw, and put into a Bag, and carried away in post to the Grand Signior, and laid before the Gate of the Divan, on the 7th day of January, 1683.

ANNO, 1684.

IT is very seldom that a Grand Vizier falls into Disgrace, or is put to Death alone, but all his familiar Friends, Confidants and Creatures, incur the same Fate, and either attend him to the next World, or are banished into remote Parts; and sometimes the whole Set of Officers and Ministers of State are changed with him. This Man had a corrupted Court, and was served by Instruments of the same Humour and Temperament like himself, and which were either naturally ill-inclined, or made to be by his Example. With him died the *Teffendar* or Lord Treasurer, and several other Engines of his Rapine and Violence. The Estates of these Malefactors were seized and converted to the Grand Signior's Coffers, which were esteemed in all to amount unto 14 Millions of Dollars: to which Sum, and a far greater, is believ-

1684. ved, that Estate only of the Vizier would have amounted unto; but it is most certain he had disbursed vast Sums of Money in this Expedition out of his own Treasure, hoping to have had a return tenfold out of the Estates and Spoils of the *Christians*, instead whereof his own Riches became a Prey to his Enemies; all the Money (which as some Report) amounted to above two Millions found in his Tent, were all his own, and as they had been Acquisitions obtained by Force and Rapine, so they became the Booty and Spoil of the King of Poland, passing from the possession of one Covetous Man into the Coffers of another. The sublime Office of Great Vizier being now vacant, the difficulty of the present Affairs required to have it supplied with a Person of Valour, Wisdom and Experience; this Office, for which many Candidates pretended in former times, did now appear to weighty and full of Thorns, that the most ambitious amongst the *Turks* were willing to decline it, or at least not seem to seek or affect it. The *Selidar Aga*, or Sword-bearer to the Grand Signior, called *Soliman Aga*, an accomplished Person in Mind and Body, a Man of good Sense, being always in the Eyes of his Master, and a Favourite, was pitched upon, as the most fit and proper of any for this Employment: But he excused himself to the Sultan with this Complement, That tho' nothing in this World could be more desirable to him than this Office, yet since the execution thereof must necessarily carry him from the adorable Presence of his Master, under the Shadow whereof he desired always to live, he could not withdraw himself from thence without much Reluctancy and Discomfort, and therefore desired that the Seals might be conferred on some other Person, more worthy than himself. The Grand Signior judging, that these Expressions proceeded from a Heart truly devoted to him, accepted of the Excuse, and resolved to constitute *Ibrahim Pasha*, then *Caimacam* with him at *Adrianople*, commonly known by the Name of *Kara Kaia*, in the Vizier's Office: He had formerly been *Kaia*, or Steward to *Kuprioglee*; and after his Death was made *Embrabofe*, or Master of the Horse: He was afflicted with a Distemper called a Serpentine or Cancer, which some Years since was caused by an *Erysipelas*; some said it was a political Distate to excuse himself from going to the War. He was a close political Man, and became very weary and cautious by the Dangers and evil Fate of his Predecessors: As one means to secure his Condition, he frequently called and assembled all the Officers of the Divan, and with them consulted all of the Methods in what manner the declining Condition

1684. tion of the Empire might be recovered; concerning which, speaking his own Sense, he often declared, That the Errors of the late Vizier were to be retrieved, and a quite different Course to be steered; for whereas he had contrary to the publick Faith broken the Truce with the *Christians*, without just Reasons, before the time was expired, for which the Mussulmen had tasted the Displeasure of the Divine Vengeance: They were now to appease the Anger of God, by renewing the same Truce, which had been injuriously violated with the Emperor, and observing it for the future, with such Faith as becomes the common Honesty of Mankind. But this Proposal was in no manner agreeable to the Mind of the Grand Signior; for tho' he was naturally a gentle and a peaceable Prince, and disliked this War at the beginning: Yet like an unlucky Gamester, he was unwilling to give over with an ill Hand, hoping that the Wheel of Fortune might once again turn in his Favour: He had also promised *Tekeli* considerable Aid and Assistance against the next Campaign, and was unwilling to forfeit his Promise and Reputation with him.

The Vizier finding a Disposition in the Grand Signior to continue the War, desired to be released from his Office, which the weakness of his Body rendered him incapable to discharge; to which the Sultan reply'd, That he was one of those, who had opened the Gate, by which much Dishonour and Mischief was entred into the Empire, and now would withdraw his Neck out of the Collar; but if he did not shut the Gate again, he would hang him in all his Divan Robes.

The *Turks* indeed were then very low, and reduced to such distress for want of Soldiers, that from *Selimbrea*, which is about thirty Miles from *Constantinople*, in all the Country of *Romania*, (except the Sea-coast) all that were capable of bearing Arms were sent to the War; but being raw Country People, proved of little Force against a Veteran Army.

The Vizier finding himself disappointed in this Contrivance, and sensible of the present Disadvantages, proposed that the War should be managed on the defensive part, rather than to adventure the whole Concernment of the Empire on the Hazards and Chances of War, which seemed to be governed by some evil Influences of the Stars, which at that time were not very propitious to the Ottoman Cause. This Council being generally well approved, it produced two Resolutions, one was to divert the intended Design of the Grand Signior's going in Person to the War; for in that Case nothing could become the awful presence

1684. and appearance of the Sultan, but Fire and Slaughter, and direful Vengeance where-ever his terrible Sword was drawn; it being agreeable to the Opinion which the *Turks* fancy and conceive of their Emperor, That he is Omnipotent, and that in one Hand he carries all the Riches and Honours of the World, and in the other Victory, and all sorts of Delights for ever. But to draw this Case a little nearer to the Person of the Vizier himself; it was farther resolved, That in case a defensive War were to be managed, it were neither consistent with the Reputation of the Grand Vizier, who was the Sultan's Deputy and Representative; but more becoming a *Sardar*, with Title of *Seraskier*, or General to wage a War, in which the chief Art is to decline a Battle and all Engagements. Thus had this old and politic Vizier obtained his Point by sitting at Home, and seeing others play the Game, which he could approve or disapprove without danger, according to the Successes: The Person appointed to be *Seraskier*, or General, was *Kara Oglen Chianacac* of *Constantinople*, who had formerly been Captain *Pasha*, or Admiral of the Seas.

The Grand Vizier remaining at home, had time to consider and reflect, That the cause of the general Toleration of almost all *Christendoms* against them, did proceed from the Neglect, Contempt and ill Usage which the late Vizier had put upon all the publick Representatives of *Christian* Princes, some Instances of which we have given at the beginning of this History: To redress which, it was thought fit to cajole and soften a little the Foreign Ministers from *Christian* Princes, whom the late Vizier had so contemptuously used, and treated with Disgrace, as had raised all *Christendom* about their Ears; and so with much Complement the Ambassadors of *England* and *France* were invited to *Adrianople* by the Vizier, to fit with him upon the *Soffran*, according to the usual Custom and Privilege of Ambassadors, which the Pride of the late Vizier would not allow them. The Lord *Chandos*, then Ambassador from his Majesty of Great Britain to the Ottoman Port, being at that time Sick, excused his going, and perhaps also was desirous to spare the Money of the Turkey Company, and not lavish it out in an empty and fruitless Journey: But the French Ambassador, Monsieur de *Guilleragues*, for the Glory (as he thought) of his Master, made splendid Preparations at the Cost of the Merchants, to enter *Adrianople*; where, being arrived, he was in a short time received to Audience on the *Soffran*, which Privilege hath been restored to all other Ambassadors since that time.

That

1684. That which hastned this Favour and Indulgence to Foreign Ministers, was the apprehension of a War just then breaking out with the *Venetians*; for the Doge of *Venice* being newly dead, and his Place supplied by Seignior *Marco Antonio Gustiniani*, the Senate sent Orders to their Secretary at the *Ottoman* Port, called Seignior *Capello*, to declare War against the *Turk*, and their League and Alliance with the Emperor and *Poland*; and having to done, to make his Escape in the best manner he was able. Seignior *Capello* having complied with these Instructions, conveyed himself away in the Habit of a Seaman, upon a French Man of War called the *Faithful*, which was come to *Constantinople* for Convoy to some other Ships.

The *Moscovites*, who had for a long time plaid fast and loose (as we have formerly mentioned) in their Treaties of Peace with the *Turks*, became now more fixed and resolved on a War, being animated thereto by the strong Alliance and Confederacies made against them, and the cross Fortune of the *Turks*, which seemed every day to decline.

This Union and strong Combination, as it made the *Turks* tremble, so the Sense thereof softened their Minds, and rendered them much more pliable and gentle to these Christian Ambassadors, who remained in Peace and Amity with them; and gave just occasion to the *English*, and others trading in their Dominions, to applaud and own the Justice, Moderation, and easy Access of the *Turks*, much different from that, which they praegisted in the time of their Prosperity, so that thó our *English* Merchants, in all their Letters, complained of the badness of Trade, and ill Markets, yet they praised and commended the present Security in which they lived, and the readiness of the Turkish Ministers to afford them redress upon all Complaints.

The Treaty of Confederacy and Alliance being vigorously carried on at *Piemma*, by Seignior *Contarini*, the Venetian Ambassador to his Imperial Majesty, by and with the Consent and Assistance of the Pope's Nuncio, these following Articles were agreed between the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, and the Republick of *Venice*, and afterwards Sworn unto at *Rome*, at the Feet of the Pope, by Cardinal *Pio* in Behalf of the Emperor, by Cardinal *Barbarini* in the Name of the King of *Poland*, and by Cardinal *Ottoboni* for the *Venetians*.

The Articles are these.

1st. That a League offensive and defensive be concluded between the Emperor, the King and Republick of *Poland*, and Re-

publick of *Venice*; the which shall continue until the end of this War, and to be defensive for ever.

The Protector and Guarantie, whereof shall be this Pope Innocent the XI. and his Successors; and the Apostolical See shall ever be Moderator to judge and determine which of these Parties falls from his Faith, and fails in a due Performance.

That during the time that this League continues in Force, none of the Parties shall enter into Treaty, or accept of any Condition, thó never so advantageous without the Consent, Privy and Concurrence of the other Allies.

That his Imperial Majesty shall enter into this League, as King of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and Arch-Duke of *Austria*; as doth also the King, as King of *Poland* and Great Duke of *Lithuania*, binding these their Dominions and Inheritances; as doth also the Republick of *Venice*, bind and oblige their Dominions and Territories to the performance of these Covenants.

By this League is understood only a War against the *Turks*, and against no other Prince or Potentate whatsoever.

The Emperor for his part, and the King of *Poland* for his, do promise to wage War against the *Turks* with very powerful Armies by Land; and the *Venetians* with a powerful Fleet at Sea, and with their Troops in *Dalmatia* to the utmost of their Force, until a Peace be concluded.

That in case either of these Parties be hard pressed by the Enemy, so that the Aid and Assistance of the others be necessary, they shall leave their present Designs, and apply themselves to the Relief of the Party oppressed.

That this War be carried on by way of Diversion, that is, That the Emperor endeavour to conquer and subdue all the Forts and strong Holds in *Hungary*, the King of *Poland* to recover *Kaminiec*, *Podolia* and *Ukrainia*; and the *Venetians* the several Towns, Fortresses and Islands which they have lost.

That so soon as these Articles are signed, that the several Covenants herein contained, be put into immediate Execution.

That all Christian Princes be invited to enter into this League, and especially the Czar of *Moscovy*.

That this League shall not be understood to prejudice any other League made with any other Prince; particularly, That lately concluded between the Emperor and the King of *Poland*.

Thus did the Senate of *Venice*, after Mature Deliberation, (for that Republick did never act rashly) enter into the Confederacy with the aforesaid Allies against the *Turks*. The

1684.

The Venetians which the Venetians had to make a War.

The many Infults and Avaniys with which the Grand Vizier, and others did daily oppress them (of which at the beginning of this History we have given some Instances) and the difficult Circumstances they lay under by these hard Task-masters, who were continually drawing, and forcing Money from them upon false pretences, without which they always threatened War, were just Grounds and Reasons for breaking that Peace, which was concluded with them after the loss of *Candia* in the year 1668. This happy League was further improved by Applications to the Czars of *Moscovy*, who had not long before signified unto the Court of *Poland*, their inclinations to enter into this Alliance; to forward which the Baron of *Zeromski* was dispatched into *Moscovy*, and in his way thither, by *Poland* to take *Blomberg* with him, being both Commissioned to Solicite the Czars for their Assistance and Union with the other Confederates. The like Addresses were made to the Princes of *Italy*, who being encouraged, and warmed by the late prosperous Successes, were ready to contribute all the Force and Aid within their Power. The City of *Rome* moved by the Exhortations, and Examples of the Pope, did cheerfully Concur, and the Cardinals, Princes and Prelates did all Contribute immense Sums for carrying on this Holy War: And the Pope did not only Issue forth liberally Monies out of his own Coffers, but sent Forces which were raised in his own Dominions and Territories, to joyn with the Imperial Army in *Hungary*: Thus did all things, according to the usual course of Nature, Concur towards the Prosperity of the Christian Affairs; for Mankind naturally sides with the uppermost and strongest side, and are ready to deprecate, and bear down the weak and dejected Party.

Nor did the Emperor only endeavour to fortifie, and strengthen his side by united Interests and Alliances; but to weaken his Enemies, by with-drawing from them the Malecontents, who were their Associates, and the first Incentives to this War: The Successes of the Emperor had damped the Spirits of the Malecontents in such manner, that they began now to believe the *Turks* were vincible, and that they had put their Trust in a feeble Arm of Flesh, which could not Defend them, and engaged their Interest with a Party, from which they could promise themselves no Security or Redress. Wherefore, seriously laying aside their former Principles, many of the Counties and Cities began to Capitulate, and desire to have their Aggravances redressed, upon which they promised to submit unto the Emperor's Pleasure, and return to their Obedience:

But this good Humour being not general amongst all the Malecontents, but confined to some few Cities and Counties, no Capitulations or Articles were Signed or Concluded, so that notwithstanding their good Intentions, the Imperialists made Havock of them in all Places; and the *Turks* hearing of their Inclinations to return again to their Obedience to the Emperor, and of the Sreps they had made towards it, Treated them in all Places like Enemies, with Fire and Sword; so that miserable was the State of this poor People, who were become Obnoxious to both Parties; they had been the Original causes of the Mischief, and were likely to Perish in it.

But the Clemency of the Emperor Commiserating their unhappy Condition, Published an Act of General Pardon to all the People of *Hungary*, who had been misled, and debauched from their Duty and Allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, Dated at *Lintz* in the Month of January 1684; whereby a Door was opened to a Treaty, and Pardon offered to all such who were desirous to return to the Protection of his Imperial Majesty, aid to renounce their dependance on the *Turks*: This Edict was affixed in all publick Places, as Church-doors, and the Marker Crosses, and dispersed in all the Frontier Garrisons, being Written in the Latin and the Hungarian Tongues, that none might pretend ignorance thereof. The direction was in this manner:

To all the States and Orders, as well Prelates, Barons, Nobles, as to all Free and Royal Cities, Counties and People, and to all Persons whatsoever (none excepted) within the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

In the first place. The sad and deplorable Condition of that Kingdom being bewailed, caused by civil and intestine Disorders, which evil and perverse Spirits had raised, and by their evil Perswasions had deluded many Thousands of poor Innocent Men, to Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes to their Lust and Revenge, and even to joyn and unite them, selves with the *Turks*, who were the ancient, and irreconcilable Enemies to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and the Christian Religion. And thó His Imperial Majesty having been, thus highly provoked by the Rebellions and Outrages of the People, and by the Power of his Victorious Arms might justly exempt, and reject them from all Pardon: Yet his gracious Clemency prevailing, he hath once again offered his Mercy, to as many as before the end of February, next ensuing, shall renounce and abandon the interest and party of the Malecontents, and union with the *Turks*, and repair to Presburg, where Commissioners shall be appointed to receive them, and to deliver but Pardons to them, taking a new Oath of Allegiance

Some of the Malecontents falling in the Emperor.

1684.

Their ill Condition.

General Pardon.

1684. Allegiance to their King, with assurances to remain for ever as good Subjects, in perfect Loyalty and Obedience to his Majesty, which being perform'd, such as are of the Nobility shall be restor'd to their Honours, Dignities and Estates: And in case any such have formerly enjoy'd Honours, and Places of Trust, their Case shall be consider'd by the Commissioners, who are to make Report thereof unto the Emperor, who will be ready in such Cases so to Act, as shall be most suitable to the Royal Service. Such Soldiers as having been seduced by their Commanders to leave and relinquish the Imperial Army, shall return again to their Duty, and to their Colours, shall have the same Post allotted to them as formerly, and shall be received again into the Garrisons, or Regiments respectively. All Counties and Cities, who by their Deputies shall appear before the Commissioners, in order to such Reconciliation, shall have safe Passports to go, and return with all security. As to matters of Religion, the Worship of God, and Restoration of Churches, all the particulars agreed unto, and promised at the last General Diet held at Edmburg, shall be perform'd and inviolably maintained. As to the Statute made in the year 1655, concerning the Coronation of the King of Hungary, on which various Glosses and Interpretations have been put, which have caused great disorders and disturbances; the same shall be refer'd to the next Convention of the States to consider thereof, and Decrees therein, what shall be most agreeable to the Fundamental Constitutions of the Nation. So that a true, and impartial Interpretation being put on all things as well in Religious, as in Temporal Matters, a good and lasting Peace, and right understanding may pass between the King and his People. And as to those, who shall not take hold of this Golden Scepter now held forth unto them with this opportunity, and within the time limited: It is declared, That they are excluded from Mercy, and are guilty of all the Miseries, which shall fall upon themselves and their Country; and shall be Prosecuted as Rebels, Outlawed and Felonious Persons, and such as are never more to be receiv'd into Grace, or Pardon.

To put this Commission into Execution were appointed the Duke of Loraine, the Count Kinsky Chancellor of Bohemia, the Baron of Ahele, and Count Vincelot of Altheim, who were to open the same at Presburg, on the 15th day of February. But in regard nothing was declar'd explicitly in this Decree, touching Liberty of Conscience, the Exercise of the Protestant Religion, and the Conservation of Privileges, it seem'd too short and narrow, and incomprehensive of the Cause, for which the Malecontents had so long contended, that

very few thought it worthy the acceptance: 1684. Howsoever some there were, who being convinced by the Success of the Emperor, that they had engross'd themselves in a desperate Interest, embrac'd the offers of the Imperial Pardon, such were the Baron of Baragotzi, who abandoning Tekeli's party, fled with Three hundred Hussars into his Castle of Zakwar. The Count Humani, and some other Hungarian Lords followed his Example, and fortified themselves in the Castle of Angwar: The Barons Ladislavus, Francis Baragotzi, Schieniffi, Clehai and Malkai, intending a like Revolt were seized, and by Order of Tekeli were put to Death.

With all these Misfortunes the Spirit of Tekeli being nothing abated, but rather rai'd with Rage and Despair; he issued out a Proclamation of his own, in Imitation of that of the Emperor's, in which with an Imperial Stile, he declared Pardon to all such as should within a time limited, return to the defence of the Malecontented party, of which he had own'd himself the Head and Protector: And for their better Encouragement he laid out a Project of constituting a Republick, by which all the Nobility, and many of the Commonalty should come to bear a share in the Government: And to punish those who had Revolted from him, he march'd with a Body of 10,000 Men of his own, and a considerable force of the Turks under the Command of the Pashas of Buda, and Agria to Besiege Count Baragotzi in his Castle of Zakwar, of which Count Rabata having advice, he presently march'd with all his Forces against them, which Tekeli fearing, declin'd an Engagement, in a Season when the Winter was scarce past; but on a sudden, turning his design on the Castle of Angwar, which was defended by the Count of Humani, he took it by force in three Days time, and carried away the Count himself to Caffovia, where he cut off his Head.

To revenge these Insults, the Litanians, whom the King of Poland had left behind him in their Winter-quarters, made frequent Incursions upon the Countries of the Malecontents, especially into the County of Sepusa, burning their Villages, and carrying away their Cattle. But this Militia remain'd not long in those parts, before they were recalled by the King of Poland out of Hungary, either because he was inform'd that his Soldiers deserted daily, or else out of some pique, or discontent of being refus'd to be Mediatour, and Guaranty for the Peace with the Malecontents, for which Reason he declar'd, That he would not concern himself in a War against Tekeli and his Complices, but against the Turks only, to which

1684.

Several
results from
Tekeli.Tekeli
put forth
an Act of
Pardon.Count Hu-
mani pas-
s'd Death.The King
of Poland
recall'd his
Forces.

1684. which the Articles of Alliance did oblige him, and to no other.

The Spring being now advanced, and Tekeli at Caffovia, he wrote a Letter from thence to the Pope, Dated the 12th of April, wherein he represented; That ever since the last year he was very desirous to put an end to the Troubles of Hungary, upon those Terms and Conditions, which were agreed with the Baron Sapanara. And being not able to obtain from the Emperor a Grant to constitute the King of Poland Guaranty of this Treaty, he was forced to take new Measures, and to support himself and his Interest under Protection of the Turks, which his Enemies interpreted to be a Renunciation of his Christianity. But he sacredly protested to his Holiness, that he took up Arms for no other Reason and Cause, than the Defence of his Country, and to conserve himself from entire Ruin, having had the experience of many years, that the Emperor was in no State or Condition to defend him. That He and his Party did not desire the Obedient Name of Rebels, considering that the Arms they took up were in Defence only of the Liberties, and Privileges granted unto them by the ancient Kings of Hungary, and particularly by King Andrew the II. whose Letters are conserv'd among the Archives of the Vatican; which if his Holiness would be pleas'd to inspect and examine, he would easily find, that those Articles have been so far from being perform'd, that they have been wholly laid aside, and violat'd in every particular. That as to his own Person, he had been despoiled of his Estate, and made an Exile in the very tender years of Youth, with others of the Hungarian Nobility, who could never obtain redress upon their complaints, but instead thereof received Sentence of Death by corrupt and partial Judges, without any regard to the formalities prescribed by Law, And tho' in this Cause not only Protestants, and great numbers of Catholics were concern'd, amongst which George Lipa Archbishop of Gran was one, a Person very Zealous for Restoration of those Liberties, which the Emperor had sworn to maintain, when in the year 1655 he had receiv'd the Crown of Hungary at Presburg; yet nothing could avail towards moderating the violent Proceedings of that Council, by which the Emperor was govern'd; so that having no other remedy, they were forc'd as their last Refuge, to have recourse unto their Arms, not with design to all against the Catholic Religion, or to the prejudice thereof, either in Hungary or elsewhere, but only to maintain those Liberties which were established by Law, and confirm'd by several Diets. In fine, He beseech'd his Holiness to Judge of his Intentions by this Declaration, rather than by the Sinister Reports of his Enemies, to whom he wish'd a long Life, and a happy Pontificate.

The Pope having received this Letter assembled a Congregation of the Cardinals, at which the Ministers of the Emperor, and the King of Poland were present to deliberate, and consider what Answer was fitting to be returned thereunto.

The Season of the year being now far advanced, both sides prepar'd for War. The Seraskier, called Karat Ibrahim, having taken his Farewell of the Grand Seignior and Great Vizier, departed from Adrianople in the Month of May, and arriv'd at Belgrade where he found a Body of 60,000 Men, of which he sent one half to the Army design'd for Poland, with which Recruit they became a Hundred thousand strong, and lay Encamp'd near the City of Nicopolis. With the remainder the Seraskier march'd to Buda, where he joynd with 20,000 more, and expected the Auxiliary Troops of Asia, which amounted unto 30,000 effective Men; so that the whole Force this year of the Ottoman Army in Hungary only, amounted unto 80,000 Men, besides 15,000 which were appointed for the Guard of the Bridge of Essek.

Nor were the Preparations less considerable at Vienna, tho' a diversion was much fear'd of the Imperial Forces, by the Jealousies which the Arms of France gave in Flanders and upon the Rhine, and the Pretensions which the French Ministers were daily making at Ratisbon, and in other Courts of the Empire, by which there was some appearance, as if a Check would be given to the smooth and prosperous proceedings of the Imperial Forces in Hungary. This surmise was cherish'd by those, who were desirous to clap up a Peace with the Turk, alleging that it was impossible to carry on a War in Hungary, and at the same time resist the formidable Force of France in Alsatia, and on the Confines, and perhaps in the very Heart of the Empire. But God, who by his Divine Providence governs all things, was pleas'd out of his Compassion to Christendom to incline the Heart of that King to be Christian, and to Accord a Truce with the Empire for some years, that so he might take off the Scandal of being a Friend to the Turks, and of interrupting the Progress of the Christian Arms against the Common Enemy to the Faith of Christ. In fine, The dread of a French War being vanish'd, the whole Grofs of the Imperial Army came to refund it self upon the Turks, and was in number and quality as follows:

The Infantry were in all Twenty seven Regiments, 55080
The Cavalry all armed with Back and Breast, 12800
Dragoons,

1684.

The Seraskier comes to Belgrade

The Turk's high Army.

Fears from France.

That King makes a Truce with the Emperor.

1684. Dragons,	5600
Polanders hired and paid by the Emperor,	4000
Croats who were Horfe,	3200
One Regiment in Vienna,	1200
Twenty Independent Companies in Raab, Gran and Comorra,	3000
In all	8480

Besides the Confederate Army under the Duke of Bavaria, which made about 20,000 Men, so that the whole Christian Army this year composed a Body,

In all 104880 Men

But how numerous soever this Army seemed to be, yet after the Garrisons were out of it supply'd, and Forces sent into *Alfatia*, and to the *Rhine*; and considerable Detachments into *Croatia* and *Siria*, and Parts of the Upper *Hungary*, the main Body remaining with the Duke of *Lorraine*, did not amount to above Forty thousand Men, with which he designed the Siege of *Buda*. This was an Enterprize becoming the Valour of so great a Captain, for the Town was Defended by a Garrison of Forty six Chambers of *Janissaries*, each consisting of One hundred and fifty Men, besides *Spahies* and the Militia of *Rascia*, which in all composed a Body of Twelve thousand effective Men. The City of *Buda* it self is raised on a Hill, and is naturally very strong; under it there is another Town Built by the *Turks*, which is called the Lower *Buda*. But before Approaches could be made hereunto, it was judged necessary to secure the Navigation down the *Danube*, for carrying the heavy Cannon, and Provisions necessary for maintenance of the Siege, which could not be done but by taking the strong City of *Vicgrade* with the Castle, which so far commanded the River, that no Boats, or Vessels could pass down the Current without being infested by the Cannon of the Place. For *Vicgrade* is Situated on a Rock on the side of the *Danube* between *Gran* and *Buda*, but much nearer to the latter, and is fortified by a Castle erected upon a small Hill. This place had been so considerable in former times, that it was the Residence of the *Hungarian* Kings, of which remain great Ruins to this day of sumptuous and magnificent Palaces. The Crown of the Kings of *Hungary* was anciently conferred in this place; but as the *Turks* advanced in their Conquests, for better security it was removed to *Presburg*. This Crown is of a different Figure from that which

other Princes use; for it is very low, with a Cross on the Top, encompassed with four Leaves, of which one is larger than the other three. This Crown is held in great veneration by the *Hungarians*, being, as they say, brought down from Heaven by an Angel, and planted on the Head of their King *St. Stephen*. It being necessary (as we have said) to take this place to make the way clear, and open unto *Buda*, the Duke of *Lorraine* caused a Body of Horfe to pass the Bridge of *Gran*; and because the Country was full of Woods and Inclosures, all the Baggage and Incumbrances of the Camp were left under the Cannon of *Gran*, with a Guard of four Regiments of Foot, and a Detachment of Six hundred Horfe, besides four Battalions of Count *Kaiserstein*, Commanded by General *Hailewell*; with the rest of the Army the Duke of *Lorraine* marched away, and having pitched his Camp about an hour's distance, or three English Miles from *Vicgrade*, he with some other Officers took a view of the place: And on the 16th day of June by break of day in the Morning he raised his Camp, and by nine a Clock the same Morning the Foot and Dragons had taken their Post upon a Hill, where they brought up some Mortar-pieces and Cannon, and began to Batter the Town: But it being considered, that this would be a long work, an Assault was resolved, as the shortest and most expedite course to put an end to this Action. Count *Ernest* of *Staremburg* disposed and directed in what manner the Attack should be made; and the Duke of *Newburg* commanded during the time of it's Execution. The Cavalier *Rofne* in despite of the Enemies Fire broke in at the first Gate, and being come to the second, the Baron of *Asi* with his Granadiers threw himself over the Walls into the City, by which time *Rofne* having broke in at the second Gate, the Defendants began to give ground, and retreat into the Castle, but so precipitous was their Flight, that before they could crowd into the Gate, many of them were cut off; and killed by the Enemy; after which the City was Sacked, and delivered up for a Prey into the Hands of the Soldiery. The next day by three a Clock in the Morning, the Duke of *Lorraine* took a view of the Castle, and designed to raise divers Batteries against it, for that the Bombs by Reason of the Figure of the Castle which was long and narrow, could not easily take place; But whilst these Batteries were raising, the Duke sent a Herald with a menacing Summons, that in case they should refuse to Surrender, he would deliver them up into the merciless Fury of the Soldiery. The *Turks* being

1684.

The Crown

of Hungary

Hailewell.

Vicegrade

battered.

And it

was

taken.

1684. astonished at the Resolution and Bravery of the *Christians*, were affrighted into a Treaty; and Hostages being given on both sides, it was agreed, That the Besieged should have Liberty to March out with their Arms, Bag and Baggage, Wives and Children, leaving behind them all the Artillery and Ammunition belonging to the Place. The Soldiers were no more than six hundred in all who were transported in Boats into the Island of *St. Andrew's*, to pass from thence to *Waltz*. In the Castle were only six Pieces of Cannon, (on four of which were the Arms of the Emperor *Rodolphus*); the Provisions and Ammunition also was very small and inconsiderable, which might be the true Cause of this sudden Surrender; for otherwise the Castle was very capable of making a longer Defence.

The Turks
saw on the
language
before GranAnd you to
fight.

As things were passing in this manner before *Vicegrade*, News was brought to the Duke of *Lorraine*, that the *Turks* had made an attempt on the Baggage which lay under Command of the Guns at *Gran*, and that the Regiment of *Rabata* had been worsted; upon which News the Duke of *Newburg* with his Horfe took the Allarum, and hastened to their Assistance, and was followed also by the Duke of *Lorraine*; but in their way thither, they received Letters, that the Dispute was already decided in favour of the *Christians*; for thó they lost Eighty Men, which were killed, together with Major General *Hailewell*, who was run through the Body in two places with a Lance, and Baron de *Kery*, with a Lieutenant of the Regiment of *Taff*; yet the *Turks* having at length been beaten out of the Field in disorder, and with a loss of One hundred and twelve Men which lay dead in the Field, the Victory clearly appeared in favour of the *Christians*: Count *Rabata*, Nephew to the General of that Name, was taken Prisoner, but was afterwards rescued by two Horsemen, whom he well Rewarded for that great Service.

The Death of Major General *Hailewell*, a Soldier of long Experience and undaunted Courage, being lamented with such Grief and Sorrow as Soldiers usually express in the time of War for each other; The Duke of *Lorraine* supplied *Vicegrade* with a Garrison of Five hundred Men out of the Regiment of the Duke of *Newburg*, the Command whereof was given to the Baron d'Amboise, Sergeant Major of that Regiment: The Duke of *Lorraine* having refreshed his Army for some short time near unto *Gran* until the Troops were come from *Vicegrade*, he raised his Camp on the 20th of June, and traversed the *Danube* over the Bridge at *Strigonium*, and by next Day in the Evening the whole Army, Cannon, Bag-

gage, and every thing being passed over, they continued their March towards *Pest*, where the Recruits of the *Silefian* Forces were expected: The March thither was difficult through Woods and narrow Places, so that on the 27th they encamped near *Witzen*, in light of Fifteen thousand *Turks*, under the Command of ten Palshes, and Eight thousand *Tartars*, with their Officers, who were drawn up in Battalia on the side of a Hill; the Access unto which was very difficult over Rocks and Bushes, and broken Ways: On their right they had the *Danube*, and on the left a Bog or Morass; the Imperialists immediately upon this appearance, put themselves into a Posture of Battle, with as much speed as the difficulty of the Place would permit, having their right Wing towards the *Danube*, and their left towards the Mountain, extending very largely their Front, they marched close and flow to pass the rough and broken Ways, which thó the *Turks* defended with four Pieces of Cannon, yet Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* forced through, as did also Count *Staremburg*, and gained the Pass, bringing some Pieces of Cannon to make good their Post. The *Turks* began now to move, and to charge the Regiment of *Taff*, which was in the middle of the Line, with their usual Cries of *Ala, Ala*: The Duke of *Lorraine* who was in that part of the Army, which was the middle, so as to be more ready to relieve those Troops, which he perceived most in distress; had his Horfe killed under him by a Pistol-shot, as had also two other Cavaliers, who rood near his Person; but they being again remounted, the *Christian* Troops moved with a regular Order, keeping themselves close and firm like a mighty Wall: The *Turks* charged them three times, endeavouring to break into their Body; but being every time repulsed with some loss, they began to give way and to retreat; but Rallying again, they made another Charge; but failing in the Attempt, and not able to break into the Enemies Ranks, the *Christians* pressed them so hard, and put them into such Disorder, that they fled and trampled one upon the other, leaving their Cannon, and the *Janissaries* which guarded them, to shift for themselves, who being surrounded with several Regiments, were all cut to pieces.

In this Battle about Six or Seven hundred *Janissaries* were killed, great numbers endeavouring to swim over to the other side were drowned in the *Danube*, and about Three hundred Prisoners were taken: The *Turkish* Cavalry for the most part saved themselves in *Pest*, by the swiftness of their Horses, which thó not so strong in Battle as the *German*, yet more nimble and useful in

Flight:

1684.

A Figure
near Wi-

zen.

The Turks
are defeated.

1684. Flight. There were no more than six Pieces of Cannon taken, without other Spoil either of Tents or Baggage; for this Force being only a Detachment sent from *Buda* to give some Interruption, and stop to the Progress of the Enemy, they carried no Incumbrances with them, which commonly cause Camps to move slowly.

The Garrison of the Fortresses of *Witzem*, beholding from the top of the Castle the Success of this Fight, were put into such Consternation, that upon Summons from Count *Schaffenberg*, they surrendered without Terms or Conditions, but at Discretion; all the Persons therein, to the number of Fifteen Hundred, were made Captives, and put into the Emperor's Gallies, which row on the *Danube*, for the Service of the Army. The Duke of *Lorraine* having in this manner secured the Passes, which obstructed the Navigation of the *Danube*, he caused the whole Army to march towards *Pest*, and upon the 30th of June, he encamped about three English Miles distant from that City; over which, in the Evening about Sun-set, appeared a great Fire and Smoak, which was judged to arise from the Town, and that the *Turks* themselves intended to Burn it to the ground: By break of Day in the Morning, the Duke mounting on Horseback at the head of his Cavalry, (ordering the Foot to follow him at leisure) he approached near the Walls, and gave orders to a Detachment of Dragoons to make discovery of the State and Condition of the place, which was soon found to have been set on Fire and abandoned by the *Turks*, only a few remained, who had not time with the rest to pack up their Baggage and be gone; these endeavouring to make some little Opposition were killed, and three Colours taken; those who escaped fled over the Bridge, and broke off Fifty of the Boats to prevent the Pursuit of the Enemy, which floating down the Current, were taken up by the *Christians*. The Duke of *Lorraine* being come to *Pest*, caused the Fire to be extinguished, which had as yet Burnt but one third part of the Town, all the Stores of Ammunition and Provision being saved: The Works and Fortifications being ordered to be repaired, and Cannon to be mounted on the Walls; but the Place proved too hot for them, being so much incommoded by incessant shooting from *Buda*, that there was no abiding for them there; for *Pest* lies in a beautiful Plain, and gives Denomination to the Country round about, which is called, *Comitatus Pesthensis*: From *Buda* it hath a sumptuous Prospect; by the appearance of the Towers on the old Walls, and Spires of the Moschs, but is so overtopped by *Buda*, that all the Cannon there

can shoot into it; so that the Imperial Army quitted the Place, until it should fall into their Hands, and follow the Fate of *Buda*, as an Appendage or Dependence thereof.

The Troops being with-drawn from *Pest*, they marched back to *Witzem*, where two Bridges of Boats were making to pass the River at the Island of *St. Andrew's*, where the River divides it self in two Branches, and makes the Ferry over much more short and easy. The Passage over the first Branch or Arm was not very difficult; but that on the farther side of the Island was much more hazardous, by reason that the Stream was broader and more rapid; and the *Turks* with 20,000 Men encamped within three Miles from the Banks of the River; but nothing seemed now too hard or dangerous to a victorious Army, and an invincible Captain; for whilst the Bridge was finishing with incredible Expedition, some Soldiers for Spies swam over to the other side, where having observed, that the *Turks* lay with much Security within their Camp, and without any motion; (which was a strange thing, considering that they might easily have defended the River, and made the Passage over impossible) Five thousand Foot, with some Pieces of Cannon were ferried over in Boats, where being landed without any disturbance, they intrenched themselves, and raised a Battery, from whence they could shoot into the Enemies Camp, and secure the Passage of the Water for the rest of the Army. On the 10th of this Month, the Bridge being finished, the whole Army passed over the same Day, and joined themselves with the other Body already on that side.

The *Seraskier* being informed, that only a part of the Army was got over, he advanced against them with all his Horse, and eight Hundred *Janisaries*, and two small Field-pieces; with him were the *Palha* of *Buda*, and thirteen other *Palhas*, leaving the rest of the *Janisaries*, and all other his Foot, with the Cannon about the distance of an Hour's March: The Attack which the *Turks* made was so sudden, that the *Christians* had scarce time to put their Forces into order of Battle; but howsoever such was the readiness of this Army, and the good Discipline of it, that every Regiment and Troop at the first sound of an Alarm took their Places without the least Confusion. The Duke of *Lorraine*, at the head of his Cavalry, undertook to lead the Van, and there with sustained the first shock of the Enemy with Carbine-shot only, standing so firm, and resolute, that no breach could be made into their Ranks; in which time, the rest of the Army had opportunity to put themselves into posture of Battle, which, upon their

1684. their Motion, appeared so formidable, that the *Turks* began to make a disorderly Retreat, and to fly as fast as their Horses could carry them, until they came to the Place where the *Janisaries* and Cannon remained: Howsoever, being closely pursued by the *Pelish* Horse, many of them came short home, and several Colours were taken; nor was this Action without some loss to the *Christians*, and particularly of some Persons of Note and Quality, as namely, The Count de *Velheim*, *Bernardino Scotti*, a Gentleman of *Milan*, with some other Volunteers of Heroick Courage, who pressing too forward to signalize their Valour, ended their days with much Honour and Glory. The next day being the 11th, the whole Christian Army advanced towards *Buda*, between which, and a Party of the *Turks* there happened a Skirmish, to the disadvantage of the latter; with which, and with a constant Train of other ill Successes, the Turkish Army being cowarded and dismayed, with-drew themselves out of the open Plains, to seek shelter under Hills and Mountains, and lodged themselves near *St. Gerard's* Mount; whilst Major General *Staremberg*, advancing near the City, began to prepare Matters necessary towards a Siege.

The 13th the *Turks* set fire to the lower Town of *Buda*, and retired into the upper, which was situate on a Hill, and defended by a strong Castle. The Fortifications hereof were not very regular, but made of old Towers without Bastions; but the Garrison consisting of Eight thousand Men, was the best of its Strength, Commanded by five *Palhas*, and well supplied with all sorts of Ammunition and Provision; the Governour was the Vizier of *Buda*, and under him, as his Deputy-Governour, was *Shitan Ibrahim*, of whom we shall hereafter have occasion to give a more particular Character.

The 14th a small Attack was given, and designed purposely as a good Omen to the Soldiery, who still retained in their Memories, that the same Day of the Year past, the *Turks* had formed their Siege before *Vienne*; and this very Day the Duke of *Lorraine* had brought his heavy Cannon to the places of Battery, and had now perfected a formal Siege against the capital City of *Hungary*. The next day the Cannon began to play, they made themselves Masters of the Ditch, and of *St. Gerard's* Mount, which Commands the Town, and thereon a Battery was raised. The *Seraskier* finding that his Army was dismayed, and neither for their Courage, nor Numbers, a competent Match for their victorious Enemy, retired three Leagues distant from *Buda*, intending often to trouble and infect the Besiegers with continual Alarums.

Whilst these things were thus acting, the Duke of *Lorraine* received Advice, that the *Palha* of *Maros*, who was appointed to guard the Bridge of *Esseck*, was advanced with Two thousand five hundred Men to *Vitro-vitz*, a Place about a League distant from the Camp, expecting Four hundred Men more under Command of the *Bei* of *Gradisca*, with design to force their way into *Buda*: To prevent which, the Duke detached Four thousand Croats under the Command of Count *Transtrandorf* to march against them, and ordered the *Germans* Forces to stand all Night to their Arms to avoid a Surprise. *Transtrandorf* marched until seven a Clock in the Morning always a-trot; and having about that time met the *Palha* of *Maros*, he immediately engaged with him, and charged him so furiously, that after some small Resistance, the *Turks* fled; of whom about a Hundred were killed in the Pursuit, and several Prisoners taken. After which Success, *Transtrandorf* returning back to the Camp, fortunately encountered the Governour of *Gradisca* with his Four hundred Men, who, going to join with the *Palha* of *Maros*, (of whose ill Success he had as yet received no Intelligence) was engaged and defeated by him upon the first Charge or On-set, and had all been cut in pieces, had they not been favoured by the shelter and thickens of some neighbouring Woods. On this Occasion the Croats took fourteen Colours, with several of their Cymbals and Trumpets, and twenty Prisoners: They lost only fourteen of their Men, and had the Pillage of the Camp, with great store of good Provisions, with which they satisfied themselves, and nourished their Horses.

And now let us leave the Duke of *Lorraine* for a while before this City, employed in an Enterprize, which could not be effected until two Years afterwards, tho' all that time a constant course of ill Fortune ran against the *Turks*: And let us see what Preparations were making at *Venice*, and recount the Actions and Achievements which this Republick carried on this Year against the *Turks*, pursuant to the Proclamation of War lately published.

The Doge of *Venice*, called *Marco Antonio Gustiniano*, who entered upon the Government the 26th day of April of this Year, together with the Council, made choice of these General Officers for carrying on the War: Namely, *Francisco Morosini* Captain General, *Dominico Mocenigo* Provveditor General of *Dalmatia*, the Prince of *Parma* General of the Infantry, *Alessandro Molino* and *Antonio Bembo* Captains extraordinary of the Ships, *Paulo Michiel*, *Matthew Pisani* and *John Morosini* Commanders extraordinary of the Galeasses; and General *Strazoldo* quit-

1684. ted the Imperial Service for that of the Republic.

The whole *Venetian* Fleet consisted of Sixteen Gallies, six Galleasses, and sixteen Sail of Ships; to them were joined five of the Pope's Gallies, and seven of *Malta*, and four Gallies belonging to the Great Duke of *Toscany*. With part of this Fleet the Captain General *Morofini* put to Sea from the Coast of *Italy*, on the 10th of *June*, for the Island of *Corfu*, where the general Rendezvous for the whole Fleet was appointed: At this Place a Council of War was called, where all the General Officers were present, together with the Provider General *Cornaro*, and General *Strazoldo*; and by them it was unanimously resolved to Attack the Island of *Santa Maura*.

This Island of *Santa Maura* was formerly joined to the Continent of *Greece*, and reckoned amongst the Western, as those of the *Archipelago* were amongst the Eastern Islands; it was anciently known by the Name of *Leucas*, and was part of the Kingdom of *Ulysses*. It was once a Peninsula, adjoining to *Epirus* by a narrow Isthmus of Land, but at the great Chace and Labour of the Inhabitants of *Corinth*, it was cut off from the Continent, and made an Island: It is near the *Morea*, at the entrance into the Gulf of *Lepanto*, where was fought that famous Battle in the Year 1571.

Sultan Mahomet, the Son of Sultan *Amurat*, took this Island from the *Venetians* in the Year 1457. But with the Aid and Assistance of some Vessels from the Pope, King *Lewis* the 12th of *France*, and the Knights of *Rhodes*, it was, after a bloody Fight, recovered out of their Possession, in the Reign of *Bajazet* the II, in the Year 1499, *Benedetto Pefaro* being General. But the Year following a Peace being made, it was restored to the *Turks*, conditionally, That the Island of *Cephalania* should remain to the *Venetians* for ever. This Island being the chief Harbour at present, and Refuge of all the Pyrates and Corsairs of *Barbary*, which much infested the Gulf, and rendered the Navigation very unsecure, and which hindered the *Venetians* from being the absolute Masters of those Seas, this Enterprise was resolved to be the most necessary and methodical in order to more important Advantages.

Accordingly, on the 10th of *July*, the whole Fleet, together with *Tartanas* and *Feluccas* carrying Land-forces, set Sail from *Corfu*, and the next day arrived at *Little-mare*, then Cannon-shot distant from *Santa Maura*, where they cast Anchor, and landed their Forces, which consisted of two Battalions of the Pope's, and of *Malta* Six hundred Men each, and Eight hundred Men drawn

out of other Troops: Amongst those of *Malta* were a Hundred Knights, who, clad in their Coat-armours of red Sattin, with the white Cross of their Order, made a splendid Appearance. The next day the whole Fleet entered the Port of *Demata*, which lies to the Eastward of the Town, and is capable to receive great numbers of Vessels, and the Captain General *Morofini* went in Person on shoar, taking a view of the several Posts, in which the Forces had lodged themselves, and of that particularly called *Chiche*, which was a House of Pleasure belonging to the Aga's Son, possessed by Captain *Manetta*. But before *Morofini* thought fit to commit any Act of Hostility, he sent to Summon the Place; and in a Writing set forth the Cause and Reasons which moved the *Venetians* to raise a powerful Army against the *Turk*, who had violated the Peace, by harbouring the Corsairs of *Barbary*, and practised other Hostilities against the Subjects of that State: And that in case they did not Surrender up their Town and Island, the next Morning he would proceed to force them, and make use of the Privilege and Power of a Conqueror. To which the Governor returned no other Answer, Than that God would punish the *Venetians* for violating the Peace, and making an unjust War upon the Grand Seigneur. Whereupon, the Admiral-Flag being spread, which was the Signal of Battle, the Gallies and Galleasses made above Twelve hundred Shot against the Town, which did great Damage to the Houses and Fortifications, and entirely ruined one of the Moles. Nor were the *Turks* idle, but fired continually, tho' with no great hurt; for their Cannon being mounted too high, did not hinder the Forces from the Town, *Malta* and *Toscany* from possessing themselves of the Suburbs, nor the Batteries from raising, which by direction of *Lorenzo Venier*, plaid on the Walls with good Success, and did great Execution, and the Bombs which were thrown into the Town put all the Defendants into a Consternation. For, on the first of *August*, the Batteries had razed a Bulwark to the Ground, and widened the Breach, and dismounted four Pieces of the Enemies Cannon, and the Bombs had set Fire to several parts of the Town; and so far was the Siege carried on, in order to a general Assault, that on the 6th of *August* the *Turks* hung out a white Flag, as a Signal that they would Capitulate: Accordingly a Treaty was had, and Hostages given, and at length an Agreement was concluded, That the *Turks* with their Families might have Liberty to leave the Town, with so much, and no party and more than they could carry on their Backs. *Forster*

The Garrison being Seven hundred Men, towards

1684. wards the Evening marched forth with Sword and Musquet, and were ship'd and carried on the farther Shoar of an Arm of the Sea; all the Christian Slaves were set at Liberty, on Condition to serve on Ships and Gallies of the Republic, in the Quality of Seamen and Soldiers. The *Venetians* entered the Town at the Breach; the Plunder whereof, which was considerable, was given to the Soldiers: In the Place great store of Provisions were found, with Eighty Pieces of Cannon: The *Venetians* lost about Two hundred Men in the Siege: *Morofini* immediately caused the principal Mole to be Blessed, in which *Te Deum* was sung, and dedicated to St. *Saviour*, because it was the 6th of *August*, on which day is the Feast of the Transfiguration, when the *Turks* hung out the white Flag of Surrender. The Command of the Place was given to *Lorenzo Venier*, a noble *Venetian*, one of whose Ancestors was Commander in chief of the *Venetian* Army, when *Selimus* was entirely defeated at the Battle of *Lepanto*.

The Fortifications of *Santa Maura* being repaired, and a Garrison left in it; General *Morofini* set Sail to the Port of *Petula*, and thence to the Port of *Dragoetta*, where he cast Anchor, and landed his Army, which consisted of Two thousand *Venetians*, about One thousand of the Pope's Auxiliaries, and about Fifteen or Sixteen hundred *Greeks*. This Army advanced on the Plains; upon approach of which, several Turkish Troops, which were employed to defend Passages, retired without any Resistance, which gave opportunity to the *Christians* to Burn four or five Villages; which having done, they returned to the Fleet and re-embarked themselves. At the same time General *Morofini* with his Gally got fight of *Patras* and *Lepanto*; and thence Sailing to the Port of *Damata*, a Council of War was called, and there it was resolved to Attack *Preveza*, without which *Santa Maura* could not be secured: *Preveza* is a Fortress which now stands in the place of the ancient *Nicopolis* of *Epirus*, the Situation of which is very Commodious, for it Commands the entrance into the Gulf, and was anciently the Royal City of *Pyrrius*. This Enterprize being resolved, General *Morofini* dispatched five Gallies and six Galleasses to approach the Castles of the *Gomenizze*, which being discerned by the *Turks* from *Preveza*, they sent back those Soldiers which they had, lately drawn from thence, on supposition that the *Venetians* would make all their Attempt upon *Preveza*; which happened according to the Desire and Intention of *Morofini*, whose Aim it was to divide their Forces. The Army in the mean time having left *Damata*, came to an Anchor on the 20th of

September, at the entrance into the Gulf; 1684. and the next day Captain *Manetta*, with twenty four Barks, and some Brigantines, entering the Gulf, landed part of his Forces, which the *Turks* in vain endeavoured to hinder by great and small Shot; and next Morning by break of Day, the Gallies (which had anchored under the Hill of *Mahomet Effendi*) appeared within Musquet-shot of the Place, which gave a Diversion to the *Turks*, who having drawn all their Forces to that side, gave opportunity to the *Christian* Forces to land on the other without much Annoyance, under the Conduct of General *Strazoldo*, which *Ereout*, so soon as the *Turks* discovered, *Shaban Pasha* the Governor immediately ordered Five hundred Spahes to ride full speed to Attack the Forces before they were landed; but before they could come, they found the *Christians* already drawn up in Battalia, upon whom having made some slight Charge, they retreated again in disorder with the loss of several of their Men.

Thus did the *Christians* advance, without much difficulty, and make themselves Masters of the Out-town, and of the Hill of *Mahomet Effendi*, which Commands the City; and at the same time the Gallies and Gallots approached yet nearer to *Preveza*, when *Morofini* thought it seasonable to Summon the Town, letting them know, that in case they deferred the Surrender, until the last extremity, he would grant no Quarter, nor any Conditions whatsoever: But the Officer who commanded in chief under *Shaban Aga*, (who was gone to head Four thousand Men without the Town, and observe the Motions of the Enemy) refused to read or receive the Letter, but barbarously shot the Messenger who brought it, having a Confidence the Governor, whose Deputy he was, would speedily return and raise the Siege. Whereupon *Morofini*, having viewed the Posts and Situation of the Place, caused his Cannon and Bombs to be landed, and raised his Batteries, which played with good Success; that several parts of the Town were fired, and most of the Enemies Guns dismounted; and those which remained on their Carriages were so ill managed, that they did little or no Execution, for there was as yet of the *Christians* but one Soldier killed, and five wounded. The Breach by this time was found very considerable, and on the 28th a Lodgment was made in the Ditch, and a Mine being ready to be Sprung, Orders were given to prepare for an Assault; which the *Turks* fearing to expect, hung out a white Flag, and offered to capitulate, and to accept the same Conditions, which were given to *Santa Maura*: But at length it was concluded,

1681. that Thirtyonly of the most considerable persons amongst them, might march out with their Arms and Baggage, and the rest without Arms, and with no more than they could carry about them; and that all the *Christians* Slaves should be set at Liberty. Accordingly the Day following the *Turks* to the number of Two hundred Men marched out at the Gate towards the Sea; and were Embarked on some *Grecian* Boats with a Convoy, and were Landed within four Miles of *Larva*, about Two hundred of the Inhabitants remaining in the place. The Town being taken the Standard of St. Mark was set up on the Walls, and all the *Turkish* Colours and Banners taken down, and sent to the Admiral Gally. In the Town were found Forty six Pieces of Cannon, Eighteen of which were Brats, and carried Fifty five pounds of Ball. The place was well Stored with all sorts of Provision, and with Muskets and Bullets, and Six hundred Quintals of Powder. This Town was very beneficial to the *Venetians*, for it put them into an entire Possession and Dominion of the *Gulf*, and the places of that Coast, the Fishing Trade whereof is so considerable, that it yielded to the *Turks* a Thousand Crowns every year arising on the Customs thereof.

This ended this Campaigne to the Honour and Reputation of the *Venetian* Arms: And the Auxiliary Gallies and Forces returned home, having been more diminished by Fatigues, and making Incursions into the Land, than by slaughter or loss sustained from the Enemy. The *Venetians* took their Winter-quarters in several Isles belonging to the Republick. *Molino*, Captain extraordinary of the Ships, brought back his Squadron to *Corfu*; but General *Morofini* wintered at *Preveza*, with design to render that place impregnable; and to engage the *Greeks*, who are a People of an unconflant Humour, to remain steady in that Duty and Faith, which they caused them to Swear to the *Venetian* Republick; whilst these things were carrying on, some matters of less moment were acted in lighter Skirmishes near *Cliffa*, from whence the *Turks* carried away seven Prisoners; but being pursued by the *Morlaques*, they were again refused by them, and forced to quit their whole Booty, with the loss of Fifty of their Men killed on the place. Seignior *Antonio Zeno*, Provoditor extraordinary of *Catara* came to *Pervasse*, and pillaged, and burnt all the Towns and Villages near *Castel Nuovo*, and hindered the *Turks* from carrying in their Harvest, and seized great Stores of Wheat, and other Corn which he carried to *Cliffa*. To compleat the Successes of this year a Galliot of *Dulcigno* was taken, Commanded by *Solyman Reis* a famous Conspirator.

In the Fight *Solyman* himself with Twenty of Men was killed, and Twenty two *Christians* were Released and set at Liberty, whom this Pyrate was carrying into *Slavery*.

And now having given a Relation of the *Venetian* Successes of this year, it will be time to return to the *German* Camp, which we left at the Siege before *Buda*.

The Siege, as we have said, being completely formed, on the 12th of July a Mine was sprung near the great Tower, which tho it had done great effect, yet it plainly appeared, That the *Turks* were too strong as yet in the Town to be assaulted at the entrance of any Breach, until such time as their numbers were more diminished by a longer Siege. On the 14th the Vizier of *Buda*, called *Kara Mahomet*, died of a Wound, which he had received on his Face; he was one of the best Officers amongst the *Turks*. *Shitan Ibrahim* succeeded him in the Government: He was a Person very well known to the English Nation, which had lived in *Turky*, to which he bore a signal kindness and respect, and particularly to that worthy Person Sir *Jenathan Dawes*, with whom he cultivated a Friendship, which was extraordinary and unusual for a *Turk* towards a *Christian*. When I came first into *Turky* he was then *Tesferdar*, or Lord Treasurer; whom I have seen when he was giving out the Pay to the Army to bestow Money on the Earl of *Winchelsea's* Pages and Servants, who being then Lord Ambassador Extraordinary to the Grand Seignior, was returning from an Audience which he had had with the Grand Vizier: He was afterwards Married to the Grand Seignior's Sister, and was sent *Palha* to *Gran Cairo*, which is an Office of the highest Degree amongst the *Turks*; having remained three years in that Employment, which is the usual time allowed to that Government, was then recalled, and taxed at Six hundred Purjes of Money; he was forced to lay down one-half in ready Money, and to pay the other Moiety in a few Days afterwards, upon Penalty of being committed to a Prison, from whence he had never been delivered but by Death. He was afterwards made *Palha* of *Damascus*, then of *Aleppo*, and with his Forces was engaged to pass by Sea to the Siege at *Candia*. I remember him at *Smirna*; when he embarked there, and then he told me, how grievous it was for him and his Men to leave their Horses, (than which nothing was more a pleasing and dear) and to Embark on a Gally, and pass the Sea to which he and his Soldiers had never been accustomed. Afterwards he was employed in many great Offices, to which he had been bred from his

1684. his Youth, and in which he had deputed himself with singular Reputation and Esteem, being naturally of a frank and a generous Temper: He was then about Eighty years of Age, and nothing declined, but still as Robust and Vigorous as if he were but Forty, when he defended *Buda*, and succeeded the *Palha* who was killed on the Walls; and in this Condition we shall leave him for a year or two, until being involved in the Common Fate and Misfortunes of the *Turks*, he yielded to the Destiny which was provided for him.

On the 16th of August the Besieged made a Sally, and were beaten back with some loss; but the next day they had better Fortune, and killed many of the *Christians*, as they did also in several other Sallics. But to encourage the *Christians* in this Siege, several Deferters escaped out of the Town, and to flatter the Party into whose Hands they were fallen, they told a thousand Falfities concerning the distresses and wants of the Town. But notwithstanding all their Reports, it was concluded necessary, to open the Breach in the Wall of *Buda* much wider than it was before; to which end the Cannon plaid continually upon that part of the Town, where the Assault was to be made. But in the mean time to disturb these proceedings, the Seraskier *Palha* with all the Force of the *Ottoman* Army, appeared often times in sight of the Camp, which gave such frequent Allarums, that the Duke of *Lorraine* thought fit to draw out a great part of his Army to engage them, leaving all the left Wing in the Approaches, under Command of Count *Starenberg*, General of the Artillery, and with the remainder of the Infantry, and all the Cavalry he marched between the upper City, and Mount St. Gerard, to meet the Seraskier; and so soon as the Way opened into the Vally between *Buda* and *Strigonium*, he discovered a great Body of *Turkish* Horse upon a Hill opposite to the Army, upon view of which the *Christian* Army drew into Battalia; and tho the way to an Engagement with the Enemy was rough, craggy and very steep; yet such was the Spirit, which by frequent Victories had possessed the *Christian* Soldiery, that with incomparable Valour, their right Wing moved over all the difficulties of the Ground against the left Wing of the *Turks*; but they fearing to stand the Shock, made their Retreat to another Hill within Cannon-shot of *Buda*, where their right Wing was drawn up: The Imperial Troops still continuing to advance against the Enemy, detached Two thousand of their choice Horse, who making as if they intended to form another Line before the Front, posted them-

selves under the Walls of the City; during which time the main Body of the *Turks* stood firm, and kept their Ground, until the *Christians* were come within Muskets-shot; and then their foremost Troops fell violently into the Trenches on the right Hand, whilst a Sally was made out of the City by the *Janissaries* on the left: And so furious was the Charge they made, that they gained the first Post, which was maintained by Count *Furstenburg*, Captain the Regiment of *Grana*, and passed to the second Guard, defended by a Captain of the Regiment of *Baden*, and proceeded even to the third Post upon one of the Batteries. But Count *Aspremont*, and Colonel *Bek*, with two Battalions coming to their assistance, as did also the Battalions of reserve under *Starenberg* and *Souches*, the Enemy was so vigorously repulsed by them, that they not only recovered the several Posts which they had lost, but gained a Fort from the Enemy, which was Situated on the *Danube*, and took four Standards from them, with the Slaughter of many *Janissaries*.

At the same time the Enemies left Wing of Horse was so warmly charged by the Imperialists, that they were put into a disorderly Flight, and run over and trampled down their Foot; howsoever Rallying again they made a stand, as if they had intended to renew the Fight: But observing the right Wing of the *Christians* to advance towards them, and the left Wing to come into their assistance, they durst not adventure to stand the Shock, but fled in full Career; but such as were worse mounted, and trusted not to the Swiftiness of their Horses, in a deperate manner made their way into the City for Refuge. This enterprise of the *Turks* cost the *Christians* Three hundred Men; those of Qualitie killed were the Counts of *Fulstemberg* and *Carlovitz*, and the Counts *Guido Starenberg*, and *Stalenberg* were wounded, for which the *Turks* paid most dearly, leaving Seven thousand of their Companions slain upon the place.

The Seraskier, and his Army being thus repulsed with great slaughter and much dismayed; the Duke of *Lorraine* resolved to attempt the lower Town by the Breach which was made: The which was accordingly executed by the Baron of *Alfi*, who in delight of the Granades, and continual Volleys of the Muskets surmounted the Ruins, and took possession of the Breach; and being followed by other Forces, he proceeded and made himself Master of the more inward Retrenchments, destroying the *Palisades* and the Works in such manner, that the Defendants had no other Shelter than their Houses remaining to them.

1684. By this time Count Tulli and a Captain of the Regiment of Mansfeld were come to their assistance, and together with *Asti* advanced to the Gate which opens to the *Danube*; where after a sharp Fight, with much effusion of Blood on both sides, they forced open the Gate, and gave entrance to Colonel *Calemfels* with Five hundred Men, who being also followed by great numbers of *Hayducks*, they so overwhelmed the *Turks* with their power, that they fled for refuge to the Castle: But being closely pursued by the *Christians*, who were now mixed with them, those in the Castle feared to open their Gates, lest by giving entrance to their Friends they should receive their Enemies; so that as many as were excluded out of the Castle fell by the *German* Swords; others betaking themselves to their Houses, barred their Doors, and hid themselves in Vaults and Cellars: But there being no protection for the miserable, Fire was applied to the Houses, whereby those who had escaped the Sword, perished in the Flames.

In this Glorious Action it is said, That 12,000 *Janissaries* were Slain, with the loss only of Seventy five or Eighty *Christians* killed and wounded; after which the several Posts, and Gates of the Town were well secured; and Orders given to Attack the Palanca and Castle of *St. Gerards*; which at the first fight, and appearance only of an Attempt, the Defendants abandoned, carrying away with them all their Cannon and Ammunition. The lower Town being thus subdued and possessed by the *Christians*, the very same Night Batteries were raised on *St. Gerard's Mount*, and Trenches and Approaches made on that side, whereby the upper City of *Buda* was more closely besieged, and the Enemy reduced within a more narrow Compals. Whilst these matters were Agoing, Count *Lefly* with a Body of Fifteen thousand Men, made an Attempt upon the City and Castle of *Virovitze*, which is in *Slavonia*, Situated on the Frontiers of *Croatia*, and is sometimes called *Bespeck*. To Succour this place the Seraskier caused several Troops to advance, who encountering a Detachment of Eight hundred *Croats*, they put them into Disorder, and caused them to Retreat unto their main Body, with the loss of three of their Standards; but pursuing them too far, their Career was stopp'd by the Army of *Lefly*, who vigorously repulsed them, and put them to Flight with the loss of Five hundred of their Men, and Two hundred killed on the side of the *Christians*. This good Success was seconded by another happy Encounter which Count *Trotmanndorf*, with a Party of Four thousand *Croats*, had over a Party of Two thousand *Turks*, designed by the

1684. *Paisha of Moretz* (who was appointed to Guard the Bridge of *Esbeck*) to Succour the Town and Castle of *Virovitze*; for they were all defeated by him, as was also another Party of Fifteen hundred Horse, who were marching with all diligence to joyn with the Two thousand lately routed and dispersed. Thus the Town and Castle having lost all their hopes of Succour and Relief, they spread a white Flag on the Walls, which demonstrated their intentions to Capitulate. Accordingly a Treaty being had, several particulars were agreed, and the places Surrender'd: The Turkish Garrison, which consisted of about One thousand Soldiers, were permitted to march forth without their Arms, unless Fifteen of the principal Officers, who had liberty to go forth with their Horses and Arms; the rest were to have no more than what they could carry on their Backs. The *Turks* having quitted the City and Castle, the *Christians* supplied it with a Garrison of Two hundred Men, under the Command of the Baron of *Schelardt*. The News of the loss of *Virovitze*, put all the Country thereabouts into such Consternation, that several places were abandoned by the *Turks*, and a way opened to General *Lefly* to march without any impediment to the Bridge of *Esbeck*.

In the mean time the Approaches, and Works before *Buda* proceeded with infinite diligence and labour, so that by the 26th Day of July, they were advanced within Sixty Paces of the Counterfarp: Likewise other Batteries were raised of Twenty five Pieces of great Cannon, and Twelve Mortar-pieces, which fired continually; and on the side of *Pest*, they annoyed the *Turks* with long Guns, and small Pieces of Ordnance, that they were not able to approach near the River for Water, of which there was great scarcity and want in the Town. The Batteries not doing the Execution which was expected, by Reason that the Walls were filled with Earth, endeavours were made to Under-mine a corner of the Counterfarp; and on that side towards *Strigonium* to advance the Works within Sixty Paces of the Tower: In which Attempts One hundred and twenty five *Germans* were killed in one day and night. Within the Town they were industrious and brave, every *Janissary* behaving himself, with Resolution and indefatigable Labour: And on the other side, Without the Town the Soldiers were harassed and tyred with continual Watchings and Pains; and the Pioneers and Labourers working beyond their strength, in the excessive heats fell into Malignant Fevers, and Dificases of the Camp, by which the numbers of those People being greatly diminished, the Mines and Works advanced very slowly.

1684. On that side towards *Strigonium*, the impediments and hindrances were as great, as on the other; for the Defendants continually Fired upon the Labourers, which obstructed them in such manner, that it was impossible to joyn their Trenches to the Wall of the Balcion which Flanked the Curtain; and such showers of Granadoes, and Vollics of small Shot were thrown amongst them, that they were forced to desist from their Work, and to proceed by Mining the Earth, which required much time, and retarded the Conquest of the place.

On the 30th of August, about Sun-rising the *Turks* made a Furious Sally into the Trenches of the *Germans*, causing them to Fly, with the loss of Forty or Fifty Men; but other Troops coming to their Succour, they were forced to Reare in much Confusion and Disorder, and endeavouring an Escape by the Breaches in the Walls, and narrow Avenues, they exposed themselves to the Swords and Fire Arms of their Enemies, who destroyed them with great Slaughter.

At the beginning of September, the Rains fell in such abundance, that the Soldiers in some of the Trenches remain'd a whole Day up to the middle in Water, which increased the Dificases of the Camp, from which some of the Commanders were not freed; and particularly the Duke of *Lorraine*, who became so indispofed in his Health, that he was constrained to Retire unto Old *Buda* for ease and remedy, where he continued not above four or five Days, before he returned again to the Camp; during this time the *Turks* made other Sallics upon the *Christians*, for several Days, to their great loss and discouragement; for besides Three hundred Common Soldiers, many principal Officers were killed and wounded; amongst which those of chief Note were the Marquis *Cavalieri*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Gran*, Count *Tirheim* a Captain of the Regiment of *Baden* were slain, and Major General *Schaffenberg*, and the Marquis of *Parella*, with several other Officers were wounded. But to support the Spirits of the *Christians*, which were not a little dismayed by these losses, and the great difficulties which were yet to be overcome; the *Bavarian* Infantry fortunately came to their Succours, (tho those of *Franconia* were Countermanded) who to enlivened, and cheered up the Hearts of the drooping Camp, That the Duke of *Lorraine* sent a menacing Message to the Governour of *Buda*, giving him to understand, that in case he stood out longer and refused to surrender, until he was forced thereunto by a General Assault, which he was preparing to make, that then he would put all to the Sword, giving Quarter to none; nor sparing

Age nor Sex: To which Summons he returned this answer, That in such Case he would neither demand Mercy, or Quarter for his own Person, nor for any of the Soldiers, or Inhabitants of that place: And on the other side he declared, That he would give no Quarter to the Besiegers, but when they fell into his Hands, would treat them with the same usage, which was threatened unto them: And to shew how much he was in earnest, he caused Forty *Christian* Prisoners to be brought before him on the Walls, and in Presence of the Person who brought the Summons, he commanded them all to be put to Death; saying, That if it were in his Power to Maffacre the whole *Christian* Army, he would do it with as little Remorse, as he executed his present Rage on those miserable Wretches: And it being farther told this Vizier, that the Duke of *Bavaria* had in Person, and with 30,000 Men reinforced the Army which encompassed the City: He made answer, That he knew very well what a Petty King of *Germany* meant, and that his Three thousand Men which he had brought with him, could not terrify him who commanded a Place, where the Soldiers were many and brave, and where was no want of Ammunition and Provisions.

On the 8th, The *Christians* Sprang a Mine under one of the Towers, where the *Turks* had placed their principal Battery; and at Night Sprang three or four more under the Curtain, but not with so good effect as was expected: Howsoever, they had brought their Attacks to the very Ditches of the Town and Castle, and had made a Lodgment upon one of the Breaches.

On the 9th and 10th, Several other Mines were fired with such Success, that they overthrew a great part of the Wall, and opened to wide a space, that four or five Carts might enter a-breach: Howsoever, it was not thought advisable to make an Assault, by Reason that the Defendants had formed several Retrenchments within, and guarded them with many Troops and Batteries: And besides, the Infantry were so weakened by Dificentries, and other Sicknesses, that it was not thought fit to hazard them upon so desperate an Attempt. Howsoever, having fired a Mine at *Kulakapue*, with good effect, they seconded it with a furious Assault, but were again repulsed with much loss, and great slaughter of the common Soldiers; and the Counts of *Harsach* and *Nassau*, and the Major of the Regiment of *Mansfeld* were all killed; and the Counts of *Staremburg* and *Auersberg* were amongst the number of the wounded. Amongst these Disorders and Discouragements, five *Christians* found means to make their

The lower
Ends and
Castles.

Virovitze
Surrendered.

The Processions
at the Siege of
Buda.

Sallics
from the
Town.

The ill-
condition of
the Dis-
tress.

Summons
sent to the
Town.

Two parties
of Turks
Defeated.

1684.
The Duke
Angier.

His Great.

The Count-
ess made
an assault
and was
repulsed.

1684. their Escape out of the Town, and informed the General, that the *Turks* had raised two Batteries each of five Pieces of Cannon upon a Horn-work which was palisaded, and was guarded by another Tower behind this Work, and joyned to a more inward Wall made of Earth above nine Foot thick: That there was also a Ditch and Palisades behind the Breach, and that there were still 20,000 Men within the Town, who were capable to bear Arms; and that the principal Officers upon hopes of being relieved by the *Seraskier* (as was assured them by some Soldiers lately come from *Belgrade*, and the Bridge of *Esbeck*) had resolved to maintain the Town to the last and utmost Extremity: Howsoever that there was some division amongst them; for thò the Inhabitants seem'd resolute to stand out unto the last drop of their Bloods, fearing lest they should be treated like the Garrison of *Virovitza*, yet the *Janisaries* (who had no other Concernment in the Place, than their own Lives) protested that in case they were not speedily relieved by the *Seraskier*, they would constrain the Governour to surrender upon Capitulations.

If the Garrison of *Buda* were in a bad Condition, the Imperial Camp in the Leaguer was not in a much better; for most of the Officers were either killed, sick or wounded; and such was the scarcity of all Provisions, caused by the Obstructions which the *Seraskier* had laid in the way to intercept the Convoys, which fetched them from far distant Places, that the proportion of Meat, and weight of Bread, distributed to every Soldier, was much diminished; so that the Siege had then been raised had not the Duke of *Bavaria* (as we have said) come to the Camp on the 9th of September, with his Infantry, which gave new Hopes and Encouragement to continue the Siege; thò the Death of General *Dumewaldt* in his Tent, who had the Reputation of a valiant and an experienced Soldier, did very much add to the Sorrow and Discouragement of the Camp.

Still did the *Turks* continue to make their Salutes with much Bravery, in one of which they spiked or nailed three Pieces of Cannon. The Prince of *Saxony Eisenach* had his Leg taken off with a great Shot, and General *Hops* fighting valiantly at the Head of his Men was wounded, and died shortly afterwards in his Tent. But it was very observable, how Forty stout *Turks*, naked to the Waist, behaved themselves with two-handed broad Swords, hewing and cutting down all before them; they advanced as far as to the River-side, and having covered the Ground with dead Bodies, they returned with the loss of few of their number into the Town.

The Reinforcement which the Duke of *Bavaria* brought to the *Christian* Camp, put the *Turks* into an Apprehension that the Town would certainly be taken, unless it were relieved by some signal Success of the *Seraskier's* Army within the Lines of the *Christians*; which the *Turks* speedily designed so soon as they were reinforced by some Troops, which were daily expected. After some time, the *Seraskier* received a Letter from the Grand Vizier, that it was impossible for him to send any considerable Recruits; having been obliged to dispend such Troops, as were with him, to the *Dardanelles*, *Tenedos* and *Morea*, to prevent the Landing of the *Venetian* Army, which had already made themselves Masters of *Santa Maura*. And that therefore he should supply the want of numbers by his extraordinary Vigilance and Art, and to hazard every thing rather than suffer *Buda* to fall into the Hands of the Enemy. The *Seraskier* accordingly marched with about 25,000 Men, or at most 27,000 to *Alba Regalis*, and encamped before the Town, with intention very speedily to disturb the Siege; but hearing that the Duke of *Bavaria* was come thither with a very considerable Force, he altered his Design, and marched towards the Bridge of *Esbeck*, to fight those Troops which were sent thither under the Command of Count *Erdedi*, the General of *Croatia*, and to hinder them from burning the Bridge, or taking the Forts which covered it. Count *Leslie* in the mean time followed the *Seraskier* to observe his Motion, and assist *Erdedi*; which the Duke of *Lorraine* conceiving not of Force sufficient to oppose themselves against the whole *Turkish* Army; he recalled all his Cavalry from the Frontier Towns, and those which blocked up *Newbanfel*, and with three Regiments of Foot lately come from *Moravia*, and some of the *Bavarian* Forces, he departed from the Camp on the 16th, with resolution to Engage the *Seraskier*, leaving the whole Conduct of the Siege to the Elector of *Bavaria*. But the *Seraskier* fearing to hazard the whole Affair on the fortune of a Battle, retired under the Cannon of *Alba Regalis*. Whereupon five Regiments of Horse, and a Thousand Foot, were ordered to Post and Fortify themselves on certain Hills, by which the *Turkish* Army was necessarily to pass, and could not move without being observed by them.

In the mean the Batteries, which the *Bavarians* had raised, had begun to open a wide Breach; and on that side by the Water, their Works were advanced one third in length of the lower Town; and several Redoubts were perfected to impede and disturb the *Seraskier* in his March from *Alba Regalis*.

1684. *Regalis*, towards the Siege of *Buda*: The Expectations were great of the coming of the *Bavarian* Horse, and other Cavalry from the parts near *Prisburg*, under the Command of Count *Cassaffa*, and also of the *Suedish* Infantry, which were now much wanted at this Siege.

The Rains which fell in such great abundance on the 18th at Night, did greatly retard the progress of the Works which the *Bavarians* were making, thò their Batteries had good effect upon that Angle, which was contiguous to the Tower on the Castle side; but the Approaches appeared daily more difficult than before, and the Works on the River-side proceeded slowly, and on the side of the Curtain, the Miners were not able to advance above three Pikes in length.

The Duke of *Lorraine* being returned to the Camp, the *Bavarians* who had the Attack by the River-side, sprang a Mine under the Tower with so good Success, that it overthrew a great part of the Wall, with one of the Gates: They also made a Line of Communication, which joyned their Attack with that of Count *Maximilian de Starremberg*: The Defendants at the same time made several Attempts to enter the Lines of *Bavarians*, but could not prevail, by reason that the Entrance was strongly fortified; and farther, to defend themselves, they made several Retrenchments within the Town, and pulled down several Houses, covered the Streets with Beams to cast off Granadoes, and hinder the Bombs from doing hurt and damage to the Houses. The 20th of this Month the Defendants had the good fortune to seize a Boat laden with Provisions, as it was going to the Imperial Camp, which caused much Joy in the City, whereby the Report which some Fugitives made of the scarcity and want of Provisions in the Place, was clearly confirmed: And the same day a Party of Fifteen hundred *Turks* attacked some Foragers sent from the Leaguer, of whom they killed several, and took some Prisoners, with the laden Waggon, the rest making their Escape as well as they could.

In fine, the *Seraskier* being resolved once more to attempt the Relief of *Buda*, raised his Camp on the 21st from under the Walls of *Alba Regalis*, and began his March; of which the Duke of *Lorraine* having Advice by a *Polonian*, who was escaped out of the Hands of the *Turks*, immediately drew out his Forces into the appointed Places, and with such Order, as was lately agreed at a Council of War, where they attended all day for the coming of the Enemy; which not appearing, the Forces drew off towards the Evening into their several Quarters, ha-

ving been greatly incommoded by the Rains, which had continued all that day to fall in such abundance. Howsoever, the day following, Two thousand *Turks* attacked the Lines in two Places with much Resolution, endeavouring to force their Passage into the Town; but finding great Resistance, they were beaten off with considerable loss, leaving two Standards in the Hands of the Imperialists. Whilst this Attack was made, Fifteen Hundred Horse and Foot made a Sally out of the Town, and cleared all the Trenches before them, and advanced to the very Batteries, killing about Two hundred Men; but some Squadrons coming to their Relief, forced them back with the loss of Four hundred Men.

The *Seraskier*, who was retreated to his Camp about two Leagues distant from the Siege, kept the *Christians* in a continual Alarm, and on the 23d made as if he would have attempted the Lines once more; but the Mettle of the *Turks* was not so warm and hot as formerly; howsoever, Four hundred of their Men wading over a marshy Ground, up to the Armpits in Mire and Water, found a Way, which before that time, was esteemed unpassable; and got into the Town, except some few, who, sticking in the Mire, were birded off and killed with Musquet-shot.

By this time the *Bavarian* Troops being come, with three German Regiments from *Bobemia*, the Duke of *Lorraine* esteemed himself in a Condition able to engage the *Turkish* Army, and so marching out of the Lines with a considerable Body, he followed the Enemy, and provoked them to a Battle; but the *Seraskier* having already performed his Design, by putting some Men into the Town, he declined the Fight, so that the Duke of *Lorraine* without other Action returned again to the Siege; but before they entered the Lines, the Garrison made a desperate Sally both with Horse and Foot, and with such Success, that they drove the Besiegers out of their Trenches, filled up some of their Works with Earth, levelled one of their Batteries, and killed above Three hundred Men upon the Place; and after having routed the *Bavarians*, they fell in upon the Quarters of the Imperialists, who being less harassed than the others, gave them a Repulse with equal loss.

On the 25th the *Seraskier* appeared a third time in sight of the Leaguer, shewing as if he intended to offer Battle; upon appearance of which, the *Christians* drew out of their Lines; but whilst they were ranging themselves into a posture of Battle, a Detachment of Four thousand Horse were dispatched under cover of the Hills, and before

1684. before they were discovered, assailed a Quarter of the Imperialists, which was defended only by two Regiments of Horse, and two Battalions of Foot, whom charging by Surprise, they totally defeated, and killed above a thousand Men, amongst which were Count Tilly and several other Officers of Note. During this Conflagration in the Christian Camp, a Thousand Turks sheltering themselves under the shadow of the Hills, found a Passage into the Town.

The Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Lorraine being much heated and incensed with the Successes of the Enemy, resolved with some Hungarian and Polish Horse, and some Regiments of Foot, to Attack the Turks in their Camp; but the Seraskier having done his Business by sending Relief and Recruits into the Town, retired under the Cannon of *Alba Regalis*, and there fortified himself so well, having a moorish or fenny Ground before him, that it was impossible to force his Camp, or hinder the Alarums which several Parties detached from the Turkish Army, appearing sometime on the Hills, and then again in fight of the Leaguer, did daily give them, and disturbed much the proceeding of the Mines and other Works.

The Town it self was raised in an advantageous Situation; the Walls were so strong, and filled with Earth, that notwithstanding the many Batteries, they could not make a Breach wide enough for four Men to enter a-braist; nor could it well be expected, that they should be starved or constrained by Famine to make a Surrender, during the short remainder of this Year's Season; for indeed this Governour of the Town, had so well husbanded the Provisions, that there was no scarcity as yet of any thing necessary for Human Sustainance; and besides, the Defendants had some times the fortune to seize certain Boats laden with Provisions, designed for the Christian Camp; for it was not possible wholly to debar them from all Communication with the River: Wherefore there seemed no other way left to win the Town, but by a vigorous Assault, the which also had to much difficulty and hazard in it, that it seemed neither prudent nor reasonable to be lavish of the Lives of Men, in an Attempt to deperate, that there seemed little or no hope of the Success thereof. The Garrison within, notwithstanding their frequent Slaughters consisted of Ten thousand Janissaries and others, all resolute and approved Proofs: On the other side, the Imperial Army was greatly diminished; the Horses for the most part were dead, or unfit for Service for want of Forage; all the Troops were harassed, weak and sickly; the Duke of Lorraine him-

self ill disposed in his Health, and in danger of a Relapse; the best Officers for the most part were either killed or wounded; so that considering all these Matters together, it was not to be expected that the Siege could long continue; besides all which the Rains fell in such extreme abundance, that the Trenches were filled with Water, and all the Mines and Works ruined and destroyed. Howsoever the Bavarians being but lately come, and not so much harassed as the other Soldiers, on the 24th at Night advanced their Post near to the Wall at the Foot of the Castle-ditch. On the same day a Body of Two thousand of the Enemy appeared in fight of the Leaguer; who, tho they retired again without any Action, yet they caused an Alarm in the Camp, and several Troops were drawn out against them, which made a Diversion, and retarded the Proceedings which were advancing against the Town.

The Bavarians being the most active of any, had made a Breach in the Wall near the Castle, which they stormed, and made themselves Masters of a Redoubt or Bulwark on the Wall; but the Turks being very strong on that side, gave them not sufficient time to shelter and ward themselves, but forced them to dislodge with the loss of Three hundred Men.

On the 2d of October a Battery of Sixteen Octobles Pieces of Cannon of Twenty six Pound Bullet, on the side of the Imperialists, had entirely razed and beaten down a little Tower belonging to the Castle, and next day they endeavoured with Four thousand Men to make a descent into the Ditch, and possess the Breach; but the Turks having with great industry and diligence repaired it again with Earth, Faggots and Palisades, defended it with such vigorous Resistance, that they after a most bloody and desperate Fight the Christians were driven thence with the loss of Fifteen hundred Men, amongst which was a Major, and several Captains and Officers belonging to the Bavarian Troops.

Howsoever the Imperialists and Bavarians not being dismayed with all these Losses, continued to advance their Works at the Gate towards the River, and to make their Batteries on the Breach, which as yet, was not wide enough for two Men to pass a-braist; but being a little more opened, the Bavarians formed it for the space of five Hours; and tho they were several times repulsed, yet they lodged themselves on part of the Breach, from whence they discovered a Fort-Royal with four Bastions, which the Turks had built in the middle of the Town, with intent to fly thither for Sanctuary, in case of the last Extremity; but that Hour was not yet come; for the Defendants, anima-

1684. red with their late Successes, made another Sally on the 14th instant with such numbers, that they dislodged the Bavarians from the Breach, drove them out of their Trenches, filled up part of their Works, and killed Two hundred of their Men; to Succour which the Elector coming himself in Person, repulsed the Enemy with a great Slaughter, and caused his Soldiers and Labourers to open their Works again, and repair to their former Stations. The Miners still continued to Labour, but received considerable impediments by Springs of Water, which overflowed their Works.

The Seraskier kept the Christian Camp in a continual Alarm until the Raising of the Siege: And whensoever he came so near as to engage with the Enemy, the Defendants at the same time sallied from the Town, and retired again with different Successes, sometimes with advantage and at other times with loss. On the 24th, a general Alarm was given over all the Camp, that the Seraskier with all his Cavalry, and Eight thousand Janissaries drawn out from *Alba Regalis* and other parts, and Fifteen Pieces of Artillery, was come within two Leagues of the Lines; upon which Report, all the German Cavalry mounted on Horse-back, and drew themselves up into a Posture of Defence; but it proved a false Alarm, and served only to increase the Fatigues and wearisomeness of the Soldierly. As the Spirits of the Besiegers were Drooping and Fainting without, so the many Successes of those within, filled them full of hopes of a speedy delivery; for they had lately taken so many Boats laden with Provisions designed for the Christian Camp, that their wants of necessary Sustainance were supplied. And on the 29th, some Defenders from the Christian Camp discover'd to them several Mines which were preparing against them, by which intimation they opened the Earth, found and disarmed them of their Powder, which was so great a disappointment and discouragement to the Christians, that it was esteemed by the most experienced Commanders almost impossible to gain the Town, in regard the Season of the Year was spent, and the Winter already enter'd.

In Consideration of which, the Duke of Lorraine assembled a Council of War to deliberate concerning the Resolutions, which were to be taken in the present Exigency and Conjunction of Affairs: At which time Prince Erman of Baden, President of the Council of War at Vienna, arrived in the Camp, having been dispatched by the Emperor, with Commission to Command the German Infantry, during the Sickness of the two Counts of Staremberg; and with In-

structions and Orders also to the Duke of Lorraine to raise the Siege, in case there was not a certainty, or at least some probable hopes of reducing the Town in a very short term of time; for that his Imperial Majesty desired not to consume his Forces in a deperate and fruitless Enterprise. The arrival of this Prince was very seasonable at this time, both for the Message he brought, as also for his ability and knowledge in War, being a wise Man and an experienced Officer: In whose Presence matters were again taken into Consideration, and the State of the Town within, and of the Camp without, was laid before the Generals and Field-Officers; some few advised to continue the Siege, until the Success was tried and seen of certain Mines, which were still forming in the Bavarian Quarters: But the greatest part, representing the ill Condition of the Troops, the want of all necessaries in the Camp, the extremity of the Season, and the apparent hazard of a total Destruction to the whole Army, in case of a general Assault, were of Opinion, That the surest way were to raise the Siege in the best order possible, for saving and securing the Army from Salles from the Town, and Attacks by the Seraskier and his Army: But before this Point was concluded, the Duke of Lorraine, the Elector of Bavaria and Prince Erman with several other Chief Officers, took a Survey of all the Lines and Quarters of the Camp, and having considered, that the Defendants were still Ten thousand strong, and well provided with Victuals and Ammunition, and that it was impossible without greater Force to debar them from all Communication with the Danube, from which they received daily Supplies; and that the Mines in which they had placed their greatest hopes, had either been discovered by the Enemy and disarmed, or by the inexperience of the Workmen and Ingenieurs, had taken vent, and reversed without any Execution; It was then concluded, and fully resolved to raise the Siege: A farther Motive whereunto were the Rains which continued to fall without intermission. In the first place therefore, the Winter-quarters were agreed and assigned by the Council, so that the Troops might know, unto what Towns they were to march; then all the Heavy Cannon, Morter-pieces and Bombs were order'd to be carried away and secur'd.

On the 1st of November the Siege was raised, in which the Christians had lost 25,000 Men: And now to bring off the surviving part, and to fortify the Rear against the Salles of the Garrison, and defend the whole Army in their march against the Seraskier, who being well informed of their

1684. their weakness, and loss of numbers, attended their Motion, was an Action wherein to employ the Art and Conduct of the wisest, and most experienced Captain in the World. Wherefore all imaginable care, and caution was used in drawing off; the lighter Cannon and Field-pieces were placed so as to defend the Rear, as also the Flank and Wings; because that most of the Horse being Dead for want of Forage, the Men were forced to walk on Foot, in the Ranks of the Infantry which lay exposed, and naked to the Cavalry of the Enemy. The Imperial and Auxiliary Troops, to the number of 30,000 took their march towards *Graz*. The heavy Artillery and Baggage, with Eight thousand sick and wounded Men, were embarked on several Boats to be carried up the River against the Stream; and such as were most Sick and Weak, were with a small Guard Transported to the Island of *St. Andrews*, which was designed for an Hospital to receive and Cure them: But the *Tartars* entering into the Island, killed above a Hundred of the wounded Men, before they could be removed, and pillaged the Baggage with the Equipage of Colonel *Piccolomini*, and so much as they could not carry away they burnt and destroyed: A like Accident happened to some other Boats laden with the *Bavarian* Troops, which by some accident or other, being by the Winds, or breaking of their Ropes, or Cordage put on Shoar were surprized and taken by the Enemy, which to observe their Motion had lain concealed in the Banks of the *Danube*. Great were the Murmurs and Discontents which arose upon these two unhappy Accidents, occasioned as they talked by the neglect and ill Conduct of the Officers: Nor was the Resolution of abandoning the City of *Pest* less approved, tho' the Fortifications were demolished, the Walls and Gates Blown up, and the most considerable Bulwarks demolished: Howsoever, those who conceived another Opinion, alleged, That the Matters of the Field would be able to maintain that Fortified, in despite of the ill Neighbours on the other side: And that it would be difficult, and a great loss of Men and time to recover that place, whensoever a fairer opportunity presented to renew the Siege of *Buda*: Others of a contrary sense produced opposite Arguments, all People blaming each other, as is usual in sinister events, when matters succeed in an unlucky manner, different to the first conceived hopes.

The Duke of *Lorraine* before he would leave the Army, saw the several Troops disposed in their respective Winter-quarters. The Imperialists were lodged in *Comorra*

and the Parts adjacent, and as many as these places could not contain were sent to *Silefia*, *Moravia* and *Bohemia*. The *Bavarians* advanced into the Counties of *Arva*, *Czepus*, *Lippe*, *Saraz* and other places appointed for them.

The *Scarskier* having information of the several Quarters, and of the Troops which were lodged in them; gathered what Forces he was able, to the number of 18,000 Men, with which passing the River, he Sate down before *Wazia* or *Pualtz*; a place defended by Five hundred Soldiers belonging to the Regiment of *Thann*, and Commanded by the Lieutenant Colonel only: The Fortifications were chiefly the Breasts of the Soldiers, there being only an old Wall in *Vasica* *Attached*. Many places Ruinous, and a few weak Pilladoes unable and unfit for the least Defence. The *Turks* encouraged with these advantages, stormed the place on all sides; the Imperialists repelled their Force with Force, and defended themselves with as much Bravery, as was possible to do, with such unequal numbers: But finding it at length impossible, unless by Miracle, to sustain so mighty a Force, without hopes of Relief; they agreed to Capitulate, and sent Propositions of Surrender: The which being accepted, and the Articles signed, the Gates were opened; with intention that the *Christians* might march out, and leave the Town to the Possession of the Enemy; but instead thereof the *Turks* rushed in, and with their drawn Cymiters killed and massacred all before them: It was then to no purpose to call out, and revile them with the breach of Faith and violation of Articles, having the *Scarskier's* Commands not to observe them, or lend an Ear; nor did it much avail to use resistance, the Enemy being already in the midst of them; all that could be done, was to sell their Lives at the dearest rate. In fine, This Tragedy ended with the Slaughter and Butchery of this whole Party, which was much lamented at the Court of *Vienna*, as a loss of the highest concernment, that Regiment consisting of old experienced and veteran Soldiers, Men of approved Valour, and long inured to Labour and Sufferings: This Misfortune also was become the common Discourse of the Army, blaming the Officers for assigning Quarters at so far distance from other Succours, which was to sacrifice the Lives of so many brave Men, without any regard to the Fury of the Enemy; and if *Pest* which was a Walled and well Fortified Town, and capable of making Resistance was to be Demolished and Disinanted only, because it was esteemed too far distant from Succours and Relief; how much rather should *Vualtz*, or *Pualtz* have been judged an

1684. an improper and dangerous Quarter, which was but an open Town without other defence, than the naked Breasts of the poor Soldiery:

Thus ended this Campagne unluckily in respect to the Siege of *Buda*, and the Successes which followed, tho' in other Parts Fortune smiled on the Christian Arms; for General *Schultz* took *Barsfeldt*, Situated on the Frontiers of *Poland*, after a Siege of three Days, tho' it be a place encompassed with a deep Ditch full of Water, and good Walls, and Fortified with Towers, Redoubts and Ramparts. The Garrison consisted of Four hundred Men belonging to *Tekels*, of which Three hundred after the Surrender took up Arms for the Emperor, and One hundred which refused, were Conveyed as far as *Ragowitz*. Likewise General *Schultz* took the Castle of *Stropho* belonging to the Malecontents, by Surrender upon Composition; therein were Eleven Brass Guns, with Ammunition and Provisions for War: He took also the Castle of *Makowitz*. Count *Zober*, who commanded the *Hungarian* Troops at *Neutra*, Surprized the Castle at *Saram*, whilst the greatest part of the Garrison was gone out to seek for Forage. But these small advantages made but a poor amends for greater losses; the sense whereof served to move Anger, and desire of Revenge in the generous Breasts of the Soldiery, and to quicken the Imperial Councils to make Preparations against the next Campagne: And in regard *Newhaufel* was in the first place aimed at, as a Prize for the ensuing Year, General *Heyler* was Ordered to enlarge his Quarters in all parts round the City, that so keeping it continually Blocked up, the Conquest thereof might be rendered much more easy, at that time, when the Season of the Year should make it convenient for an Army to make a nearer approach.

But before we conclude the Successes of this Year, we must not omit and pass by the Actions of the King of *Poland*, of whom we have Wrote, and declared such Heroick and generous Enterprises, and Achievements in the Relation of the last Year's Wars: For being one of the Allies of the Empire, we are not to be silent of him; but give him a place in this History, as well, as we have already done unto our Confederates the *Venetians*: Tho' we shall not need to be very Prolix in our Relations of his great Prowess and Deeds, which fell very flat, and in no manner agreeable to his first beginnings.

The King of *Poland* enter'd not the Field this Year until the middle of *August*, when on the 22d. of that Month, he took a Review of his Army near unto *Budack*; and

the next Day he Detached a considerable Party to Invest *Jaslowitz*, a Town about two Leagues distant from the Camp; and towards the Evening marched thither in Person with the rest of his Army. The next Day Summons were sent to the Town commanding them to Surrender; To which the Governour made this reply, That the Town was committed to him by the Grand Seigneur, and accordingly he would defend the same unto the last Extremity: Hereupon Batteries were raised, and the Cannon having play'd upon the Town for the space of two or three Days, the Defendants thought fit to Capitulate; and Hostages being given, the Town was Surrender'd on the 26th, when the Garrison, to the number of Five hundred Men, march'd out with their Arms and Colours Flying. After this the King march'd to *Swanice*, Situate on the *Nieffer*, over which having made a Bridge, he pass'd his Army; but having received intelligence, that 30,000 *Tartars* had made their way into *Poland*, he return'd again back to the other side. And tho' the *Tartars* are a sort of People, who stay not long in a place, but are in continual Motion; yet the King had the good Fortune to meet with a Party of them, and Cut Four hundred of them in pieces; the rest not being willing, as is their Custom to adventure on a Battle, return'd into their own Country, as did also the King of *Poland* into his Winter-quarters, the Season of the Summer being already spent.

At the Actions and Successes this Year of the Poles, the *Turks* at *Constantinople* made an open Scorn and Laughter; (and indeed their slothfulness in doing nothing deserved no better) and made it their common talk and discourse, That the *French* King, who was their only Friend amongst the Christian Princes, had with his Money and Presents blunted the Sword of *Poland*, and laid all the Spirits of that Kingdom into a Sleep; and that the young Prince, the eldest Son was Enchanted, and led away Captive by a *French* Lady: So that the *Turks* seem'd to apprehend nothing of danger from *Poland*; against which they made no Preparations for the ensuing Year, making it the common Subject of their political Reasonings, and giving it, as it were for granted, That the *Poles*, *Turks* and *Tartars* had for some time entertain'd a friendly understanding between each other.

The *Turks* always made slight of the *Venetians*, as of an Enemy whom they could at all times, and at their pleasure crush and suppress; they regarded little, what they had done this Year at *St. Maurice*, or in the *Morea*, or *Dalmatia*; the *Venetians* having

The *Tartars* take the Island of *St. Andrews*.

Ill Success after raising the Siege.

Winter-quarters assigned.

Barsfeldt taken.

2d. Stropho. ho.

The King of Poland's Actions this year.

1684.

Just-wind taken.

A party of *Tartars* defeated.

The *Turks* scorn of the *Poles*.

And of the *Venetians*.

1681. having been more beholding for those Successes to the *Albanians*, and others of the Grand Seigneur's Subjects, who revolted to them, than to the Power and Conduct of their own Arms; and whensoever Fortune shall but a little change her Hand, they doubt not but to recover their Losses from the *Venetians*, without much Blood, or perhaps but with asking for them. And indeed (if it be well considered) the *Venetians*, have trifled much in their Proceedings, amusing themselves, and the World, in taking small and inconsiderable Places, in comparison of greater Enterprizes, and with dislodging some Nests of Pyrates, when as they might have a stroke at the very Heart of the *Ottoman Empire*, by entering the *Dardanelli* with a Fleet, against which the *Turks* were not capable to make any Resistance, with less Force than that which was used in taking *Santa Maura* and *Preveza*; the *Venetians* improving the Advantage of the present Fear and Conternation of the *Turks*, might have made themselves Masters of the Castles on the *Hellipont*, and failed to *Constantinople* it self, and destroyed or burnt it without any considerable Opposition. They might with this Opportunity have destroyed the whole *Turkish* Fleet of Gallies, which would have made them Masters of all the Islands in the *Archipelago*, the yearly Tribute of which is very considerable. They might in all probability have taken twenty Sail of Ships coming from *Alexandria*, with *Janisaries* and Merchandize to a considerable Value; which whilst the *Venetians* were peddling about *Santa Maura*, arrived at *Constantinople* to the great Joy and Encouragement of that City.

The Patha of Candia put to Death.

About this time the Patha of Candia's Head was brought to *Adrianople*, and exposed before the Gate of the *Divan*; all his Treasure, which was considerable, according to the Custom of the *Turks*, was confiscated to the Grand Seigneur; he was a bad Man, and unmerciful to all forts and Sects of People; he had strangled the Metropolitan or Bishop of *Candia*, and miserably tyrannized over the poor *Christians* there; and yet for all that, the Crime alleged against him was, That he was too indulgent to the *Christians*; that he had sold them Corn, and held a good Correspondence with the *Venetians*. The Patha of *Damascus* called *Ibrahim Pasha*, incurred the like Fate; he had been *Janisar-Aga*, and one of the greatest Men in the Empire; but his Enemies taking advantage of his absence from the Court, upon bare Suggestions, without fairer process, took away his Life.

ANNO 1685.

Before we enter upon the Martial Affairs of this ensuing Year, let us take a short View of the State of things in Christendom, and in *Turky*, and the Preparations that were making on both sides for carrying on a more bloody War (if it can be possible) than that of the preceding Years. The Eyes of all Christendom, and I may say, of the World too, were at a gaze to behold the Successes of this important War; and yet *Europe* for the most part was either engaged actually in War, or at least in Fears and Jealousies one with another. The Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain* were at Variance concerning the Confines and Dependencies, and the Incroachments which the *French King* made on the *Rhine*; and Motions in the Minds of such Fears and Jealousies in the Minds of the *German Princes*, that they withheld much of that Force, which they designed as Auxiliaries to be employed in Service of the Empire, which was then the common Cause and Interest of all Christendom. Howsoever, the generous Elector of *Bavaria*, a valiant and active Prince, who had in the two last Campaigns improved his youthful Years with the Exercises of War and Military Discipline, was resolved to employ his own Person, Armies and Fortune in prosecution of this Religious War against the Enemy of Christendom. The Affections he had to the Welfare of the Imperial Hereditary Countries, and of all *Germany* were elevated and rendered more zealous and warm by the Love he professed to the Arch-Duchess *Maria Antonia*, eldest Daughter of the Emperor, a Princess of great Vertues, whom he afterwards espoused, and with her all the Interest of the House of *Austria* in so zealous a manner, that he seemed to have contracted the same Desires and Passions with the Emperor himself.

The State of Christendom.

The Elector of Bavaria declares with the Emperor's Daughters.

Thó the last two Years Wars had consumed both Men and Money, yet had not the Emperor's Coffers been exhausted, the warlike People of *Germany* would not have wanted Soldiers to fight in defence of their Country, nor the respective Princes readiness to compleat and recruit their Troops beyond the numbers, that, during this War, had appeared in *Hungary*. The Pope Innocent XI. had already contributed in so liberal a manner, that his Treasury was sunk to a low Ebb, and could not furnish such large Sums as formerly. The Arch-Bishop of *Strigoniun*, Primate of *Hungary*, an opulent Prelate, who had made large Contributions, died about this time, aged Ninety three Years; he had also supplied the Imperial

The Emperor's want of Money.

1685. perial Army with vast quantities of Corn out of his own Granaries, which gave a seasonable Relief to the Soldiers before *Buda*, who were ready to famish in their Trenches for want of Provisions.

Treaties with the Princes of the Empire.

But to promote the common Cause, Consultations and Treaties were assiduously and warmly held at the Diet at *Ratisbone*, by the Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries from the Emperor, and by the Agents sent from the Duke of *Bavaria* to the Imperial Electors, and by the Convention of the Circles held at *Norimburg*. Moreover, the Emperor dispatched the Count de *Thaun*, and the Baron of *Meyerstein* for his Envoys extraordinary, to represent unto all the Courts and Princes of *Germany* the pressing exigency of Affairs, which did not only concern the Emperor and his Hereditary Countries, but did involve likewise the common Interest, Welfare and Safety of the whole Empire, and all Christendom. These Matters being well inculcated, and circular Letters wrote, and dispatched to the Cities of *Saltzburg*, *Paffau*, *Ausburg*, *Cologne*, *Ratisbone*, *Norimburg*, *Ulm* and *Frankfurt*, desiring their Assistance with Men and Money, with the use of their great Cannon for Service of the Army; in Compensation for which, the like weight of Metal was offered, with so much Money as should pay the Charge of new Casting the Guns, in regard that in the two last Years of War, most of the Emperor's Artillery had been consumed, and the Touch-holes widened and blown, and to New-cast the Metal again, there was not time sufficient before the Commencement of the following Campaign.

Auxiliaries of the Emperor.

These Matters were so well represented and negotiated in the Courts and Councils of the respective Princes, that nothing almost was denied which was demanded. The House of *Branswick* and *Lunenburgh* furnished an Army of Ten thousand fighting Men, all select and veterane Soldiers, under the Command of experienced Generals and Officers; and what was of high Importance, they were so early dispatched, that they arrived at the Camp about the beginning of the Campaign. The Duke of *Saxony* was not less forward with his Army, which, tho inferior in number, were yet well-disciplined Soldiers, and conducted by Officers of approved Valour and Experience. The Arch-Bishop of *Saltzburg* sent unto the Emperor a Hundred thousand Rix-dollars in lieu of his Quota, and of the Troops which he was obliged to send. The Elector of *Brandenburg* had promised to send an Army of 12,000 Men into *Hungary*, with a considerable Train of Artillery, and to march with them in Person; but the

Appearance of Troops from *France* on the *Rhine*, and in the Dukedoms of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, the Numbers of which full increasing, gave such an Alarm to that Prince and his Neighbours of the Circle, that a stop was given to the Proceedings of his and their Forces; and a supply only sent of Men and Money according to the Quota in such cases agreed, and established by the ancient Constitutions of the Empire: Notwithstanding which, the Emperor's Forces in *Hungary*, contrary to the expectation of all *Europe*, much exceeded the general Calculation, and composed a better Army, than had during this War appeared on the Plains of *Hungary*. The Pope was not less solicitous than the other Princes in this Christian Cause; towards the Advancement and Maintenance of which, as he had formerly done, so also this Year he sent supplies of Money from *Rome* to *Vienna*, and granted unto the Emperor a full third of the annual Revenues of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices within his Hereditary Dominions; to exact and raise which, Cardinal *Borjisi*, Apostolical Nuncio, and the Bishop of *Newstadt*, were fully authorized and empowered by the Pope, with Instructions to Erect a particular Office, wherein it was Registered how much was paid, and how the same was particularly employed and expended for the sole Use and Advancement of this War.

The Pope gives Assistance to France.

Nor were the *Turks* less solicitous and active on their side, in their Preparations for the War, which they still resolved to continue on their defensive part; under which Notion, neither the Grand Seigneur nor Vizier *Azem* were obliged to go in Person. *Shitan Ibrahim Pasha*, late Governour in *Buda*, during the Siege, (of whom we have already given a Character) was appointed *Seraskier*, or General of the Army. And tho the Grand Seigneur minded nothing so much as his Sport of Hunting, to which he was so immoderately addicted, that he was scarce persuaded to omit and decline it upon Fridays, and spent two whole Months entirely in it, within the Countries between *Adrianople* and *Constantinople*; yet the Grand Vizier, who was esteemed one of the wisest and most experienced Ministers that ever had been in that Place, closely attended and followed the main Concernment, both for raising Money, and levying Soldiers. As to the first, The Grand Seigneur's Treasury had already this Year been twice opened, and at each time, the Value of Four hundred thousand Pounds Sterling had been taken out of it, all which came far short of the necessary Provisions which the War required.

The Turks prepare for War.

The Naval Forces were very inconsiderable; consisting only of some few poor Gallies.

1685. lies, commanded by the *Maisp* or Favourite to the Grand Seigneur, a Person of no great natural Talent of Understanding, and of no Experience in Maritime Affairs; nor were the ten Men of War, which they had for the two Years past been labouring to Equip, in any Posture or Condition to make Sail this Summer; so ignorant and averse are the *Turks* to all Matters, which belong unto the Seas, and so unable for any Naval Fight, that it seems a Complement or Compensation in the *Venetians*, not to have destroyed them long before. This *Maisp* or Favourite, who was Captain *Palha* or Admiral of the Seas, had for a long time enjoyed the Air of his Master's Favour; his Privilege was to be clothed in the same Habit with the Sultan, to Ride always on his Right-hand, to Converse intimately with him, and sometimes to sit and Eat with him; and yet I never heard, that he was ever esteemed for a Man of extraordinary Shapes or Beauty, or to have had any great Talent of Wisdom or Prudence: And therefore if Enquiry should be made on this Occasion in to the Reasons, Why Princes elect such and such for their Favourites, no true Cause in my Opinion can be assigned, unless finding in that Person, of whom they make choice for their Companion, a certain Harmony of Affections and Humour, they love him by Sympathy, and adore their own Image in him, without which, all other Qualities would be mean and contemptible.

But to return to the Vizier, his greatest Study and Application was to make Levies by Land, both in *Europe* and *Asia*: Commands were dispatched to that Purpose to *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, *Diarbiquier* and *Gran Cairo*, the remotest parts of the Empire; but those being Countries ill Peopled, Levies were made with much difficulty; and such as were constrained to go by reason of the far distance from the Rendezvous, came late; many sickned in the March, and some ran away and deserted; and diverse of the *European* Troops, which had been harassed the last Year, retired into the Mountains, where they passed the whole Summer; and in the Winter came out from thence, and returned home, where they told Stories, as if they had been engaged in all the Sieges and Battles, which had happened that Year. The Grand Vizier finding the numbers allotted to be raised, to fall much short of the Quota, and of a reasonable Calculation, attributed the Default thereof to the negligence of the Musselins or Deputy-Governours to the *Palhas*, for which some of them were punished with Death; and others being affrighted, hereby used all the Tyranny and Force imaginable to compel the poor People

unto the Wars; to which many of them going, with much unwillingness, stole aside, and never came so far as the Camp. However, it was impossible, but that, out of so vast a Tract of Ground, as is the *Ottoman* Empire, consisting of many Kingdoms and Principalities, there must be some out of every part, who having Courage enough to sacrifice their Lives for their Religion and Country, came in, and united themselves with the Camp; and these, tho' inferior to the numbers designed and expected, yet composed an Army very formidable, and such as was able to bid defiance to the Forces of *Germany*. Howsoever the *Turks* did not think fit to trust so much to their Arms; but that they would first assay and try, if it were possible, to put an end to the War by a fair Accommodation: The Person appointed to manage this Treaty, was *Shitan Ibrahim*, as yet Vizier of *Buda*, a Person (as we have before-mentioned) of refined Parts, and good Address, and a Courtier fitted for such a Negotiation. In pursuance of this Design, this Vizier wrote Letters of Complement to the chief Ministers of State at *Vienna*, acquainting them of the Grand Seigneur's Inclinations to a Peace. And tho' it had never been the Custom of the *Sultans* to be the first Promoters of Peace, or to ask it before it was offered or begged; yet such was the Clemency and Compassion of this Emperor, and his desire to stop the Effusion of Human Blood, that contrary to the Dignity of his Sublime Station, raised above the Throne of earthly Kings, he would now condescend so low, as to be the first who should make this Religious Motion; in order unto which, he desired, that a Pass-port should be sent him for a *Chiaus*, who was an *Armenian* by Nation, and (as I think) by Religion a *Christian*, freely to pass and repass, and to carry the Proposals, and to Treat thereupon: The Pass-port was accordingly sent, and the *Armenian* conducted to *Comorra*, where, being taken rather for a Spy than an Ambassador, he was so closely confined and guarded, that he complained of his Restraint to be contrary to the Laws of War and Nations; at length he was guarded to *Vienna*, where he was detained under Custody, with as jealous and watchful an Eye, as when he was at *Comorra*: Howsoever, the reception of this *Chiaus* became the Subject of much Discourse and Talk in the City, and gave occasion to the World to censure, as if the Emperor had designed to make a Peace under-hand, without the Privy and Concurrence of the Allies. The Audience of this *Chiaus* was deferred for some time, until it was promoted and hastened by the Envoy from the Prince of *Transylvania*, then residing at that

1685. that Court, and by him at length conducted to the presence of the President of the Council, to whom he delivered the Proposals and Articles of Peace: The which after mature Examination, seemed to be projected with such Sagacity and Subtlety, without *insincere* and open Terms, that they were generally concluded to be *Fallacious*, and not to be Grounds for a faithful and lasting Peace: And so in fine, the *Armenian* was dipped back with this Answer only, That the Emperor could not conclude a Peace without the Concurrence of the King of *Poland*, and the State of *Venice*, the true Allies and Confederates with the Emperor; by which Answer, the Minister from *Apafi* Prince of *Transylvania* being assured of the Emperor's Resolutions to continue the War, changed the Tenure of his former Memorials, and in his Master's Name, proposed that he might remain in a Condition of Neutrality, thinking it more secure to remain as a Friend to both sides, rather than by adhering to one, to rise or fall according to the dubious fortune of War.

But if we look into the Winter-quarters before we Treat of the Feats of War, which were Actions most fit for the Summer Season; we shall find the *Imperialists* and *Bavarians* so miserably in want of all Provisions, and of things necessary for the subsistence of Human Life: That one would wonder, how it were possible for these Men to be so soon recovered, and made fit for new Services and Fatigues. For such was the Famine in the Lower *Hungary*, that the Inhabitants were forced to Abandon their Dwellings, and Fly for Bread into the Town of *Buda*; where they were entertained for Day-labourers to Repair the Fortifications, with the Wages of eight pence a Day, two pounds weight of Bread, and a pint of Wine. In the Emperor's Country, a Bushel of Wheat, which in the times of Peace, was worth no more than ten Groats, was now advanced in price to Eighteen shillings. In *Preshburg* the Streets were covered with famished and dying People; the Soldiers were either Dead or Languishing, or had deserted their Colours: A Pestilence, as is natural, followed the Famine, and Cattle died of the Murrain. The *Island* *Schultz*, which used to be the Granary of the Upper *Hungary*, was now in a starving condition, and the Inhabitants forced to Eat Roots and the Bark of Trees: This Misery and Desolation extended even to *Vienna* it self, where in the Garden of the Archbishop, two Women were seen to Eat the Raw-flesh of a Horse lately Dead. But for a remedy to this Epidemical Calamity, the Emperor; who is the Common Father of his People, caused great quantities

of Corn to be brought from all the Neighbouring Countries round about; but the Ways were so broken by the great Rains and Marching of Armies, and heavy Carriages, that the People were brought to the last extremity before the supplies arrived. Notwithstanding this great want of Provisions, even to a Famine, and the Snows and Rains, which fell in abundance, with Cold Weather of the Winter; General *Schultz* with a Body of Four thousand *German* Horse and Dragoons, and some Companies of *Hussars*, maintained a Blockade round *Newbasel*. To Relieve which, Count *Tekeli*, and the *Palha* of *Agria* were particularly engaged with the Commission. *Tekeli* had 6000 Men which he had drawn from the Frontier Garrison, and the *Palha* had Four thousand, which were all his own Troops. General *Schultz* being informed of their motion fell upon them with such bravery, that he put them to a total Rout, without much loss or fighting, and took most of their Provisions and Baggage, which were designed for the Relief of that place. Howsoever, *Tekeli* made a second adventure for the Succour of *Newbasel*, and with a Party of Three thousand Horse, he made way for a Convoy of Three hundred Carts, laden with all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions, with as many Horse, each carrying a Sack of Meal to enter into the Town: In the strength and encouragement of which, the Garrison made Incursions at four and five Leagues distance, Plundering and Destroying all before them, which caused the poor Inhabitants to abandon their Dwellings, and seek for Succour and Refuge in fortified places. Not long afterwards a second Convoy brought Two thousand Sacks more of Meal into the Town, which with the former were good Preparations against a Siege; but to prevent the like for the future, Count *Palfi*, who commanded the *Hungarian* Troops, was ordered to joyn with Colonel *Hessler*, who having but Two or Three thousand Men, was so unable to guard the Avenues to *Newbasel*, that the Blockade seemed of no importance: But *Hessler* being thus considerably reinforced, he defeated a third Convoy which the *Turks* were sending to the Town, consisting of Eighty Waggons, which carried Ammunitions and Provisions, and Sixty more of Timber for Building and Repair of the Fortifications. A fourth attempt was again made to carry Succours into *Newbasel*, of which General *Schultz* having intelligence, he lay in the way and intercepted them, killing Three hundred of the Enemy upon the place, and putting the rest to Flight. *Tekeli* having notice of this Defeat, pursued after *Schultz* with a Reinforce-

1685. forcement of some *Turks*, and having overtaken him in the Mountains between *Somlat* and *Rozennau*, he Charged him with such Success, that he killed Nine hundred of his Men, and took Four hundred Prisoners with all their Baggage. Afterwards meeting with a Regiment of *Bavarians* in their Winter-quarters at *Neudorf*, he entirely defeated them, and to returned to *Newhaufel*, which he again Relieved with another Convoy.

The Spring coming forward with the time for Action; the Emperor's Council calling to mind the Mischiefs of the last Year, caused for the most part by extreme Famine, and want of necessary Provisions for the Soldiery, all possible care was taken to prevent the same for the succeeding Year; and such quantities of Corn from the more remote parts of *Germany*, and from *Poland* it self, which is a Country abounding with Wheat, and all sorts of Grain, were brought and laid up in Magazines, as were judged sufficient to sustain the Army for the whole Year without such wants, under which it lately labour'd.

All the remaining part of this Winter was spent about *Esperies*, or intercepting Convoys designed to *Newhaufel*. *Esperies* is a Town of *Hungary* in the County of *Sarax* very well fortified, Situate upon the River of *Tarbez* towards the Mountains, and on the Frontiers of *Poland*; it hath always belonged to the Emperor as King of *Hungary*, until such time as in the Year 1678, it fell into the Hands of *Tekeli*, from whom it was recover'd by force of the Imperial Arms in the Year 1685. Howsoever, at the beginning thereof, the attempt of General *Schultz* was fruitless, and of evil consequence; for laying Siege to it in the Winter, the Cold and extreme Weather, and want of all things necessary, enforced him to Rise again with the loss of Five hundred Soldiery killed and wounded, with several Captains and other Officers, who were all slain by the many brisk and desperate Salles which the Defenciant made from the Town: And being upon his Retreat, *Tekeli* in person Charged him in the Rear at the Head of his own Men with such Success, that he defeated the whole Party, and *Schultz* with much difficulty saved his Cannon.

Towards the end of *February* Five hundred *Janifaries*, and Three hundred *Spahes* belonging to *Newhaufel*, possessed themselves of the Fortreſs of *Gutta*, after a Fight of nine Hours; the Garrison consisted only of One hundred and fifty *Hussars*, under the command of a Lieutenant, who with two Soldiery only escaped to *Comorra*, all the rest being put to the Sword. This Town

is Situate on the River *Waagh*; it was Built during the late Wars in a Moorish or Fenny place, between the *Danube*, the *Waagh* and *Swartz*; it is but a Mile from *Newhaufel*, and may be seen from the Top of the Steeple of the great Church. The *Turks* having made themselves Masters of *Gutta*, were carrying away the Plunder with two pieces of Cannon to *Newhaufel*. Two thousand *Spahes*, and Six hundred *Janifaries* were giving Convoy unto Sixty Waggon's laden with Ammunition for the same place, when Colonel *Heusler* with several Detachments from *Comorra*, *Papa*, *Velprin* and *Leventz*, endeavour'd to obstruct their Passage by Ambuscades which he had laid in their way: Of which the *Turks* having had notice, they alter'd their Course, and endeavour'd to fortify themselves in some advantageous Ground; but *Heusler* joining with Count *Zabor*, allowed them not time to secure themselves, but attacked them near *Weitzen* with such Bravery, that he put them all to Flight, and seized on their Waggon's, with the Provisions in them, which he burnt, because he knew not in what manner to carry them off safe: He afterwards took *Weitzen*, and put all the Garrison to the Sword; which having done, he received information that a *Palha* with Five hundred *Janifaries* appointed for Convoy to Five hundred Waggon's, drawn by Five Oxen a piece, were retir'd within a little Fortreſs not far distant, where they concealed themselves until the Enemy was retired; he immediately went and invested the place, where he killed the greatest part of the *Janifaries*, took the *Palha* with many Prisoners, and all the Waggon's, which he carried to *Leventz*.

About the same time the Marquis *Doria*, and the Baron of *Soyes* having passed the *Tibisius* with a strong Detachment of *Bavarian* Troops, and a Hundred Horse belonging to the Regiment of *Caraffa*, defeated a Party of Five hundred Horse belonging to the Malecontents, killed Four hundred of them, took twenty Prisoners with eight Colours, and a considerable Booty. But General *Schultz* was not so successful in his Attempt upon *Ungwar*, being forced to Retire from thence with considerable loss.

The Successes of General *Heusler* much troubled the Thoughts of the Vizier of *Buda*, and the Seraskier, in what manner to defend themselves against the Complaints which *Tekeli* and the *Palha* of *Novigrade* had made against them to the Grand Seigneur: To prevent which, and stop these insinuations from receiving credit, they caused the *Palha* of *Novigrade* to be Strangled, with the *Palha* of *Bria*, after which they

1685. they dispatch'd two *Agas* to the Port with all expedition to be before-hand with their Complaints against *Tekeli*, and the *Palhas*, representing that they had put the two *Palhas* to Death for their Cowardice and evil Conduct, with some Reflections upon *Tekeli*, as if he entertain'd a secret Correspondence with the *Christians*. The Grand Seigneur and Grand Vizier, being prepossessed with these first advices, applauded the care and justice of the Vizier of *Buda*, and Seraskier, advising them to be careful in the choice of such Men, who were to succeed them in those Offices of Trust.

Notwithstanding the advantage which *Tekeli* had gained over General *Schultz* before *Esperies*, and given it some Relief; yet the Town labour'd under great want of necessary Provisions, to supply which *Tekeli* sent a strong Convoy to support the place with Grain, Fleish, Pulse and all things required for a Siege: But *Schultz* recovering his Forces, and animated with desire of Revenge, watch'd his opportunity to fall on the Convoy, which he charged with such Vigour and Bravery, that he killed Three hundred on the place, took all their Carriages, with great quantities *Tokay* Wine.

Thus did all matters proceed with various Successes on both sides; the Imperialists having it in their intentions, to open the Campaign with the taking of *Newhaufel*, made a Preparation thereunto by cutting off all Convoys, and Succours which were design'd for it's Relief: The *Turks* labour'd to support it, and lost many Men this Winter in the Enterprize; and more particularly remarkable was that Defeat which Colonel *Heusler* (after having destroyed all the Country to the Gates of *Newhaufel*) gave unto a Party of Five hundred *Spahes* and Three hundred *Janifaries*, assembled in the Neighbouring Villages, to give Convoy to great numbers of Waggon's laden with Provisions for supply of the Garrison: The Fight was very warm, and doubtful for some time; but the *Spahes* at length turning their Backs, left the *Janifaries* exposed, who still maintained their ground under the shelter of the Trenches, which they had hastily cast up, and the Covert of their Waggon's with which they had encompassed themselves: But being at length overwhelmed with numbers, they were entirely overthrown, Two hundred of their Men were killed with an *Agas*, and about Forty Prisoners taken, with all their Waggon's to the number of Forty, laden with Provisions: To complete this Victory, the Imperialists lost not above ten Men, and freed above Fifty *Christians* out of Slavery; and of all this Detachment not above Two hundred Re-enter'd the Garrison, the remainder be-

ing either disperſed, or else had made their Escape to *Novigrade*.

The Great Vizier being informed of these Successes, and thereby made apprehensive of the danger of losing *Newhaufel*, resolv'd to bend the main Force of the *Ottoman* Empire against *Hungary*. The War on the Frontiers of *Poland* seem'd not so formidable, as to need much Aid; the *Tartars*, who in times past were considered as Free-booters, and like Locusts and Caterpillars, fit only for Rapin and Spoil, and to lay a Country Desolate, were not ranked in the number of Martial and Well-disciplin'd Troops, and esteem'd a match sufficient for that Warlike Kingdom of *Poland*. The *Tartars*, who availed themselves much on this late Opinion, which the World had conceived of them, began to stand on their Terms with the *Polish* and *Ottoman* Courts: The first offer'd them considerable rewards to accept of a Neutrality; and the latter fearing lest this Mercenary People should fall from their dependance on the Port, overcame their Minds with greater Sums, than what had been offer'd by *Poland*, together with a Concession of all the *Ukrain*, to which the Grand Seigneur would resign his Title unto them, and annex it to their Dominions, provided they would recover it again by force of their own Arms. The Proposals of the *Sultan* being accompanied with a certain Harmony of Affection and Religion, which is between the *Turks* and this People, were more charming than the faint Offers from *Poland*, and fixed them in their Resolution to Live and Die, Stand and Fall with the *Ottoman* Interest.

The Season of the Year being now well advanced, and the Weather become mild and fit for Action; the Imperial Troops from the Hereditary Countries, with the Auxiliaries and Bands of Volunteers, composed of divers Nations, began to descend from *Moravia*, and with their Officers to march towards the place of General Rendezvous, appointed in the Plains between *Newhaufel* and *Barkan*, being esteem'd the most convenient Situation for Achieving any Enterprize, according to the Resolutions of a Council of War. The Imperial Army consisted of Twenty-four or Twenty-five thousand Men, but the Auxiliaries were above double the number: The House of *Brunswick* furnished 10,000 Fighting Men, Commanded by Prince *George William*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Hanover*, who march'd in the Head of them. General *Chauver* commanded the Troops of the Prince of *Zell*. The Elector of *Cologne* sent Six thousand effective Men, and the City Six hundred, composed in all of Forty-five Companies of Foot, Twelve of Horse and

A Convoy sent to Relieve Esperies.

Another Convoy destroyed.

Success of Colonel Heusler.

A party of Malecontents defeated.

1685.

The Turks fight the Tartars.

The Poles and Tartars fight.

The place of General Rendezvous.

Gutta taken.

1685. Ten of Dragoons: All the other Electors and Princes of the Circle complied with their *Quotas* according to Agreement. Commanded by Officers of Experience and Bravery. The Archbishop of *Salzburg* over and above the Money already mentioned, contributed to this Summers expedition, a considerable Train of heavy Cannon: So that the *Quotas* of the Empire according to the true Calculation, amounted unto Forty thousand Men, besides 16,000 *Bavarians*, all veterans and experienced Soldiers, which were added as Recruits to the other Forces, already employed in the War of the last Year. Count *Rabata* was appointed Commissary General for raising and amassing Provisions wherewith to supply the Army; and for the more effectual performance thereof, it was recommended as a particular Charge to every Circle, to furnish their Men respectively, with a sufficiency of Victuals for the Campaign; by which means there was an abundance of all things in the Camp, and the Army freed of the misery of Famine attended with Pestilence; which two evils ruined all the designs of the last Year.

Care taken
to supply
the Army
with Pro-
visions.

About the beginning of May General *Palfi* was order'd to march into *Hungary*, and join with Colonel *Heusler* at the Blockade of *Newhaufel*; which they to freighted, that the *Pasha* Governour of that place, turn'd out all useless Persons, out of the Town, who were not capable to bear Arms, and so many of the *Christian* Slaves, as served only to consume and lessen the Provisions, and not defend the Town: By these Persons the Commanders received information, that the Garrison consisted only of Two or Three thousand *Janisaries*, of which a great number was Sick and Infirm.

The better to reinforce the Blockade, and freighten the place in such manner, that it might receive no Relief either of Men or Victuals, three thousand Horses, and as many Foot were sent to join with *Heusler* and *Palfi*, and with them many Carts and Waggon laden with all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions, by which there was no want of any thing necessary for the comfort, and encouragement of the Soldiery, that to with the more Strength and Vigour they might be ready to oppose a strong Party which was preparing at *Pest*, to Convey Eight hundred Carts with Victuals, and to make way for them into the Town by Force of Arms.

At this time that *Palfi* and *Heusler* were employed in Blocking up *Newhaufel*, General *Lelly* departed from *Vienna* to *Graz*, from whence he drew his Forces into the Field in order to march into *Croatia*, where he was to Command this Year, with a Rein-

forcement of Seven thousand Men more than he had the last.

General *Schultz*, who had newly distributed a Hundred thousand Florins amongst his Soldiers, finding them Courageous and in good Heart, was resolv'd to begin the Campaign with the notable Exploit of laying Siege to *Ungwar*, a small, but the Capital City of the County of *Ung*, in which *Tekeli* had placed a strong Garrison. So soon as he invested it, he took a Redoubt, and began to make his Approaches, and raise his Batteries, and throw Bombs into the Town; and having by his Cannon opened a sufficient Breach in the Walls, he Stormed it, and with great slaughter and loss of Men, he entered and took the Town; and without giving the Enemy farther respite, he Invested the Castle, and lodged his Soldiers in the Ditch, where in the space of three Days he lost Three hundred Men, besides Twenty Officers killed and wounded. Upon this News, the Male-contents, with a great Body, came to relieve the Place; but General *Schultz* bravely encountered them, gave them a Repulse, and took three of their Standards, and returning with this Success back to the Siege, he was ready to give Fire unto a Mine, when News came that *Tekeli* having joyned himself to a strong Body of *Tartars*, was marching against him, he raised the Siege with so much Hast and Preceded the Siege with so much Hast and Precipitation, that he was constrained to leave the greatest part of his Artillery behind him, after he had lost Nine hundred Men, who were killed, and Two hundred wounded; amongst which was Count *Strafsfeld*, who was shot through the Arm with a Musquet-bullet, and Baron *Arti* his Lieutenant Colonel, was wounded likewise.

It was now the beginning of June, when the Duke of *Lorraine*, appointed General of the Imperial and Confederate Forces, with absolute Power and Authority from the Emperor, came to the Army, which was encamped near unto *Gran*, where a Council of War was held, and therein diversely debated, whether they should begin this Campaign with the Siege of *Novigrade*, which would interrupt all Communication between *Buda* and *Newhaufel*; or return again to *Buda*, where the Fortifications were not as yet fully repaired, nor the Inhabitants totally freed from the dread and fear of their late Danger; but upon farther examination of this Matter, it was made to appear, that *Buda* was in a much better Condition than it was before the Siege; for that the Fortifications were all finished, and made better and stronger than they were formerly; that the new Governour had demolished all the Houses, which had been ruined and defaced by the Bombs, and totally destroyed the Suburbs;

1685.

Ungwar
taken.

Schultz
forced to leave
the Town.

June.

1685. burbs; that the Garrison consisted of Ten thousand Men, all stout and brave Soldiers; that the *Seraskier*, with the like number of Men, had encamped between *Buda* and *Alba Regalis*, and 12,000 more had passed the Bridge to join with a Body of Ten thousand *Thurs*, so that impossible in a manner it was to lay a Siege, which was daily in hazard of being disturbed by such potent Armies. The Enterprize upon *Novigrade* seemed much more feasible; but before any Resolution would be taken therein, the Duke of *Lorraine*, with General *Souches*, *Scaffenburg*, Colonel *Beck*, and several Officers belonging to the Artillery and Engineers, thought fit to take a view of the Works and Situation of the Place. The Duke at the head of Three thousand select Horses, commanded by Count *Caprara*, on the 25th passed the River *Grana*, on a Bridge of Boats, and forded over the River *Hippel*, which, at that Season of the Summer, was not deeper than the Bellies of the Horses. The next Day before Noon they came in sight of *Novigrade*, and by their Appearance, gave an Alarm to the Town and Castle, from whence they fired many of their Cannon, for a Signal to those who were abroad, labouring in their Vineyards, or keeping watch over their Cattle in the Field, to hasten back and retire under security of the Fortrefs: The Report of the Guns warned every one of the Danger, so that the Guardians of the Cattle, as well as others, drove in their Herds from their Pastures as fast as possible; but could not make such speed, as to get them all into Security, before the *Hussars*, a People used to that kind of Prey, came up with them, and seized a great share of the Cattle, driving them away for Service of their own Camp: And tho a Party of Horses sallied out of the Garrison upon them, endeavouring to regain the Spoil, yet being supported by a stronger Body, they retired within the Palisadoes, where they were received by several Chambers of *Janisaries*.

Novigrade is raised upon a high craggy Rock, fortified by Nature, and the Way so narrow as is not capable to receive above one Man a-bread, and encompassed with a Ditch of about Thirty four Foot deep; this Place was taken from the *Christians* in the Year 1663. The Duke of *Lorraine*, and the other Generals and Engineers, having well observed the Situation of the Place, and all the difficult Accesses thereunto, founded a Retreat, and began their March back again to the Camp; the Rear-guard being committed to the Care and Conduct of the Count de *Ofkirk*, with whom were several Princes in Quality of Volunteers, as the Prince de *Conti*, de la *Roche*

The Duke
of
Buda.

Novigrade.

Sur-jon, de *Commerci* & de *Turenne*. Upon this Retreat, a Party of the *Turkish* Cavalry sallied out of the Town, seeming as if they resolved to fall on the Rear, with design only to draw them into an Ambuscade of *Janisaries*, who lay hid in certain Hedge and Bushes, not far distant from the open Road. The Strangers succeeded in part; for these young Gallants thirsting after Glory, and desirous of an Engagement with the Enemy, could not refrain from pursuing the Turks to the place of Danger, where in all probability they had most certainly been destroyed, had not the Duke of *Lorraine* sent some Troops seasonably to their Relief. The next Day this Party being returned from *Novigrade* to the Camp, General *Caprara*, who lay confined in his Bed by a Fever, delivered into the Hands of the Duke of *Lorraine* a Letter from diverse poor *Christian* Slaves, *Greeks*, *Hungarians*, and others in *Newhaufel*, miserably complaining of their Servitude, and of the Famine of that Place, which was so great, that they were ready to Perish for want of Food; so that in case he would only appear with his Army before that Place, the Distress of it, by reason of Famine, was such, as would cause them to Surrender without farther Violence or loss of Time. The Particulars of the State of this Place, was again confirmed by a Turk, who carrying Letters from *Newhaufel* to *Buda*, was intercepted in the way, and brought to the Camp; where being examined before a Council of Officers, he there confirmed the Truth of what was related in the Letter, and that the Garrison did not exceed Twelve hundred Men; so that the *Pasha*, an ancient Soldier, did much lament the Miseries of the Place, which he could not maintain, and must either be forced to make a Surrender of it, or else Sacrifice his own, and the Lives of all the Inhabitants, to the Fury of the Enemy. This Report seconding the Letter wrote from the *Christian* Captives, the Truth thereof was no longer doubted, so that without farther dispute or denial, it was resolved, at a Council of War, to open this Campaign with the Siege of *Newhaufel*; tho in reality both the Letter was feigned, and the Report given by the Turk false, as will appear hereafter, before we make an end of the Siege of this Place: Howsoever, it served for the present to alter the design from *Novigrade*, and turn it on *Newhaufel*, against which all Preparations were making, and Orders sent to the Prince of *Hannover* to advance towards the Town, and cause his Men to provide themselves with Faggots and Timber to make Gabions, with other Materials necessary for this Enterprize; and all the Boats, and Floats for Bridges, which lay below *Comar-*

1685.

False Letters
delivered to
the Duke of
Lorraine.

The Siege of
Newhaufel
resolved.

1685. *ra*, were ordered to be drawn up against the Stream: And left in the mean time, during this Siege, the *Seraskier* thinking to make a Diversion, should lay Siege either to *Strigonium* or *Vicgrade*, the latter Garrison was reinforced with Three hundred Men, and the former with Fifteen hundred, under the Command of Count *Mansfeld*, besides several Troops of *Hussars*, who were appointed to fower the Country round, and observe the Motion of the Enemy.

July. All things being prepared in order to a Siege, on the third of July the Duke of *Lorraine* Commanded the whole Army to raise the Camp, and March towards *Newhaufel*; and on the 6th place in fight of the Town, being hindred from proceeding farther by the Storms and continual Rains, which gave great retardment and stop to their March: But to lose no time, General *Hessler* was appointed with a Party of Horse to survey the Fens, and give an account of the Ways and Passages over it; and meeting with a Party of Horse belonging to the Garrison, which was commanded to prevent and stop his Passage, he charged them with such vigour, as caused them to fly back to the Town, pursuing them to the very Gates thereof. After which, having well observed that the Fens were not to be passed by the Infantry, it was ordered, That every Horseman should mount a Footman behind him; so that the Day following all the Army passed, and encamped by the Banks of the River *Nitria* or *Neutra*, about Cannon-shot distant from the Town.

At the appearance of the *Christian* Army, the *Turkish* Garrison being greatly dismayed, they quitted the Palanca, which was raised at the Gate of *Strigonium*, and broke the Island-Bridge, causing all their Forces to be dispersed without the Town in little Forts and Redoubts, to retire within, that being gathered into a Body, they might be the better enabled to make a valiant and an obstinate Resistance. The same Day the *Pasha* opened the Store-houses of the Place, where Provisions were laid up in such abundance, that, being distributed with Frugality, and managed with good Husbandry, were sufficient to conserve and maintain the City for many Months without Famine.

But before the Siege was formed, the Duke of *Lorraine*, with other Officers and Persons of Note and Quality, took a View or Survey of the Town, to discover the parts and places where the Attacks might be carried forward with the best Advantage, and tryed where the River *Neutra* was fordable, as it was at that Season of the Year in diverse places. In the mean time, the Troops of *Hanover* and *Zell*, Commanded

by the Prince of *Hanover*, and his Lieutenant General *Chavert* arrived in the Camp, against whom the *Turks* spent many of their Cannon-shot without any Effect; which Troops being drawn up in open Field, made so good an Appearance in all Respects, as gave great Satisfaction to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the other General Officers.

On the 9th about Noon, the *Bavarian* Infantry advanced forward, commanded in chief by Count *Serini*.

On the 10th the Imperial Generals, with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Prince of *Hanover*, designed the place where the Town should be first attacked; and Horses were sent, and Waggoners to draw up the heavy Cannon which were arrived in Boats near to the Camp, and the places chalked out and designed where the Batteries were to be raised.

On the 11th a Council of War was held, and there resolved by all the General Officers to open the Trenches, and to make the main Attack at the same place and side on which the *Turks* had done, when they took the Town in the Year 1663.

Great Labours were used on the 12th to enlarge the Trenches, joining unto which there was a Vally, which served for a Parade, wide enough to draw up Two thousand Men, and therein to remain under Cover, and out of danger of the Enemies Shot. Two Lines also were drawn, one towards the Point of the Bastion adjoining to the Port of *Strigonium*, and another leading to the Bastion which was contiguous to it; and on this part of the Town the chief Effort was to be made. The *Bavarians* maintained the Attack on the Gate-side, and the Imperialists the other; and a third Attack was intended on the side towards *Vienna*, on the Banks of the River *Neutra*, which was to be committed unto the *Swedes*, so soon as they entered into the Camp, as they did the Day following; and having formed their Trenches, they cut a Drain from the Town Ditch, where being a kind of declivity, the Water fell in abundance, and ran with a full Channel into the *Neutra*. To these several Attacks Three thousand Men were every Day appointed to relieve each other, under Command of the General of the Artillery, two Sergeant-Majors of Battalions, two Colonels, and other subordnate Officers, which the Prince of *Croy*, Count *Serini*, and the Duke of *Hanover* were successively to Command, according to their turns.

All the Day following was spent in opening and enlarging the Trenches, which were broad enough to contain three Men a-breast, and advanced unto Five or Six hundred Paces in length; and sufficient Ground fer-

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1685. cured to lengthen them about One hundred and fifty Paces more, which would reach unto the fide of the Ditch; all which was performed without any considerable loss, notwithstanding the continual Firings from the Enemy, both of small and great Shot. At the end of every Line a Redoubt was raised, and a Parallel Line of Communication drawn from one Attack unto the other, with a place of Parade in the middle, about which three Batteries were raising, one behind the Line of Communication, which was to be the biggest, containing Seventeen or Eighteen Pieces of Cannon, because it was to front and succour the other Batteries on each side; the other two were to the right Hand, and to the left of five Pieces of Cannon, each to flank the main Battery.

On the 14th, the Redoubts, the Parallel Lines of Communication, the Parade, and the Trenches were all perfected and sufficiently opened, so that now the Siege was completely formed; and an Allodgment prepared on the brink of the Ditch; which tho' the Besieged did endeavour to disturb by constantly Shooting on the Workmen, yet nothing hindered to perfect the Allodgment which was made wide; and extremely well fortified on all sides.

The City of *Newhaufel* is situate on a Plain with some little rising Hills about it, and on the Banks of the River *Neutra*; it is not far from *Comarra*, and about a Days Journey from *Strigonium*; it is encompassed by six Bastions, according to the manner of the modern Fortifications; the distance of the Curtains, and of the Flankers are of an exact equality, and the Form is a *Sax-agon*, or *Six-Angles*. After the *Turks* had taken it in the Year 1663, they brought the *Neutra* round the Town and filled the Ditch with Water, and made it so Deep, that it was almost impossible to fortify any Mine under it.

The preference of the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was always an Overseer and director in making the Trenches, in which he for the most part remained until after Midnight, did very much contribute to the dispatch of that Work: So that between the 14th and 21st all matters requisite for the Siege were finished, the Allodgment on the brink of the Ditch was more enlarged than before, the Water whereof being fathomed, was found to be seventeen or eighteen Foot in Depth; and sometime increased, notwithstanding the Drain, by the excessive Rains, which not only supplied it with Water, but much incommoded the Soldiers in their Trenches. The Batteries continually plaid with good Success, and not only had beaten down a great part of the Parapet, but had made a considerable Breach in the Ba-

tion it self; which they intended to widen, and open yet more by the help of another Battery newly raised, consisting of eighteen Pieces of Cannon; but whilst these things were in agitation, News was brought to the Duke of *Lorraine*, that the *Turkish* Army began to march towards *Buda* and *Alba Regalia*, and that Six thousand *Turks* and *Tartars* were advanced towards *Vicgrade*. Upon this intelligence General *Lelly*, who was appointed to watch the Motion of the Enemy, was Order'd to endeavour unto the utmost of his power to hinder and obstruct the Passage of the *Seraskier* over the River *Sava* and *Drave*; and Colonel *Hessler* with Two thousand Horse was dispatched towards *Pell*, to get intelligence of the Designs of the Vizier: Soon after this Advices came, That the *Seraskier* was advancing with all his Forces towards *Buda*, and had made a Bridge not far from thence over the *Danube*; but that it was not yet known, whether he intended to attempt the raising of the Siege, or to sit down before some Town whereby to make a diversion: But to be better provided, aid in a readines either to meet the *Seraskier* in the Field, or to defeat his Attempt against any fortified Place; The Duke of *Lorraine* order'd a Detachment of a Regiment of *Savoiard* Dragoons, to join with some of the *Bavarian* and *Lunenburgh* Troops, to the number of Three thousand Men, and therewith to Reinforce those Regiments; which guarded the Bridge of *Comorra*.

During the time that a considerable Force was employ'd to observe the Motion of the *Seraskier*, the Siege was carried on with all imaginable Courage and Reblution; the Cannon continually fired from the several Batteries, and the Bombs and Carcasses were thrown into the Fortrefs with such good Success, that on the 22d, the Town *Newhaufel* appear'd to smook and Flame in three several places, which continued all Night, to the great Terror and Labour of the Defendants; but at length by the great Rains which fell, the Fires were not only extinguished, but the *Christians* very much incommoded in their Trenches, and the Waters of the Ditch increased, as fast almost as they were sunk by the Drain: So that it seeming a long and tedious Work, before the Ditch could be emptied of it's Water; a contrivance was made to pass a Miner over the Ditch in a Boat, and fix it to the Breach in the Wall; but the Boat receiving a Shot from the Town, was ready to sink, and those therein were so incommoded with showers of Stones from the finaler Guns, and Pettrars planted on the Walls, that they were forced to retire, and give over that Design.

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1685.

On the 24th, the Defendants made a Sally on that side, where a Guard was appointed of *Suedes* and *Swabians* to defend the Drain, which was made to sink the Water of the Ditch; and surprized them at a time, when they were overcharged with Wine, which they had unfortunately gotten, and laid for the most part in so profound a Sleep, without so much as a Matchlighted, that a Hundred of them with their Lieutenant Colonel, two Captains and two Lieutenants did never awake from their natural Sleep, but insensibly passed from it, into the last Sleep of Death. The *Turks* return'd back again into the Town without much harm; but with great Joy and Triumph, which they testified by the Musick, which was heard from the Walls into the Trenches.

But on the 25th, greater care was taken with the Guards on that side, and endeavours used to enlarge the Channel, which being perform'd, the Water in the Ditch sunk eight Foot, so that the Faggots, Stones and Rubbish were prepar'd to fill it up; and that Labour so closely followed, that in one Night the Ditch was half filled up on that side, where the Imperialists were lodged. But on that of the *Bavarians*, they advanced little, by Reason that the Defendants fired so continually from the Parapet of the Bastion, which was opposite to them, as disturb'd the Work, and hinder'd them very much in carrying Faggots and Rubbish, so freely as was done on the other side.

The Work was now to fill the Ditch on each side, as well where the Imperialists, as where the *Bavarians* were Quarter'd: To prevent which, the *Turks* on the 27th, about Noon made a Sally by the Port of *Strigonium*; and flopp'd the Channel, by which the Water vented it self out of the Ditch and ran into the River; but being oppos'd by Three hundred *Bavarians* they received a Repulse, and made their Retreat back into the Town; the Bank being again opened, the Water fell so low, that the Imperialists discover'd a secret Passage, by which the wet and moonish Ground kept a Correspondence with the Ditch, and supplied it with some Waters from thence; the *Christians* endeavour'd to stop this Conveyance, and the *Turks* to open it, so that what one did by Day, the other destroy'd by the Night.

The increase of the Waters in the Ditch, caus'd the Besiegers to despair of being able to effect any thing by their Mines; but finding that their Batteries opened the Breach more and more, they resolv'd to perform their work by the two Attacks, on the right and on the left Hand: The two Gal-

leries were in a short time advanced; that to the right, went drawing near to the Wall, being well cover'd, and flanked with Baskets, Barrels and Gabions filled with Earth, in which Action the Lieutenant Colonel of Count *Souches* was killed: The *Turks* labour'd with all possible Industry to keep off the Approach of these Galleries, which most certainly threaten'd the Ruin of the Town; to effect which, they threw certain artificial Fire-works upon the Galleries, compos'd of Sulphur and Bituminous matter, which burn'd so violently, that it was impossible to extinguish it, until it had laid all in Ashes; and so forcibly did it burn, that it took hold of the next Battery, and set Fire to the Powder in it, with which divers of the Gunners, to the number of Forty Men were Blown up. Nor did the Gallery on the left Hand fare any thing better, for the *Turks* shot such numbers of Arrows with artificial Fires into it, that nothing could resist the violence of the Flames: All the Gallery took Fire, with the Parapet and Neighbouring Battery, and burn'd with such fierceness, that it became too hot for the Guards, and dismounted four Pieces of Cannon. The Duke of *Lorraine* came immediately in Person to the assistance of the place, and remained where the Fire was most impetuous, commanding the Officers to march their Troops to that place; and in the mean time employ'd all his Servants and Attendants, who were about him, even his very Pages to stop and extinguish the Fire. The Example of the General was so prevalent, that every one gave a helping hand, with such diligence and vigour, that the Fire was extinguish'd, and a great part of the Battery was saved, with the Cannon and Powder: Whilst this Action was doing, all those who work'd about the Fire lay open to the shot of the Enemy, of which about Sixty Soldiers were killed, and twelve of them near to the Person of the Duke, who expos'd himself without fear to the utmost Peril of his Life.

The Fire being extinguish'd, Order was given to repair the Damage which the Fire had done; which accordingly was executed with such diligence, that on the next Night following the Parapet was repaired, and the Cannon being remounted began again to Batter the Town; new Galleries were also making of such matter, as should not be so easily combustible as the former.

The Disorders being compos'd which were caus'd by these Fires, the Elector of *Bavaria* enter'd the Camp; and immediately repaired to that part where his Soldiers were lodged. The Duke of *Lorraine* having made him a Visit, and pass'd those Com-

1685.

They are burnt.

The Gallies and Batteries burnt.

The Elector of Bavaria comes to the Camp.

1685. plements which are due to his Person, and Character; he attended him abroad and showed him all the Attacks, the Approaches, Batteries, and the whole Form of the Siege.

Whilst matters were thus in Action at the Siege, Advices were daily brought of the Seraskier's motion, that his whole Army consist'd of 60,000 Men, including the *Tartars*, and lay Encamp'd at the Foot of *St. Gerard's Mount* near *Buda*, with Twenty five Pieces of Cannon, small and great.

On the 26th it was certainly advis'd, that they had pass'd the *Danube*, and that the Van-guard bended towards *Vaitz*, and the Rear-guard towards *Vicgrade* and *Strigonium*. Upon this intelligence it was almost certainly concluded, That the *Turks* intend'd with one part of the Army to lay Siege to *Strigonium*, and with the other to attempt the Relief of *Newbaufel*; to confirm which two *Hussars* about the close of the Evening, brought News, that the *Turkish* Army about Noon of the same Day, had pitched their Camp in sight of *Strigonium*, and had made a Bridge at the Isle of *St. Andrew*, for better Communication of their Troops. It being now out of all doubt, that the *Turks* would either Invest *Strigonium* or *Novigrade*; the Duke of *Lorraine* with the concurrence of his Electoral Highness the Duke of *Bavaria*, resolv'd to leave 16,000 Men under the command and conduct of Count *Caprara* to continue the Siege; and with the Grofs of his Army to march against the Seraskier; but before their departure they had the satisfaction to see the four Regiments of Infantry belonging to the Elector of *Cologne*, to come and joyn with them, all brave and stout Men well Armed and well Clothed. Colonel *Huefler*, who with fifteen hundred Horse watch'd (as we have said) the Motion of the Enemy, gave certain intelligence, that on the 30th of *July*, the City and Castle of *Strigonium* were Invested by the Seraskier, which caus'd the Duke of *Lorraine* to hasten his march towards the Relief of that place, leaving all things belonging to the Siege in very good order. The News sent by Colonel *Huefler*, was confirm'd on the 4th of *August*, by Report of the Cannon, which being carried by a favourable Wind, were heard at the Siege before *Newbaufel*: The Duke of *Lorraine* being on his march, pass'd his Army consist'd of 40,000 fighting Men over the *Waagb* on a Bridge of Boats, bending towards *Comorra*: On their way this intelligence was given them, that the Night before, the *Turkish* Army had been Alarm'd by a Party of *Hussars* which had fallen in upon their Baggage: Howsoever, they continu'd still to force the Place, having given a fierce Assault upon the lower

Tower Town, but were bravely repuls'd. This News quickning the march of the Army, the next Day they pass'd the *Danube* upon two Bridges near to *Comorra*, and afterwards Ranged the whole Army into order of Battle: The Imperial Troops were divided in the first and second Lines of the two Wings; with them joyn'd some Dragoons, and some Battalions of the Allies; the Elector of *Bavaria* Commanded the left Wing; the main Body of *Bavarians* and *Suedes* were comprehended in this Wing, and that of *Francia* and *Laxenburg* in the Right; the Prince of *Hanover* and General *Chauvet*, Commanded at the Head of their own Troops, as the Marquis of *Tutric*, and other Generals of the Allies at the Front of theirs. Count *Rabata* General of the Horse, the Commissary General, Count *Palfi* and Baron *Mercy*, and other Chief Officers were of the left Wing; Prince *Lewis* of Baden, Count *Dunewald*, Count *Tasf* and *Stirbalm*, Major General, were added to the right Wing. Prince *Waldeck* and Count *de Peintana*, one of the Major Generals march'd at the Head of their Troops, and Prince *Lubomiski* command'd the Cannon: In this order the Army march'd, and on the 10th of *August* they Encamp'd within three hours march of *Strigonium*: And the next Day approaching yet nearer, the Report of the Cannon, and all Noise towards the Town seem'd to cease; so that it was concluded, that either the Town was taken, or the Siege rais'd. Whilst they were in this suspense, the Garrison of *Vicgrade* came in sight of the Camp, to the great surprize of the Generals, who until that time, had never been inform'd that the place had been Invested by any part of the *Ottoman* Army: It seem'd a little strange to meet that Garrison in the open Field, marching with their Arms and Baggage, with their Matches Lighted, their Drums Beating, and their Colours Flying; but this Wonder ceased, when the Officer in Chief acquainted the Generals, how that the Fortrels of *Vicgrade*, had sustain'd a Siege for the space of sixteen Days, against all the Force of the *Ottoman* Army; that the Tower which was adjoining to the Castle was Blown up, which made so wide a Breach, that it was impossible to sustain another Assault of the Enemy, having endured two Assaults before: And therefore, after a loss of the greatest part of the Garrison, which was reduced from Three hundred and fifty to One hundred and thirty Soldiers, the Surrender thereof seem'd excusable, and not to be imputed to the Cowardize, or want of Conduct either in the Commander, or in the Soldiers. There was also something more than ordinary in the behaviour

1685.

The Order of the Christian Army.

They are met by the Garrison of Vicgrade.

1685. haviour of the *Turks* towards the Garrison, when this place was Surrender'd : For they out of a Principle of hatred to the *Christian* Religion, and of scorn and indignation against all People, but those of their own Profession, were commonly provoked to use their Victories with Pride and unlimited Insolence; and to break their Faith and Engagements, to which they had obliged themselves by Articles and Capitulations; did now contrary to their usual practice, Treat the vanquished of this Fortrefs with due respect and kindness; and left any thing should happen, which might seem disagreeable to their Capitulations in their march by Land, care was taken to Transport them in Boats, and to Land them as near as was possible to the *Christian* Camp; and for the better security on the way, they were accompanied by three *Turkish* Officers, whom the Duke of *Lorraine* treated with a Civility, corresponding unto which they had used towards the Garrison.

The next Day being the 11th of *August*, the *Christian* Army pitched their Tents at *Almatz*, about a League distant from *Strigonium*: From whence an Officer was sent to Complement the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the other Generals, with a Relation of what the *Turks* had acted in the late Siege: He told them, That one the 30th and 31st of the last Month their Approaches were begun (as were to be seen) on the side towards *Comorra*, at the Foot of *St. Thomas* his Mount, and were in two Days time, carried on to the Counterfarp of the lower City, where they Sprang four Mines, and seconded them with as many Assaults, in which so many were killed, that the Ditch seemed to be levelled, and filled up with the dead Bodies of the Slain, and made equal with the Border of the Counterfarp. In fine, About two Days before, the *Turks* having received certain Intelligence of the Approach of the *Christian* Army for their Relief, had raised the Siege with so much haste and precipitation, as gave Courage to the Defendants to make a Sally upon them at their departure; and falling on their Rear, took a Bloody Farewel of them, with the Slaughter of Three hundred of their Men. The Success of *Strigonium* made some amends for the loss of *Vicgrade*, and gave undoubted proofs, that where is any equality in Force, the *Christian* Valour and Conduct, challenges Fortune to be of their side, and to favour and assist them.

The Duke of *Lorraine* having recruited the Garrison of *Strigonium* with Five hundred Foot, and furnished it with Ammunition, and Provisions necessary for it's Defence; raised his Camp on the 13th, and marched away in quest of the Seraskier,

with resolution to give him Battle, in case the Moorish and fenny Grounds, which interposed between the two Armies, did not prevent the Engagement. The Day following, with rising of the Sun was opened a clear Scene, representing the whole *Turkish* Army, which having passed the *Danube* to join with some *Tartarian* and *Turkish* Troops, were Encamped on the farther side of a fenny or Moorish Ground, which lies between *Newbanfel* and *Senau*, extending it self from the Banks of the River to a certain rising Ground, on which they had planted their whole Train of Artillery; the Appearance of which seemed very formidable, and not consisting of less than 55 or 60,000 fighting Men, which for the most part were experienced Soldiers, who had tried the Dint of the Enemies Sword, and often without fear beheld Death in the Face.

The fenny and Moorish Ground, which interposed between the two Armies, was the Bar which restrain'd the Courage and Mettle of the *Christians*; who otherwise, in despite of all disadvantages, where had been any possibility of Engagement, would have broke through all to have clofed and mixed with their Enemy. To perform which, the boggy Ground was tried and assailed on all sides; but being found unpaffable, the Generals feigned a kind of fear, and unwillingness to Engage, in expectation thereby to draw the Enemy to remove; so that raising their Camp, as if they had feared a Battle, the *Turks* carried on by their own Destiny, followed after them, leaving the place of a more advantageous Ground. The *Christians* retreating at the distance of an hour's march, drew up in the Form and Order before mentioned, extending their left Wing towards the *Danube*, and their right towards the Hills of *Saran*. The Seraskier animated with his more formidable Force, which much exceeded the *Christians* in their numbers, raised his Camp and followed the motion of the *Christians*; and leaving a great part of the Infantry, with the heavy Cannon behind, on the rising of the Hill; on the 15th and 16th Instant, he passed the Moorish Ground, and marched towards the Enemy. At break of Day in Morning, to great a Fog or Mist arose, that for some hours neither Army could discover the motions of the other; during which time the *Christians* had the advantage to draw up their Army undiscovered into a posture of Battle, and to reinforce the left Wing with some Regiments, which were not as yet disposed. No sooner was the Army drawn up in its due Order, than the Fog dispersed, and a bright Day appeared, which showed the two Armies each to the other,

1685.

The two Armies in fight at each other.

The Christian Retreat.

And are followed by the Turks.

both

1685. both moving with a slow and regular Pace to joyn Battle. The *Turks*, who are of the more fiery and fierce Temper, caused their left Wing to March with some haste to charge the right Wing of the *Christians*; upon which they three times made an Attempt, but the *Germans*, who stood firm and unshaken like a Rock, three times repulsed them with great Slaughter: The Duke of *Lorraine* perceiving that the *Turks* pressed the right Wing with their main force, caused his left Wing to move with a slow pace to their Succour: The *German* Foot were conducted by their Captains at the head of their respective Companies, with their Artillery in the Front; which being charged with Muffquet-bullets, were fired upon them so opportunely, and seconded by Volleys of small Shot, that the *Turks* began to draw back at some distance. The Seraskier observing the disorder of his left Wing, advanced with a strong Body of *Turks* to charge the utmost part of the right Wing of the *Christians*; to sustain which, the Duke of *Lorraine* redoubled the firing of the first Line, and commanded Count *Dumewald* to reinforce the first Line with such Squadrons and Battalions of the second Line, as were nearest unto it. The Elector of *Bavaria* coming at the same time to their Assistance, put the *Turks* into a disorder and confusion, and afterwards forced them to make a Retreat, and draw a little off. The *Hungarian* Troops which were accustomed to the *Turkish* manner of Fighting, were order'd to charge them in the Rear; which having done, they wheel'd about and made a stand. So soon as the *Turks* were out of reach of the *German* Muffquets, they rallied again, and made another Charge as furiously as they had done the first; but the Imperialists maintaining their Ground, and not giving one Foot backwards, many principal Officers amongst the *Turks* fell in this Charge at the head of their Squadrons, which caused a second Disorder amongst them, and to turn their Backs; and being pursued slowly by some Troops, which continually fired upon them, they were put to the rout and fled. The right Wing of the *Turks* observing the Disorder of the left, wheel'd about towards that side, not only to Succour the flying Party, but to joyn with them to make a second Effort and tryal of their Fortune: To this Purpose a considerable Detachment advanced to charge the *Christians* in the Flank; but being repulsed, the whole Army was put to flight, and being pursued by the *Hungarians*, *Craatz*, and some Troops of Dragoons, fear so possessed many of them, that they took their Way, without any consideration, over the Moorish or Fenny Grounds, where, sinking up to their Middles in the Water; and their

A Battle begun.

The Turks defeated.

1685. Horfes plunging in the Boggy places, above Two thousand Men were lost and perished in the Quagmires. In the mean time, the right Wing of the *Christian* Army having knowledge of the Passage over the Marli, by the *Turks*, who led them the Way, pursued them beyond the soft Ground; and perceiving that the *Turks* began to rally on the top of the Hill, where they had left their Cannon with some Chambers of their Janisaries; they made a stand until the Duke of *Bavaria* was come up with the left Wing. So soon as these two Bodies were joyned on the other side of the Moorish Ground, the *Turks* durst not stand another shock; but leaving their Camp, Tents, Cannon, Baggage and Ammunition, they all betook themselves to a shameful flight: Such was the general Fear and Confutation amongst them, that they fled by three several Ways; and the *Janisaries* to Revenge themselves on the *Spahes*, for exposing and abandoning them upon the Hill, killed many of them to get their Horfes. Tho' the *Turks* in the first Action did not lose above Four thousand Men, yet double the Number perished in the Fenny Ground, and in the Pursuit the Seraskier himself was wounded, and *Osman* Pasha of *Gran Cairo*, and two other Pashas were killed. The *Christians* lost not above Two hundred Men, and took but few Prisoners, because that giving Quarter was almost out of Fashion: The Pursuit continued not far, by reason that the *Turkish* Horfe were more nimble than the *Christian*, and fled to *Buda* and *Alba Regalis*; the Foot saved themselves in the Woods and in the Mountains: Howsoever, afterwards in more cool Blood, many were hunted out, who had layn hid amongst the Reeds and Officers which grew in the wet and marshy Grounds, so that about Four hundred Prisoners might be taken, and many *Christian* Slaves obtained their Freedom. The *Turks* lost Thirty eight Colours, Twenty three Pieces of Cannon, two Mortars, and great store of all sorts of Ammunition. After the Battle was ended, *Te Deum* was sung, and Thanks publicly render'd in the Camp to Almighty God for so signal a Victory; and the Prince of *Newburg* was dispatched with all diligence to render an account unto the Emperor of the happy Success of that fortunate Day.

Whilst the *Turks* were engaged in Battle; and their Army routed and totally defeated; their Garrison in *Newbanfel* declined, and the Besiegers daily advanced upon them. The Galleries were again reftit and repaired, and the Soldiers lodged at the Foot of the Breach, so that all things were ready for a general Assault, only Count *Caprara* thought fit to demand first the Orders of the Duke of *Lorraine*.

All things ready for an Assault upon Newbanfel.

Z

1685. *raime*, not knowing whether he might be de-
sirous to be present at this great Action, to
add the Subjection of this Place to the Glo-
ry of his late Victory: But the great Mind
of the Duke, which was zealous for the
Service of the Emperor, and the Christian
Cause, gave orders not to defer the Assault
for one Moment; but first to advise the
Besieged of the defeat of their Seraskier, and
to verify the same by some Prisoners taken
in the late Battle, which were sent into the
Town, that being informed of their depre-
cate Condition, they might be induced
to accept Terms of Mercy for their Lives.
The 18th was the Day appointed for this
Attempt, but the Rains were so violent,
that it was thought fit to expect more fa-
vourable Weather, and to break some Pa-
liades with the Cannon, which were newly
erected within the Breach. The next Morn-
ing being the 19th, at break of Day, the
signal of the Assault was given by the dis-
charge of Thirty six Pieces of Cannon, up-
on which, immediately Three thousand Men

As Assault
made.

were appointed to make the Assault. Count
Stauffenberg, at the head of his Men, Com-
manded the Attack in face of the right Ba-
stion, and mounted thereupon without the
loss of one Man, and was followed by the
Troops of *Lunenbourg* and *Suabia*; the *Turks*
now losing their Courage, did not dispute
the Breach with such Resolution as was a-
greeable to the Resistance they had made at
first, and thereby gave opportunity to *Scap-
fenberg* to possess himself of the Bastion
without much difficulty. The Baron of
Astli, and Colonel *Kaletz*, who Commanded
the other Attacks, with the Troops of *Co-
logne*, *Bavaria* and *Franconia*, were in like
manner successful, and planted the Imperial
Standards on the Breach, where a Pasha
which Commanded it was killed; he was
a Native of *Bohemia*, and of the Family of
Garasba. In the Bastion Eight hundred
Men were slain, excepting Two or Three
hundred, who cast themselves over the Wall
into the Ditch, where they met, ended
their Days. All this time Seventy Pieces
of Cannon continually plaid upon the Town,
and Twenty Mortar-pieces which threw
Bombs and Carcasses, and Three thousand
Men already upon the Walls and within
the Town, in which Amazement the *Turks*
spread a white Flag, which was the signal
of a Parly or of a Surrender: But alas it
was too late; for the *Christians* being al-
ready Masters of the Town, they killed all
without remorse, or distinction of Age or
Sex, either of Men, Women or Children.
The Governour of the Place died the next
Day of his Wounds which he had received
on the Breach; the Garrison which confist-

ed of Three thousand Men, was reduced to
On thousand Seven hundred, most of which
also were killed on that fatal Day. At
length the Town being taken, Orders were
given to stop the effusion of Blood, which
came only in time to save the Lives of
about Two hundred Persons.

In the Town Eighty Pieces of Cannon
were taken, with great quantities of Am-
munition. About Forty Christian Slaves
were set at liberty: The Plunder of the
Town was esteemed to amount unto two
Millions, besides Plate, good Furniture, and
Moveables belonging to the Houses. There
were Fifty Hories of Price taken, which
were distributed amongst the General Offi-
cers; all which was performed with the
loss of Fifty Soldiers only, and one Lieu-
tenant. So soon as the Place was taken,
Count *Stauffenberg* took Post to carry the
joyful News thereof unto the Emperor,
who was graciously pleased, in Reward of
his Services, to confer upon him the Go-
vernment of that Place. The News of two
such Achievements, as the defeat of the
Turkish Army, and taking *Newhausel* filled
all Christendom with Joy and Wonder,
and Thanks to Almighty God for such glori-
ous and unexpected Successes; which also
being accompanied with the taking of *E-
speries*, by General *Schultz*, and the burning
of the Town and Bridge of *Esseck*, by
Count *Lefly*, increased the Jubilee of that
Year in Christendom; as on the contrary,
never was there such a Damp on the Spirits
of the *Turks*, nor such Sorrow and Grief as
at that time: For the Loss having been Uni-
versal through the whole Empire, the Death
of Friends and Relations was lamented,
as far as to *Bagdat* or *Babylon* it self, and
to other remote parts of the East.

The Advice of taking *Newhausel* was
brought to the Duke of *Lorraine*, whilst he
was in Discourse with the Elector of *Bava-
ria*, and the other Generals, of carrying on
the Wars with such other Enterprise, as
might conclude and terminate this Cam-
paign with the greater Glory. Upon the
News hereof, the Generals moved with a
desire to see the Place, enter'd into it on
the 20th, and there beheld the most horrid
Spectacle of Slaughter and Defolation in
the World. To cover which, immediate
Orders were given to bury the Dead, and
to repair the Breaches which the Cannon
had made in the Walls, and with the La-
bour of *Turkish* Slaves, to fill up the Tren-
ches and Approaches which were made
without the Town during the Siege. The
Christian Slaves, which, on occasion of the
late Defeat, had escaped out of the hands
of the *Turks*, came in great numbers to *New-
hausel*, and there related, how that the Se-
raskier

1685.

The Town
is taken.

The defeat
of Count
Lefly
at Newhausel.

1685. raskier was come to *Buda* with a slight Wound
in his Leg; that the Confusion amongst the
Turks was so great, that they killed and
robbed one the other, in the Flight; that in
the Sieges of *Strigonium* and *Vicgrade*, they
had lost at least Four thousand Men; and
that the latter Place was so weakened by
blowing up the Tower, and required so
much time and labour to repair it, that they
expected Orders from the Seraskier to de-
moliish and abandon the Place. And in fine,
That the *Turkish* Forces were so scatter'd
and divided, that after all these losses and
discouragements, they were scarce able to
Rally an Army of 30.000 Men.

We having not thought fit to interrupt
the Relation of two such great Matters, as
the Fight near *Strigonium*, and the Siege of
Newhausel, with a Digression unto other Ac-
tions; which being now past, let us look
back, and behold the Progress which Count
Lefly, and General *Schultz* were making a-
gainst the Common Enemy in different
Places. *Lefly*, being advanced into the
Country near *Kaniffa*, had the good for-
tune to meet a Party of *Turks*, belonging to
that place, which he defeated, and with the
Slaughter of several hundred of them, cau-
sed the rest to Fly into their Fortresses.
After which with an Army of about Eight
thousand Men, compos'd of *Croats*, *Hun-
garians* and *Germans*, he resolv'd to render
himself Master of the Bridge of *Esseck*: In
order whereunto, having left his Baggage at
Turnawitz, under the Custody and Guard
of Two thousand Men, he march'd away
on the 9th of *August*, with Four thousand
Germans and Two thousand *Croats*, all choic-
e and experienced Soldiers towards *Esseck*,
taking with them Provisions for ten Days,
in regard the Country was so wast'd and
destroyed by the War, that it yielded nei-
ther Food for Men, nor Forage almost for
Horses. The same Day a Detachment was
made of Five hundred *Croats*, under the
Command of an Officer to Invest *Michala-
nitz*, which upon the first Summons Sur-
render'd, before the Body of the Army ap-
pear'd, without making any Terms, or
Conditions for their Liberty. The Guard
of this Fort was committed to the defence
of Two hundred Foot and One hundred
Hoydaks; and the Prisoners taken, both Men,
Women and Children were secur'd in a Tow-
er belonging to the Fortresses. After which the
Army march'd with all diligence towards
Esseck: Upon fight hereof, the little Forts
and Palances on the way, fired their Guns
to Alarum the Country round about; and
passing by *Carafina*, which is a Town forti-
fied with strong Walls, and a double Ditch,
the *Turks* Sallied forth with Horse and Foot,
and Skirmish'd with some of the Troops,

without any great hurt or damage on ei-
ther side. After three or four Days of hard
march, *Lefly* drew up his Forces on the 13th
of the Month, into order of Battle in the Plains
of *Esseck*, expecting to meet the Enemy in
those Parts: But finding no opposition, they
pitched their Tents, and Huts so much to ad-
vantage, and which took up so much Ground,
as if they had contained an Army of at
least 30.000 Men: Soon afterwards, a
Thousand *Turkish* Horse came and took a
view of the Camp, with some Infantry
marching in their Rear. Whereupon the
Army Commanded by *Siaus* Pasha, drew
out into order of Battle, and march'd soti-
ly against the Enemy, who stood firm, nei-
ther advancing nor retiring, until the *Chri-
stians* were come within Musquet-shot; and
then they began to give Ground, which the
Croats perceiving fell upon both their Wings,
and gave them a total Rout and Defeat.
The Horse fled by the way of *Belgrade*,
but being hotly pursu'd by the *Croats*, se-
veral of them were killed; but the Foot
found a nearer Refuge in the Town and
Castle of *Esseck*. The *German* Horse and
Foot, advanced still in good Order to the
Suburbs of the Town, which at the first
Assault they took, and Plunder'd; and
thence found an easy entrance into the
City it self, from whence the *Turks* had
the Day before sent their Wives and Child-
ren by the Water towards the *Danube*, into
which the *Danube* falls not far from the
City: Those who remain'd, were with
their Goods and Moveables retired into the
Castle.

The City of *Esseck* is not very large, but
well peopled and well fortified; and as I
remember, after the modern fashion; it hath
about Five hundred Shops belonging to
Tradefmen, and adorned with many *Molques*,
and *Caravansaries*, or Inns built for the
Reception of Travellers, which are com-
monly stately Structures. It is very strange,
that this place which was esteemed so
strong, and well fortified by the *Turks*,
that they made it their Granary, and Store-
House for all sorts of Provisions for sup-
ply of those Parts of the Country, should
so easily be abandoned, and open'd to the
Enemy, which was capable of sustaining a
Siege of many Months against an Army of
far greater Force, than that of Count *Lefly*,
which did not exceed Six thousand Men; and
especially being well provided with quanti-
ties of Rice, Bread, Bisket, Salt and pow-
der'd Fleth; and with Barly and Oats; all
which served greatly to refresh, and feed the
Men and Horse of Count *Lefly*'s Army,
which were languishing before for want of
Victuals, the ten Days Provisions which
they had taken with them being almost

1685.

The Turks
near E.C.
Esseck defeat
the rest.

Taken by
Count
Lefly.

1685. confumed. So soon as *Lefly* became Master of the Town, Guards were set to oppose any Sally from the Castle, whilst the Soldiers were Ranfacking the Houses, unto whom all the Plunder and Pillage was given. In the mean time, Count *Lefly* went to take a view of the Bridge, like which there is none in the World, and of which we have already given a Description in the former part of our History: The River *Drave* is not very broad in this place, there being only Sixteen Boats to sustain the Bridge, which the *Turks* had broken down the Day before, looting them that they might drive down the Stream; the *Christians* endeavoured to recover them the next day following, but could not get aboard for want of smaller Boats; nor could they for want of this Bridge, pass over the *Drave* to burn the Bridge of *Esbeck*, which on that side is Eight thousand Paces long, and all built of Oak. 'Tis true, Money and good Rewards were offered to some French Soldiers, of the Regiment of *Erbeville*, who with certain *Germans* and *Croats* under-took to pass the River, and burn a great part of the Bridge; but the Boats on which they endeavoured to pass were so small and leaky, that they sunk under them, and saved themselves only by Swimming. However, That part of the Bridge which was on the Town side, being Eleven hundred Paces in length, was in a very short time reduced to Ashes: Whilst these things were acting, a Rumour was spread amongst the Soldiers, that all the Riches of the Pasha, and Moveables of value belonging to the Citizens, were conferved within the Castle; which so animated the Soldiers to make an Assault up it, that Count *Lefly* could not refrain them from running the utmost hazard of Storming the place with open Force: But whilst they were preparing Faggots, and other combustible Matter, to fix at the Gate which looks towards the City, a furious Fire took in divers Houses, caused by the Rabble of the Soldiers, which burnt so violently, by reason that all the Houses are built with Wood, and the very Streets Planked with Boards and Timber; the Ground being a Clay, and fort of Owey Earth, not capable of a Stony Pavement; that there was no possibility to quench it, or to Approach near to the Gate of the Castle on that side, so that in a few hours the whole Town was utterly consumed: Wherefore they fixed some artificial Fire to the other Gate, on the Bridge side, with which both the Gate and the Bridge burnt together, without much offence to the Defendants within the Castle; but rather, the Fire and the Retrenchment made within, served to secure them from an

Assault: Wherefore General *Lefly* thought fit, not to Attempt any thing further upon the Castle, but having left all the Town in Ruins, he returned back the next Day to *Turanowitz*, where he had left Two thousand Men to Guard and Secure the Baggage. With the good News of this Success, Prince *Deichtrefein* was dispatched to the Emperor, and for Confirmation thereof, he carried with him five Colours of the Fourteen, which were taken from the *Turks*.

Whilst these matters were acting to the advancement and Glory of the *Christian* Arms, General *Schultz* on the 19th of July, began to lay Siege to the Town of *Esperies*, and by the 8th of August had formed all his Works, Trenches, and raised his Batteries, and threw such quantities of Bombs and Carcasses into the Town, that it took Fire in divers places. *Esperies* is a City of *Hungary*, in the County of *Sarax*, very well fortified, Situate on the River of *Tarbez* towards the Mountains, and on the Frontiers of *Poland*; and hath always been considered by the Malecontents as a strong place, and of great importance to them: The Garrison consisted of a Thousand Soldiers, all stout and brave Men, and more resolute than the *Turks*; for the Malecontents having been provoked by the ill usage, which the Emperor guided by his evil Council had put upon them, were always more obstinate and fierce in Fight; either, because they were made Angry by Oppression, or became desperate, and out of all hopes to obtain Pardon from the Emperor: Some Attempts were made by *Tekeli* to Reinforce the Garrison with Six hundred Men, but they were prevented and beaten back; and the Besieged made their Sallics, but with ill Success, which moved them on the 16th to display a white Flag in token of a Parly; but so soon, as some Soldiers and Officers came near to receive their Offers, they with-drew their Flag and Fired upon them, killing a Lieutenant and four Soldiers. *Schultz* being justly incensed with this Treacherous Action, omitted nothing which might destroy the Enemy: He continually threw Bombs into the Town, and Battered the Walls; and having opened a Breach, an Assault was made, but his Soldiers were repulst with considerable loss. After which a Mine being formed, and ready to Spring, the Malecontents on the 10th of September desired a Parly; but their late act of Treachery made the Imperialists more cautious in their Dealing with them, and to give them no answer, until they had sent two Officers for Hostages; those in the Town refusing to do so, the General more furiously plied his Cannon and Bombs than before.

1685.

1685.
Capitulation
was made

before. But at length, the Gouverneur being made sensible of the impossibility of defending the Place much longer; desired to Capitulate, and sent Hostages for assurance of the Treaty, which was concluded on the 18th of September, on these following Articles.

First, That the Commander, and several of the Officers and Soldiers being Germans, should be received into the Service of the Emperor, and be advanced a Month's Pay.

Secondly, That such as were not willing to enter into the Emperor's Service might have liberty to return to *Tekeli*, and to have safe Conduct into his Quarters.

Thirdly, That the Inhabitants should have a free Exercise of their Religion, and that the Churches and Schools should remain in the same Condition, as before, and enjoy the like Freedom and Liberty, as those did, which had on the same Agreement and Articles submitted to the Emperor.

Fourthly, That the Nobility might be restored to their Estates, and having taken a new Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor, might quietly enjoy the Privileges belonging to Noble Persons.

Fifthly, That the Magistrates of the Town, and Judges shall continue in their respective Offices, and Places of Trust.

Sixthly, That the City shall be conferved and exempted from the Plunder of the Soldiery. And finally, That these particulars shall be approved and ratified by the Emperor.

These Articles being agreed, a Surrender was made; but with much difficulty could General *Schultz*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* refrain the German Soldiers, who belonged to the Garrison, and had taken part with *Tekeli*, from Plundering the Town: For they being inform'd of the many Successes of the Imperial Arms, were desirous to shew their Zeal to the Cause of the Emperor; and so signalize the Return to their Duty and Allegiance, by opening the great Gate of the City to the Soldiers of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with liberty to Plunder and Spoil together with themselves; but General *Schultz* and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* being resolved to maintain the Articles, Order'd two Officers with a Thousand Men to Enter by the Breach, and at the Postern Gate; whilst the Duke of *Wirtemberg* with Two hundred Men joined with the Germans of the Garrison, and together marched into the Town. These Germans were so Zealous to testify their Loyalty and Kindness to their Country Men, That they invite them to fall upon the Spoil, and to Plunder with them; but by the care

The German Soldiers belonging to the Garrison endeavour to Plunder.

and good conduct of the Generals a stop was put thereto, and the Town preserved from Pillage, according to the Tenure of the Capitulations.

The Day following General *Schultz* entered the Town, and caused the Ditch to be cleared of the dead Bodies, and the same to be decently Interr'd; and the Breach with all possible speed to be repair'd. On the Walls were found Thirty Pieces of Cannon mounted, with a Mortar-piece carrying Sixty pounds Weight, and several Thousands of Cannon Bullets, the greatest part of which were Cast by the Imperialists in the time of the late Siege; when the Town was taken by *Tekeli* in the Year 1678. There was no want of Provisions in the Town, nor of Powder, of which there was One hundred and twenty one pounds weight. The Germans who were Two hundred and seventy in number, of which Thirty were Dragoons, were Lifted into the Emperor's Service, as also the greatest part of the *Talpaizi*, a sort of Hungarian Soldiers under their *Hadnag* or Captain. The others which were but Eleven, Swore never to Fight more against his Imperial Majesty, but to return home, and live quietly and in peace amongst their Neighbours. Such virtue and power hath good fortune, and success in War, that it not only subdues by Force of Arms, but converts the Minds of Mankind, making them wise and gentle, free from Passion and Matters of Reason.

The taking of *Esperies* was followed by that of *Cassovia*, which contrary to the Expectation of the Court at *Vienna* held out a formal Siege, and made a Vigorous Resistance. *Cassovia* called by the Hungarians *Caschau*, is the Capital City of the County of *Abanmtvar*; it is very well fortified, being Situate on the River of *Kunert*, which empties it self into the *Tibiscus*. Thot it be a Town which enjoys great Privileges, yet it hath long acknowledged and submitted to the Emperor, as King of *Hungary*; but in August 1682, it was unhappily taken, and possessed by *Tekeli* and his Party, and continued firm to them until this Year 1685.

When on the 6th of the Month of October, Count *Caprara* appear'd with his Army before *Cassovia*, and immediately raised two Batteries, from which he warmly plied his Cannon and Mortars upon the Town; the like was return'd from thence upon the Besiegers with much more Damage. The Garrison within the Town, consisted only at first of Four hundred Soldiers besides the Citizens, who were resolved to hold out unto the last Extremity. The Count *Peterhafi*, who was a valiant Man, and

Provisions and Ammunition in the Town.

Callavia.

Caprara Besieger of Cassovia

Esbeck burnt.

1685. and the best Soldier of all those belonging to *Tekeli*, had made some overtures of returning to his Obedience, and to the Allegiance which he owed unto the Emperor; but all proved nothing but a mere Plot; and design to convey himself with Seven hundred Men into the Town: The which having succeeded according to his desire, the Defendants were greatly thereby Reinforced, and animated to make a more Vigorous Resistance than could be expected.

Peterhafi
relieves
California.

For on the 8th the Besieged made a Sally and passed far within the Trenches; and tho they were forced at length to Retire, yet above Eighty Men were killed on both sides. On the 14th, Count *Caprara* Summoned the Town, and received a fierce and disdainful Answer; and the same Day three or four Sallics more were made, in which many were Slain, and amongst the rest the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, with several other Persons of Quality. In the mean time General *Schultz* took the Castles of *Kalo*, *Ibrano* and *Vibel* belonging to *Tekeli*; as the Generals *Heusler*, and *Mercy* had done of all the small Places about *Erla*, for better convenience and enlargement of Winter-quarters.

Count *Caprara* continued still to Batter the Town, but with little effect, in regard the Garrison within was strong and resolute: And the differences which happen'd between General *Schultz* and *Caprara*, were great obstructions to the Surrender of that place: But at length an accommodation, and good understanding being made between those two Generals, *Schultz* came to the Siege, and joyned his Army with that of *Caprara*, with which united Force a vigorous Attack being made, the City came to Terms of Treaty, and Surrender'd on the 25th Day of this Month of *October*.

Thus have we related the particulars of all the most Glorious Successes, with which the Imperial Arms were blessed this Year in *Hungary*; which we have done so Amplely, that we shall not need to add much more thereunto, until we have given an Account of the Progress of the *Venetian* Arms, which though very prosperous and considerable this Year in the *Morea*; yet we thought not fit to interrupt the Story of the dreadful Wars in *Hungary*, by a Digression to any other Action.

T H E

T H E Venetian Successes A G A I N S T The T U R K S, 1685.

1685.

W H I L S T the *Morlaques* retained in the Service of the Republic of *Venice*, made frequent Incursions and Spoils on the *Turks* in *Dalmatia*; The *Mainiotes*, (who are another sort of People, much like the *Morlaques*) being animated with the Venetian Successes, began to take up Arms against the *Turks*: But for better understanding of what is to follow, we will describe a little the Countries and Humours of these two People. The *Morlaques* are a People who inhabit the Mountains of *Croatia*, on that side which looks towards the Adriatick Sea. In the Year 1647, the Pasha of *Bosna* and *Tekeli*, Father or Grandfather of the famous *Tekeli* of these Times, committed a Massacre upon many of these poor People at *Knin*; in resentment whereof, at the instance of a certain Priest called *Stephen Florien*, who could manage his Sword as well as his Crucifix, wholly submitted themselves to the *Venetians*, and desired to live under their Protection: They receive no Pay from them, but have the Reward of a *Sequin* (which is Nine Shillings Six-pence English) for the Head of every *Turk* which they bring to the Venetian Officers; for Lucre of which, they have made such constant Enterprizes upon the *Turks*, and such cruel Slaughters, as have rendred them irreconcilable Enemies to the Port. They are a sort of Militia always on the Wing, under no Discipline but their own, encamp on the Plains, but live with their Families in the Mountains, avoiding the Licentiousness which much Conversation brings, and the Luxury of Cities: They have no Learning amongst them, nor understand much what belongs to keeping Faith, or Promises with an Enemy, as appears by their dealing with the *Turks* of the Garrison of *Cilissa*, which in

The Morlaques.

the Year 1648, having surrendered it self up to the *Venetians* on Capitulations, as the Soldiers were marching out of the Town, they fell upon them, and killed Twelve hundred Men; and not one of the rest had escaped, had not the Venetian Officers interposed their Persons and Authority to save those who as yet survived.

The *Mainiotes* are in their Manners and Honesty not much differing from the *Morlaques*, tho much distant from their Country. They are called *Mainiotes* from *Braccio di Maina*, or an Arm of Land in the *Morea*, stretching it self out into the Sea, so called by the *Venetians*, but anciently part of the Country of the *Lacedemonians*. These People by their nearness to the Sea, and ruggedness of their Mountains, have in despite of the *Turkish* Arms, conserved themselves after the manner of the Ancient *Greeks*, in form of a Republick, whereby they had some kind of Government and Justice amongst themselves, tho they entertained a *Turkish* Aga or Lord, rather out of Respect to the *Turks*, than Subjection; but as to other People, they lived upon the Spoil, keeping no honest Intercourse with them, unless with the *Venetians*, whom they feared, because of their Gallies which frequented their Ports. In the Isle of *Cerigo*, which belongs to them, and about Cape *St. Angelo*, which is opposite to the Isle of *Cerigo*, they maintain several Brigantines; with which, when they take *Christians*, they transport them over to *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, where they find a Market for them; and when they have the fortune to seize *Turks*, they sell them to *Venice*, or to *Malta*; and so are Free-booters on all sides; I could of my own Knowledge, give diverse Instances of their way of Trading, and of their Treatment used towards some *Englishmen* of my own

1685. own Company, who unadvisedly and without due regard, set footing on their Land; but because it is not material to our present Discourse, and would be too great a Deviation from our present History, we shall wave all that, and proceed to shew, That the *Mainiotes* hearing of the ill Success of the *Turks* in all places, and that their Fortune was changed, declared for the *Venetians*, to whom they were more inclined on account of the Christian Religion, professing to be of the *Greek* Church, and to follow that Party and Interest which they observed to be in the most thriving Condition. The *Turks* to prevent the Revolt of the *Mainiotes*, sent some Forces to reduce them; but they being supported by *Venetian* Succours, under *Seignior Delfino*, withstood the *Turks*, and charged them with so much Vigour, that of Three thousand five hundred Men, there escaped but an Hundred and Forty, all the rest being either killed or taken. The News hereof encouraged the *Greeks* of *Monte Nero*, which is a Mountain in the *Morea*, to defend and Combate with the *Turks* on the Plains, in which Fight many were killed and wounded on both sides. In the mean time *Paulo Michiel*, a noble *Venetian*, with a Thousand Horse and some Foot joyned with Three thousand *Morlaques*, made Incursions into the Country round about. The *Pasha* of *Bosna*, who with Seven thousand Men was on his March towards *Hungary*, alarm'd by these Forces, returned back to *Clin*, for Conservation of his own Country: And having alter'd the Design and Expedition of that Year, he resolved to wage War nearer home in *Dalmatia*, and accordingly sent Eight thousand Men to lay Siege to the Fortresses of *Duare*. The Place defending it self with great Resolution, gave time and opportunity to the Generals, *Valter* and *Michael*, to come to its Relief; which they performed so effectually, that in less than an Hour's time the *Turks* were obliged to raise the Siege, with the loss of Two hundred and fifty Men killed, and Seventy Prisoners taken; and on the *Christians* side no more than six were slain, and about thirty wounded. The *Morlaques* continued the Pursuit, and routed the *Pasha* of *Bosna* himself, who with a Body of Four thousand Horse was marching towards *Duare*, to maintain the Siege. These were Preludes to greater Matters, which were then acting by the *Venetian* Fleet, and grots of the Army under the auspicious Conduct of *Francesco Morosini*, Captain General of the *Venetian* Forces both by Sea and Land: For the Fleet being completely equip'd and furnished with all Necessaries, both for the Services of Land and Sea, joynd with the Gallies belong-

The Mainiotes
once won
the Turks.

Due to be
fight and
returned.

ing to the Pope, to *Malta*, and to the Duke of *Florence*; all which together composed a Fleet consisting of Five Galeasses, Thirty seven Gallies, Twelve Galleots, Twelve Men of War, Four Petaches, Three Pinks, and Three *Tartans*; besides, Twenty two stout Ships of War, which triumphantly Sailed into the Archipelago, under the Command of *Alexander Molino*, and *Grolamo Delfino*, two Noblemen of *Venice*. The Gallies of *Tuscany* were four, Commanded by Admiral *Guidi*, on which were Three hundred Land Soldiers, under *Prior Vandomi*. The Pope's Gallies were five in number, which carrying no Flag, joynd to the eight Gallies of *Malta*, and composed one Squadron together, under the Command of *Prior Braccaccio*, who had the Title of General, under whom was Cavalier *Malaspina*, Director of the Ecclesiastical Gallies: Upon the Pope's Gallies were Three hundred Land Soldiers; and on those of *Malta* were a Thousand, including the Knights themselves, Commanded by their General *Le Tour*, who by many brave Actions had signalized himself in the last famous Siege of the City of *Candia*. The other Land Forces, were Three thousand *Italians*, One thousand *Scalvontians*, and about Two thousand Four hundred *Germans*, under Command of Prince *Maximilian William of Brunswick*; all which together made up Eight thousand Foot, besides Horse, and besides several Persons of Quality, who were Volunteers, and amongst the rest Prince *Philip of Savoy*, a valiant and a generous Prince; all which Land-forces were Commanded by Count *St. Paul*, a General of great Ability and Experience, having for a long time served the King of *Denmark* and the Duke of *Newburg*. These Forces being joynd in the Port of *Dragonestre*, which was the Place appointed for their general Rendezvous; a Council of War was held, where it was resolved to Sail to Cape *Sapienza*, both to make a Diversion of the *Turkish* Forces, which in great numbers were assembled about *Patras*, and to confirm the *Mainiotes* to continue firm to the *Venetians*; but it seems their Successes were different to their first beginnings, for the *Venetians* having with-drawn their Forces from them, they were over-powered by the *Turks*, and compelled to give Hostages for their future Faithfulness and Alliance to them.

The Guard and Care of *Santa Moura* and *Preveza*, being committed to *Giacomo Coronaro*, Provoditor General of the Islands, the Fleet, as was agreed, sailed for the Waters of *Sapienza*, from whence a Messenger was dispatched to the *Mainiotes*, encouraging them once more to make a Defection from the *Turks*, which they promised to do in

1685.

The Venetian Fleet
and the
Turkish Fleet.

1685. despite of their late Agreement and Hostages given, being resolved upon any Terms whatsoever to free themselves from their Servitude to the *Turks*. In the mean time, a Council of War being called, it was put to the Question, Whether they should Besiege *Modon*, *Coron* or *Navarin*; after some Debate thereupon, it was unanimously concluded, that *Coron* should be the Place first to be invested, being the most feasible Entrance of any, and the most probable to succeed; and being nearest to the *Mainiotes*, was the more commodious for keeping them firm and constant to the Republick: So soon as this Matter was resolved, the Fleet weighed Anchor, and steered their course directly to the Place.

Coron is a Fortress situate in *Messenia*, one of the Provinces of the *Morea*; it is built in a triangular Form, after the ancient Fashion, on a Promontory of Land, and is fortified with six Towers and a Caffe. The Walls are high and thick, made of large square Stones; the lower Town is inhabited by *Greeks* and *Jews*, and the Castle by the *Turks*: It is distant about twelve Miles from *Modon*, which together with *Coron*, belonged anciently to the *Venetians*; but were taken from them by *Bajazet*, in the Year 1499: After which, Prince *Doria* of *Genova*, Commander of the *Spanish* Fleet, retook it from the *Turks* in the Year 1533; and having left one *Mendoza* therein Governor, with a mean Garrison of *Spaniards*, it was in some few Years afterwards surrendered to the *Turks*, who knowing the Importance of the Place, have ever since that time conserved it in their Hands until this Year 1685. When on the 25th of June, the Captain General *Morosini*, in the Morning, landed his Forces almost within Cannon-shot of the Place, without any Opposition from the *Turks*, and approach'd the City under the shelter of some Olive-trees.

On the 26th they began to open the Trenches, and to streighten the Enemy on the side towards the Land: The Battalion of *Malta*, those of *Brunswick*, and the Pope's Forces, were posted on the Right-hand towards the Sea, and the *Venetians* and *Scalvontians* on the Left towards a Suburb or Out-town, of which they made themselves Masters without opposition: The Works also went forward without much Interruption; and two Batteries were raised, each of four great Pieces of Cannon; with four Mortars for Bombs. In the mean time the Captain General kept the Place blocked up by Sea, that no Relief or Succours could come to it; and dispersed the Squadrons of *Tuscany*, with that under the Captain of the *Gulf*, to Cruise towards the *Levant*: And because the Tower of the Fort erected to the Sea,

The Fleet
sails in
Coron.

Coron def.
cried.

The Venetian
and land
their Men
and open
their
Trenches.

incommoded the Fleet, Order was given to *Andrea Nuvager* and *Agustin Sagredo*, the Captains of two Galeasses, with four principal Gallies to approach near, and to Batter the Tower, which was performed with good Effect and great Execution. The Works were continued with great Industry and Labour, and the Completing of them hastened with the more expedition, by reason that News was brought to the Camp, that the *Pasha* of the *Morea*, with a Body of Three or Four thousand Horse and Foot were assembling together to raise the Siege; to oppose which with the more advantage, all the Olive-trees near the Town were cut down, and a large Field and Campaign opened without any shelter for the Enemy. Notwithstanding which, they were much encouraged in the Town, by Letters privately conveyed therein, giving them hopes from the *Pasha* of speedy Relief; in expectation whereof, they returned an obstinate and a rugged Answer to the Summons which the Captain *Pasha* had sent them, signifying that the Fortress belonged to the Grand Seignior, which they were resolved to defend, so long as one Stone thereof remained on the other. Nor were the Besieged therein deceived; for the Captain General by most certain Intelligence was informed, that in the parts near to *Lepanto* and *Patras* Three thousand *Turks* were got into a Body; and that some few Days before, Twelve hundred were upon the March under *Musapha* *Pasha*, and that the others commanded by *Fatin* *Pasha* were following them with all expedition, and already on their March.

On the 7th of July in the Morning, a considerable Body of *Turks* appeared about two Miles distant from the Trenches, advancing slowly and with Circumspection on their Way thither; the Number and Quality of which, (as was advised by a *Janissary*, who was a Fugitive from the Enemy) were Five hundred Horse, One hundred *Janissaries*, Four hundred *Segmen*, besides Two hundred more who were supplied from *Modon*, and gathered from the adjacent Villages, besides a Thousand more not far distant; and the Three thousand *Turks*, who had lately mustered near *Lepanto* and *Patras*, were also on their March with the same Design of Relieving the Town. As these Forces advanced nearer to the *Venetians*, Skirmishes daily happened, in which the *Turks* were for the most part worsted; and in regard *Staus* *Pasha* found himself much weaker than the *Christians*, he issued his Commands into all Parts near to *Calamata* and *Mistra*, and the Parts adjacent, requiring them to send a Man out of every House, with Match and Shovel, to level the Ways; and render them more passable.

A 2. and

1685.

The Turks
march to
relieve the
Place.

Staus Pasha.

1685. and commodious for Transportation of Cannon, which he intended to plant on a Battery, designed to annoy the *Venetian* Fortifications: To Countermand which, the *Christian* Ingenieurs projecting where to erect another Battery to offend that which the *Turks* were designing, raised one in a very short time, with three Pieces of Cannon on the highest Port, where the Forces of *Brunswick* were lodged, which did great Execution, not only offending the new Battery of the *Turks*, but likewise the whole Camp.

The *Pasha* being come up with all his Forces very near to the *Venetian* Leaguer, fortified himself with a good Retrenchment; and with the Battery he had raised of four Pieces of Cannon, he plaid cross-wise, which much incommoded the *Christian* Camp, and the two Armies lying by near each to the other, it was impossible but Alarums must be continually given on both sides, and daily Skirmishes must happen with various Successes. The Besieged being herewith encouraged, redoubled their Fire, and seemed neither to fear Assaults, nor the Springing of Mines, which being to be penetrated through a hard Rock, took up no less than three Weeks time to perfect. The Fortifications of the Place, tho' much ruin'd by the Batteries, and much Damage caused by the Bombs, yet the Situation thereof was advantageous, being placed on a Rock, flanked with great Towers, defended with eighty Pieces of Cannon, with store of Ammunition and Provision of all sorts, and a good Garrison within of Eight hundred Men, besides many others fit to bear Arms; it seemed impossible to become Masters of the Town, but by opening a wide Breach with Batteries and Mines, entering thereat with a vigorous Assault; during which they were to expect an Attack from the *Turkish* Army, which lay near them, and in a manner Besieged them.

This posture of Affairs gave some Trouble to the *Christian* Generals, in what manner to offend the one, and at the same time to defend from the other; for the Mines were all ready, one under the great Tower, contrived and mannaged by the direction of the Ingenieur *Balsignani*; and the other opposite unto it, near the Attack of *Brunswick* and *Malta* by Ingenieur *Verneda*. And now to put these Matters in Execution, the Captain General *Morofini* came on shoar, and having called a Council of War, it was thereat agreed, That the Day following being the 24th of July, a general Assault should be made, and the Mine of *Verneda* should in the first place be fired: All things were accordingly prepared; *Segres* a Knight of *Malta*, was to begin the Assault at the head of Sixty Granadiers, seconded by a Detach-

The Pasha of the Morea fortifies his Camp.

don't prepared.

1685.

ment of Fusiliers and *Sclavonians*: *La Barre* Lieutenant General of the Battalion of *Malta*, was to follow the Chevalier de *Refuge*, at the head of the Pope's and *Venetian* Forces; these were to be seconded by the Prince of *Brunswick*, with a Hundred and thirty Men, and afterwards followed by Monsieur de *la Tour Maubeuge*, General of *Malta*, with a Body of Knights carrying the Standard of that Order. All things being thus prepared and ordered, the Mine charged with a Hundred Barrels of Powder was fired, which threw up some of the Earth, and part of the Wall, but had not force sufficient to move the Rock, but recoyled and vented it self another way. The *Turks* taking this to be the Signal for an Assault, immediately invested the Redoubt and Battery, which (as we have said) was erected on a certain Eminence of rising Ground for security of the Lines, and stormed it so vigorously, that the *Venetians* and *Sclavonians*, who had from the Defence thereof, were forced to give way and quit the Station, and the *Turks* remaining Masters thereof, planted twenty of their Colours thereon, to the great Encouragement of the Besieged. Monsieur de *la Tour*, who with his Knights was posted nearest to the Redoubt, considering that the *Turks* could not be permitted to remain in Possession thereof without great Annoyance to the whole Camp; and that the same was not to be recovered without some extraordinary and signal Action; he without farther delay, called his Men about him, and with much Haft and Bravery, which was natural to him, advanced towards the Enemy, and was the first who leaped into the Redoubt, and with his own Hand killed two *Turks*, who opposed him; a third coming behind him, threw off a light Helmet which he wore, and gave him a cut over the Head with his Cymeter, with which he fell to the Ground; and having received two other Wounds, from whence much Blood issued, his Companions designed to have carried him off, but were prevented by a Barrel of Powder, which accidentally taking fire, carried him nearer towards Heaven, a Place designed for him in Reward of his Religion and Vertues. He was followed close by several Knights, namely, by *de Termes*, a most valiant Person, who was also slain, as was *Micheon* by a Musquet-shot: *Gramont* received two Wounds with a Cymeter and a Musquet-shot; *Bourgon*, *de Galiard*, & *de la Morre*, were mortally wounded, besides many others, who so signally found themselves in this Action, that they drove the Enemy headlong from the Redoubt, took eleven of their Colours, and in place thereof planted the Standard of the Order of *Malta*, at the sight whereof all the Army with a loud shout cried, *Viva Malta*, or

Orders for an assault.

The Turks make a force from the Venetians.

La Tour killed.

with many other Knights of Malta.

they regain the Fort.

May

1685. May *Malta* live. The *Venetians* and *Sclavonians*, animated with this Success returned to their wonted Courage, and killed Three hundred *Turks*, who had lodged themselves in the Redoubt, suffering none of them to Escape. The Fight being ended, the *Venetians* exposed the Banners they had taken from the Enemy, with One hundred and thirty Heads in view of the Besieged, who being nothing affrighted herewith continued still with much Valour and Resolution to maintain their Fortres. The Death of General de *la Tour*, was lamented by all the Army, and especially by the Captain General *Morofini*: His Funeral Rites were celebrated with all the decency, and ceremony belonging to a Commander, whose Merits and Valour had made a deep Impression in the Minds of his Soldiery; for the Sweetness of his Temper, with his modest and engaging Deportment, had made his Conversation agreeable to all that knew him. His Heart and Bones were Embalmed, to be carried to *Malta*, where afterwards they were Inter'd. The Cavalier de *la Barre* being the next in place, was preferred to his Command of the Battalion, a Person qualified in all respects to succeed so worthy a Predecessor, having acquired a general esteem by the bravery of his Actions, and long experience in the War.

Notwithstanding the repulse which the *Turks* had received from the Redoubt, they returned again to make fresh Attempts upon the Lines, and with redoubled Force, having their Cymeters in their Hands they cast themselves once more into the Fort, which was called *St. John's Fort*, by reason that it had been preserved by the Valour of those Knights, who had the good Fortune to drive them once more from thence; by which and several other Actions of Chivalry, they became so formidable to the *Turks*, that they would fly before them, so soon as they saw the Standard of *St. John* advance. The Mine of *Verneda*, having (as we have said) recoyled without much effect; Considerations were had of Firing the other of *Balsignani*, charged with Two hundred Barrels of Powder, and thereupon to proceed to a General Assault: But in regard the *Turks* in the Camp, who were now grown to Six thousand Men, were ready on such an occasion, immediately to fall upon the Assaulters; it was agreed as absolutely necessary to give them Battle, and drive them out of their Works, before it could be safe, or possible to Storm the Breaches.

Whilst these Matters were under Consideration, two of the Rulers of the *Mantivies*, or grave Councellois (called by them *Vecchiardi*) happily came to the Captain

General on the 5th of August, to offer to him in the name of their People a Recruit of Fifteen hundred Men, which were kindly accepted, and the Messengers treated with all imaginable Civility, and the next Day the Captain of the *Gulf*, with four Gallies was sent to Transport them to the Camp. In the mean time, the *Turks* daily receiving new Recruits and Refreshments, from divers parts of the *Morea*, invested continually the *Christians* in their Works: The Defendants also let down small Parties by Night from the Walls of the Town, who covering them under the Rocks, and in Holes, Fired upon the Guards; and being good Marks-men, and shooting with Art, the *Venetians* annoyed in their Trenches, and being nimble and active Men, skip over the Rocks and made their Escape. By Night they threw their Artificial Fires from the Walls into the Trenches, which easily seized the Beams and Coverings, made of *Olive-trees* and Rafters of old Houses, taken from a Neighbouring Village, which burned so imperiously, that with great difficulty the Fire was quenched; in doing which the *Christians* were exposed to the small Shot from the Walls, which by the light of the Fire they poured upon them. Their numbers thus daily decreasing by those who were Slain, Sick and Wounded, there seemed a kind of necessity of performing speedily some considerable Feat of Arms, before they languished, and consumed away in their Trenches; and before the new Reinforcements were come from the Captain *Pasha*; who, as it was said, was already arrived with his Fleet in some part of the *Morea*. This Council being agreed, as necessary by all the Chief Officers: The Captain General selected out of the *Venetian* Gallies and Galliot Fifteen hundred Le-
 vent, or Soldiers belonging to the Fleet, who were stout and robust Fellows, under Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Magnanini*, whom he commanded silently to Land after Mid-night: Twelve hundred whereof were to take their way towards the Enemies Trenches on the left Hand, at the opening into a Vally, and the remaining Three hundred to the right Hand; and to confound the Enemy the more, the Fleet was ordered to weigh Anchor, and move from their usual Station. At the same time Three thousand choise Soldiers under command of General *St. Paul*, were appointed to march out of their Line; and on the 7th of August by break of day in the Morning to Attack the Enemy in their Trenches, who were more numerous in their Men than the *Christians*, and had much the advantage over them by their Horse: All things were punctually observed, and executed according-

1685. Aug.

The Venetians annoyed in their Trenches.

As a receipt required in the Tur- kish Camp.

1685. ly; And on the 7th Day, with the dawn-
ing of the Morning, the Signal was given
by Firing two Barrels of Powder under the
Breach, which was immediately followed by
all the Cannon of the Fleet and Camp; and
with such thick Volleys of small shot in the
Front from the Three thousand Men, which
had sallied out of the Line, and from the
Levents, who had placed themselves both
in the Rear and Flank; that the Enemy be-
lieving the Venetian Camp to be much aug-
mented by the accession of the Mainiotes,
and other Auxiliaries, affrighted with a
panic fear, put themselves generally to
Flight: Those who were more courageous
and stood the Brunt, were not able to resist
long, but either were beaten, and trampled
down by their Fellows, or killed by the
Venetians, who pursued the Flying Enemy,
as far as they could without Horse, leaving
the Ground covered with dead Bodies and
with Blood.

The Turks
defeated.

This Victory was the more remarkable,
because it was obtained on the 7th of Au-
gust, which was the same Day of the past
Year, on which *Santa Maura* was taken.
The Booty was very considerable; for be-
sides the Artillery, Arms and Ammunition
of all sorts, with store of Provisions, the Turks
left Three hundred Horse behind them,
which they had not time to mount with
their Tents and Colours, and two Horse
Tails, which are the Ensigns of *Sias* Pasha,
who also fell in this Action: All the Artil-
lery was taken, amongst which were six
Pieces of Brass Cannon, three whereof were
marked with the Arms of the Republick.

The Bay
taken.

The Day following the Captain of the
Gulf employed (as we have said) to bring
Fifteen hundred Mainiotes to the Camp,
arrived with Three hundred only: And on
the 9th, the Commander in chief of the
Forces belonging to the great Duke of Tos-
cany, alleging that the Term of his Com-
mission was expired, and that he was not
authorized to remain longer at the Siege,
he was licenced by the Captain General to
depart, and a Farewell taken with all ex-
pressions of kindness and civility. And now to
complete and consummate these Successes
by taking the Fortrefs, which was the chief
and principal design of this Campaign; all
industry and care was used to clear the Pas-
sage of the Rocks, Rubbish and other im-
pediments which lay in the Way, on the
side of the Attack of *Brunswick* and *Malta*.
And on the other side towards the Venetian
Attack, to lay open, and widen the principal
of the three Chambers of the Gallery,
which was formed by the Ingenier *Bassignani*,
and thereby to make an entrance so
far, as was possible under the chief Bul-
work: This work was so industriously

Prepara-
tions for a
new at-
tack.

carried on, that on the 10th of this Month
of August the Mine was finished, and charged
with Two hundred and fifty Barrels of
Powder, which were found in the Turkish
Camp. And that Evening at a Council of
War, at which the Captain General, and
all the principal Officers were present, it
was agreed next Morning by break of day
to give Fire to the Mine and make a Gen-
eral Assault: Accordingly on the 11th
the Troops being drawn into Battalia, the
Mine was fired, which had its due effect,
overthrowing the Bulwark, and widening
the Breach, and blowing up all the Garri-
son which defended that part, into the Air,
and not without hurt to many of the Ven-
etian Soldiers, who were nearest to the
Mine, and ready to second the Mine with
an Assault.

Aug.
11th.

A mine
spring.

So soon as the Blow was given, the Ita-
lian Troops commanded by Sergeant Major
Jovii, with much Courage and Resolution
proceeded to the Assault, in the Front of
which was Captain *Marco Ferri*, a Person who
had greatly signalized himself at the Siege
of *Candia*; and from thence, and from o-
ther places had brought many Scars and
Wounds, which were so many Signs and
Marks of Honour. The Assaultants were
received with Bravery by the Defendants:
Howsoever, an opportunity was given them
to Enter the City at that time, had they not
instead of improving the advantage, con-
tented themselves with a Lodgment on the
Breach. At the same time, so soon as the
noise of the Mine was heard, the Forces of
Malta, who were at the Head of the other
Attack, seconded by the Pope's, and those
of *Brunswick*, with great Vigour gained the
Top of the Breach, which had been some
Days open, tho it was of very difficult ac-
cess, and had been repaired in some manner
by the Defendants: Here now began a
very furious Fight, in which the Knights
behaved themselves with as much Man-
hood, and Proofs as became their Order,
endeavouring to force the Retrenchment;
but it being well Flank'd and furnished with
Artillery, they fired so terribly upon them,
that four of them were killed on the place,
and above thirty wounded. The Cavalier de la
Barre, who commanded that Battalion, be-
haved himself with all the Courage imagina-
ble, and tho seconded with like Resolution by
the Pope's Officers, and those of *Brunswick*,
yet they were repulsed and forced to Re-
tire. But the Knights having heard how great
a Breach the Venetian Mine had made, they
resolved to give a fresh Assault in the Af-
ternoon; and in the mean time the Levents
were Landed from the Gallies, to give bet-
ter Countenance to this Enterprize. All
things being prepared accordingly; and the
Troops

An Attack
on the Ve-
netian side.

An Attack
on the side
of Malta.

1685. Troops Marching out of their Lines to at-
tempt the ultimate Assault, gave the Be-
sieged cause to believe, that it was not pos-
sible longer to resist, their Commander in
Chief with many others of their principal
Officers being buried in the Ruins; they
spread a White Flag in token of a Parly.

A Parly
offered.

The General *St. Paul* upon sight hereof,
gave a stop to the Assault; but the Captain
General refused to accept any Treaty, un-
less the main Tower were in the first place
delivered into their Hands. But whilst they
were Capitulating on this Preliminary, it
unfortunately happened out, that two Sol-
diers quarrelling together a Pistol was shot
off, and the Baneliers of another Soldier
took Fire, which gave such an Alarm to
the Besieged, that they cried out Treache-
ry, and therewith fired one of their Cannon
planted at the entrance of the Breach, la-
den with small shot, which killed several
that were mounted thereon: This Accident
was sufficient to put an end to the Treaty,
and incited the Soldiery, who transported
with Fury, broke into the middle of the
Town, and with miserable slaughter put
Men, Women and Children to the Sword,
without any respect either to Age, or
Sex.

Coron is
burnt by
Storm.

Thus ended the Siege of *Coron*, on the
11th of August, which was Seven and forty
Days after the Trenches were opened. It
was a Bloody Day to both sides. The *Chri-
stians* lost about Three hundred Men, but
the Turks near Three thousand; all the In-
habitants, as well as the Soldiery being
miserably slaughter'd, and the Town com-
mitted to the Plunder and Pillage of the Sol-
diery. After which *Te Deum* being Sung,
with other Hymns of Praises, and Thanks
to Almighty God, the Captain General em-
braced all the Chief Officers with much af-
fection and kindness, as namely the two
Princes of *Brunswick* and *Savoy*, and all the
others in their several Degrees: He declar'd,
That Count *St. Paul* with his *Venetians*
had gained much Honour; That the young
Count of *Brunswick* had signalized himself
in a particular manner; That the Forces of
Florence had given good proofs of their
Valour, to the time of their Departure,
which was some Days before the end of the
Siege. That the Battalion of *Malta*, which
were always joyned with the Pope's Forces
deserved immortal Glory, as did all the
Knights, who so bravely had sacrificed their
Lives in defence of the Christian Faith;
and that the Cavalier de la *Barre*, by
many brave Actions had maintained the
same Honour which de la *Tour* had
gained. He also particularly applauded the
two Sergeant-Majors of Battalia, *Jovii* and
Alecanago, the Marquis of *Corbon*, Colonel

of Dragoons, with the Ingenier *Bassignani*,
on whom he bestowed a Gold-chain and a
Medal in Reward of the great Service he had
done, by well contriving and fortifying the
Mine, which gave the ultimate and fatal
Blow to the Town. In fine, he bestowed
due Praises and Commendations on the in-
ferior Officers and common Soldiers, amongst
whom the Booty of the Town being dis-
tributed, every one remained entirely sat-
isfied. In the Town and Fortrefs thereof
were an Hundred twenty eight Pieces of Can-
non, of which Seventy were of Brads, of
which, some were buried in the Ruins;
in digging for which, there was a Stone
found with this Inscription:

1685.
Morosini
applauds
the Victory
of his Off.
cers.

Hoc opus fieri fecerunt
Magnifici
Et Clarissimi D. D.
Bernardus Donato
Castellanus
Et
Ludovicus Contareno
Capitaneus
Et Provisorum Coronii
M. CCCCLXIII.

Before the Departure of the Captain Gen-
eral, the Government of this important Place
was committed to the Care of *Georgio*
Benzon, to be *Proveditor* in extraordinary,
and to *Justin de Riva* in ordinary. The
Super-intendency over the Arms was com-
mitted to Count *Alexander Vimes*, and his
Brother was declared Governour.

The Siege of *Coron* being thus honour-
ably concluded, the Prior *Brancaccio*, Gen-
eral of *Malta*, and the Cavalier *Malaspina*
Antiano, Commander of the Pope's Gallies,
declared, that the time allotted them for
their continuance Abroad by Commission
and Instruction being expired, they desired
leave to return to their respective Countries.
The Captain General, who was desirous to
add one brave Action more to the Glories
of this Campaign, shewed himself unwilling
to lose so good Company, and so great a
Diminution of his Forces, instantly desired
their Aid and Assistance for prosecution of
a farther Design; but they urging that the
term of their Commissions was already ex-
pired, and therefore against their own Inclina-
tions, they were obliged to depart, and
more especially that their Forces were more
than half diminished, and most of their
Knights either killed, sick, or wounded,
they at length prevailed with the Captain
General to grant them a Release; from whom
having received the Visits and Complements
of Farewell, they set Sail on the 22d of August
at Night; with whom also departed Ge-
neral *St. Paul*, a Person very aged, and ty-
red.

The Pope's
Gallies, and
those of
Malta, re-
turn home.

1685. red with the Toils of the Campaign, had Licenſe given him to eaſe himſelf in the Iſland of *Zant*, as alſo to the Colonel his Son, who had for ſome time laboured under the Indiſpoſitions of a malignant Fever.

The Captain Paſha having received Intelligence of the loſs of *Corſu*, failed with his Fleet of Gallies in ſight of *Cerigo*, hoping thereby to divert the *Venetians* from attempting farther any Deſign for that Year: But this Sally was only in Bravade, rather than in earneſt; for the *Venetians* were become ſo terrible to them by the late Succesſes, that the Captain Paſha with fear retired into the Port of *Napoli di Romania*, where, ſo ſoon as he was entred, he drew the Chain croſs the Mouth of the Harbour for Security of his Gallies, and landed the moſt choiſe and ſelect Men of his Militia on the Shoar; where he formed a Camp, as well to receive the ſcattered and diſpirited Troops, which were fled from before *Coron*, as to give Life and Courage to the affrighted People of thoſe Provinces, and reſtrain the *Mainiotes* from their intended defection from the *Ottoman* Empire; promiſing to remit unto them all the Money they owed for Charatch or Pole-money, and to free and exempt them from all ſorts of Taxes and Impoſitions for the three ensuing Years. This Captain Paſha was chief Favourite. The Captain General who was ſtill at *Coron*, repairing thoſe Fortifications with great diligence, ſet Sail to the Coaſt of *Zarnata*, being recruited with the Forces of *Saxony*, which (as we have ſaid) were lately arrived in the Iſland of *Corſu*.

Zarnata is a Fortreſs almoſt of a round Figure: It is naturally ſtrong, being ſituate on a high Hill, but rendered much more conſiderable by Art. The Captain General ſent a Detachment to Summon the Place, which began at the firſt Overture to entertain a Treaty; and tho' the groſs of the Venetian Army was not within five Miles of them, and had not as yet made any deſcent; and the Turkiſh Forces, under the Captain Paſha, were much at the ſame diſtance from them: Howſoever, the Aga which govern'd the Place, whether out of fear or affection to the *Chriſtians*, Surrender'd it at the firſt Demand on the 11th of September. The Gaſſion, which conſiſted of Six hundred Men, was embarked, and guarded by a Convoy within a ſmall diſtance from *Calamata*; but the Aga fearing Death for his Cowardice or Treachery, remained in the Venetian Camp, where he was entertained by the Captain General with a Penſion of Thirty Pieces of Eight a Month, after he had received Baptiſm, with Twenty other *Turks*, who were conſenting to the Surrender. In this place were fifty one Pieces

of Cannon, Two hundred Quintals of Powder, with great ſtore of Bullets, Ammunition, and other Proviſions: After which, Seignior *Morofini* put into the Town Two hundred and fifty Foot Soldiers, under Command of the noble *Venetians*, *Bartolomeo Contareni* and *Angelo Emo*.

Whilst theſe things were acting, the Captain Paſha, who was encamped about five Miles diſtant from *Zarnata*, with Seven thouſand Foot and Three thouſand Horſe; upon News of the Surrender of the Fortreſs, withdrew his Forces under the Cannon of *Calamata*. This fear which the *Turks* ſhewed, animated the *Chriſtians* to adventure a Battle, without which, it was concluded at a Council of War, that nothing could be enterpriſed either towards Subjection of *Calamata*, or any other Town in the *Maina*; upon which Reſolution the *Venetians* landed their Forces on the Shoar of *Agiſio*, which is ſituate at the entrance of the Province of *Maina*, a Place ſecure and advantageous, having on the Right-hand Mountains, on the Left Woods and Ditches, and on the Front ſeveral little Hills and Torrents of Water. So ſoon as ſome of the Venetian Troops appear'd on the Shoar, the *Turks* advanced to the tops of the Hills, on which they planted forty or fifty Colours or Banners, and about Five or Six hundred of their Horſe placed themſelves under the Hills in the Valley: To diſlodge theſe, and ſecure their own Camp, the *Venetians* had raiſed two Batteries of three Pieces of Cannon each, at the appearance of which, both the Horſe marched away, and the Colours were withdrawn. The *Chriſtians* taking this for an Inſtance of the Enemies fear, the Captain General put his whole Army into Battalia, with the Troops of *Saxony*, conducted by General *Degenſelt*, an old and experienced Commander, and marched towards the Enemy; and at the ſame time, about a Thouſand *Mainiotes* flanked by Two hundred *Morlaques*, appeared on the top of a Hill to the Right-hand. In this poſture the *Chriſtians* remained all Night, and the next Morning being the 14th of September, which was the Exaltation of the Holy Croſs, the General gave Orders to the Army to move and attack the Enemy: But the *Turks* not thinking themſelves ſafe under the Walls of *Calamata*, ſet fire to their Magazines, and quitted the Town, making a Retreat with ſome ſmall Skirmiſhes, without much Damage to one ſide or the other. This Retreat or Flight rather, was ſo ſhameful, that the *Chriſtians* believed it at firſt to be ſome Stratagem, and were cautious either to purſue the Enemy, or enter the Town; but at length a Party of *Scalabontians* and *Mainiotes* being commanded to advance to the

Town,

1685. Town, they offered it to flame in divers Places; for the Inhabitants finding themſelves abandoned by the Captain Paſha, deſpaired of all Relief, quitted the Town and ſet fire to their Houſes: And thus did the *Chriſtian* Army enter *Calamata*, without any oppoſition. The News of theſe Succesſes encouraged the *Mainiotes* that they repaired to the Venetian Camp in great numbers; a Party of which was preſently ſent in purſuit of the Enemy. In the Caſtle were only found nine Pieces of Cannon, and thoſe nailed and rendered uſerviceable; the Ammunition was equal to the Arms, and the Place of it ſelf being eſteemed conſiderable and unfit for a Gaſſion, was diſmantled, and the Walls demolished.

Calamata is ſituate on the River anciently called *Paniſſus*, or *Paniſſus*, in the Province of *Belvedere*, now *Spirnazza*: The Town is not environed by Walls, but defended by a Caſtle, which was only tenable againſt ſome preſent Incurſion, and for that reaſon, both the *Turks* abandon'd it, and the *Chriſtians* demolished it.

After *Calamata* was taken, the *Venetians* ſeized on *Porto Vitalo*, in which were fifty Pieces of Cannon, ten of ſmaller Artillery, with ſtore of Ammunition. After which the Captain General appearing before *Chieſia*, the Gaſſion therein conceiving themſelves in no Condition to make defence Surrender'd upon Articles. *Aſan* Paſha, who was Governour of that place, and of all the Province round, was the firſt to lead the way out of the Town, and being accompanied with a Thouſand People, carried the Keys to the Admiral Gaſſy; Three hundred and fifty of which were Transported to the Iſland of *Cerui*, with their Goods and Moveables.

During this Summer Seignior *Molino* Commander of Twenty Sail of Ships, employ'd (as we have ſaid) to Cruize in the *Archipelago*, Chafed the Captain Paſha from place to place, and at length drove him into *Rhodes*, where he ſecured himſelf and his Fleet, with a ſtrong Chain drawn croſs the Harbour, not daring to adventure a-broad, tho' the *Venetians* came often to brave him, and challenge him to an Engagement.

Thus ending this Campaign with great Reputation and Glory to the Venetian Arms, the Captain General *Morofini* Sailed for *Corſu*, to take his Winter-quarters there: The Troops of *Brunſwick* were ſent to *Zant*, thoſe of *Saxony* with the Dragoons to *Santa Maura*, and other independent Regiments to *Corſu*, all due care being taken to make Proviſions for their expected Gueſts. Whilst theſe Forces were drawn into their Winter-quarters, to enjoy ſome eaſe after the labours of War; the Seignior

Molino Captain extraordinary of the Ships, was appointed for a Guard to the Coaſt, and with his Squadron to Cruize near Cape *Sapientia*, and the Gulfs and Narrow Streights in thoſe Seas.

But before the Captain General thought fit to lay up his Fleet until the next Season in *Corſu*, he touched at *Santa Maura* and *Preveſta*, to take a View and Survey of the State of thoſe Places; but in his way thither, accidentally putting into the Port of *Gomenizze* with ſome Gallies, he order'd the Provveditor with the reſt of the Fleet to paſs to the other ſide, and beſtow a few Shot upon the Caſtle; which being done, ſome Troops were landed, and marched in Military form towards the Caſtle; upon ſight of which the *Turks* were become ſo Cowardly and Timorous, that they fired one Gun and abandoned the Caſtle, and fled into the neighbouring Mountains and Woods for Refuge. So the *Venetians* took immediate Poſſeſſion of the Fortreſs, in which were Twelve Pieces of Braſs Cannon.

This place of it ſelf was of no great conſideration; but in regard it was the Neſt, and Sanctuary for Pyrates and Robbers, who in the times of Peace continually infeſted *Corſu*, *Parga* and *Pazo*, the News thereof was ſatisfactory and pleaſing, to all the Inhabitants of that Coaſt: So that when the Captain General on the 13th of November enter'd into *Corſu*, he was there received with loud Acclamations, extolling the Glory of his conſtant and continued Succesſes, with joyful remembrance, and with particular Thanks for having reduced the Caſtle of *Gomenizze*, which had long been an ill Neighbour, and had much annoy'd and infeſted their Seas.

Thus were the Affairs of the *Turks* ruinous as well at Sea as at Land, in *Hungary* and in the *Morea*; the Paſha overthrow'n at *Eſſeck* was called *Sians*, and ſo was the Captain Paſha, or Admiral of the Gallies, as if there had been ſomething of Miſfortune in the Name. *Sians*, who was Admiral of the Fleet had formerly been *Molſip*, or Favourite, and in his younger Years being a comely Perſon, was much beloved by the Grand Seignior; he was always in his Preſence, and ever had the Honour to be Familiar with him in Converſation; to be Clothed like his Maſter, and to Ride equal with him on the right Hand, which is the inferior place with the *Turks*. But he that had always been educated in a Court; was upon the trial found unfit, and unable to perform the Office of an Admiral at Sea; and therefore was order'd to leave the care and conduct of the Fleet to *Mazamania*, ſo called becauſe he had killed his Mother, but

1685. he was a good Sea Officer, bred up in the Gallies from his youth, and one of the Beys of the *Archipelago*, of which there are Twenty four in number, who are obliged to Arm, and Man their Gallies at their own Cost and Charge, having in Consideration thereof the *Haratch* or Pole-money of the Islands, settled on them for their Maintenance. He was the Son of a Captain Pasha, killed by the *English* in Fight at Sea; for which cause he hath ever since declared his Hatred and Malice against our Nation: He was a very fat and corpulent Man, afflicted much with a Fistula in *Ano*, which he cherished by excessive Eating and a Sedentary Life, using no other Exercise than what he received by the motion of his Gally.

Siaus Pasha being discharged from his Office of Admiral, was made *Generalissimo* of all the Land Forces in the *Morea*, but he was as unfit to Command an Army, as he was a Fleet; for he was no Soldier, nor of any experience in a Camp; and besides he was affected with an incurable Lameness in one of his Knees, whereby he could neither Walk, nor mount on Horse-back without help. His Success was agreeable to his Abilities; for (as we have said) his Forces were defeated, his *Kaya* or Lieutenant killed, and he himself with difficulty escaped.

When the News of these ill Successes came from the *Morea*, *Hungary* and other parts, the Court at *Adrianople* used all imaginable Arts to conceal the losses; the *Curriers* were order'd to come privately by Night into the Town, and none durst to Cabal or Discourse of News, which was the cause that nothing but Lies were whisper'd about the Town. Upon these Emergences frequent Councils were held, at which the *Mufti*, *Kadilechers*, or Chief Justices, *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary of State, and *Janissar-Aga*, all firm and entire Friends to the Grand Vizier, were always present and assistant to him; by which unusual method of proceeding in this Court, he gave the World to understand, that acting nothing of himself, he was not to be blamed or censur'd for the Success, or to be accountable for the miscarriages of the War. And whereas there were several Murmurs amongst the People, and in the Army especially, against the Vizier for not going to the War; he publicly desired the Grand Seignior's leave and commands to go; to which when the Sultan seem'd inclinable, the Council unanimously oppos'd it, representing that it was never accusatory, nor decent for the Emperor, to send his Representative with his Seal and Authority without a Royal Army, or without expectation of performing some Signal Enterprize: And

that on any other Terms or Circumstances than these, his going would be Prejudicial and Dishonourable: It was farther alledged, That the attendance on the Vizier would consist of many useless Mouths, and the occasion of business draw many Followers to his Court, who must necessarily consume a great part of those Provisions, which would be more usefully employed for the use and sustenance of the Camp.

But the best Excuse of all, was the ill state of the Vizier's health; concerning which there were various Reports; sometimes it was said, that he was desperately ill, then again that he was recover'd, then that he was relaps'd; some said, that he was Sick in Policy, others in Reality; but what seem'd most probable was, that he was afflicted with the Spleen, by reason of which all kind of ill News made a sensible alteration in him: The Cares which constantly tormented him, kept his Mind always bent, and increased the pain in his Side, which kept him from Repose: These matters with Sixty six years of Age, were Afflictions sufficient to weary out, and harash a Body much more strong and robust than his: Tho' formerly he had the Report, and that not without reason of a bad Man; yet after his being Vizier, his Comportment was with all Justice and Moderation; and tho' naturally he was Passionate, yet striving with his Temper, he became mild and easy in his Conversation. Our *English* Nation in *Turky* were sensible of this great change of his Humour; for he became kind to them (which is extraordinary in a *Turk*) without other advantage to himself, than his usual and regular Presents.

It was impossible, but that the whole *The ill* Empire, even as far as to *Basora*, to *Babylon* *state of this* or *Bagdat*, and the most remote parts of the East, should feel the dire effects of this unfortunate War; little Money was stirring and Trade interrupted, the want of which affect'd the Publick, as much or more than private Members. The Grand Seignior was forced at the beginning of the last Campaign, to disburse his Coffers in the *Seraglio* of all the ready Money in Cash; for the Riches there consists for the most part in Jewels and rich Furniture, rather than in Banks of Money: After which about the middle of the Summer, they rancked the Treasury of the Stables, and took out from thence in Silver and Gold Stirrups, and other Horse-furniture, which they caus'd to be Coin'd with 30*l.* per Cent. Alloy, to the value as was reported of Two thousand Purises, which made just a Million of Dollars. Misfortunes and Scarcity made the Soldiers mutinous upon every small occasion, andaverse from going to the War: The Lord Treasurer

1685. furer was removed from his Office, and made Pasha of *Damascus*, and sent to supply the place, and charge of *Siaus* Pasha killed at *Esbeck*, and order'd to repair the Bridge and defend that Pass: A Party of about Two thousand five hundred *Spahbees* then at *Adrianople*, were commanded to follow him upon this Expedition. But Five hundred of these, withdrawing themselves from the rest demanded their Pay, and refused to March; saying, That by the original constitution of their Order, they were not obliged to go to the War, but with the Vizier, or Standard of the Prophet, which it was their Profession and Office, to Guard and Defend. But to give a stop to this Sedition, and Nip it in the Bud, the Vizier immediately sent his *Kaiah* with all his Retinue, and *Janissar-Aga* to the place where they were assembled, not far distant from the City; Twenty of them were taken and sent to the Grand Seignior, who caus'd four of their Heads to be cut off, and the other Sixteen were sent to the Gallies; and two of their Chief Officers were Banish'd to *Cyprus*, for keeping no better Order amongst their Men; all the rest were dispers'd, and in an hour's time the whole Business was over; and in a few Days afterwards, those who were banish'd, and those who were sent to the Gallies were recalled and restor'd to their places, and all of them contentedly, and in good order march'd towards *Hungary*. But they had not proceeded far on their way before advices came, that after *Ibrahim* Pasha's defeat near *Strigonium*, there had arose differences and disturbances between the *Spahbees* and *Janissaries*, to suppress which *Ibrahim* had cut off several of them: Whereupon it being not thought fit to suffer these Mutinous *Spahbees*, to join with the discontented Parties, a stop was put to their March; until such time as *Agiemzade*, a grave and wise Person, one who had formerly been *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary of State, was sent to the Army in *Hungary*, with a Sum of Money to appease the Mutinies, and soften the Minds of the Soldiery. These little disturbances caus'd the People to talk, and brought the Vizier's name upon their Tongues: And those who pretended to be Politicians discour'd, That this Empire had been rais'd, and supported by the Riches there rais'd, and from them deriving Persons had been promoted, and advanced to the high Degrees of Viziers and Generals; and not from Parasites and Symplicans, or from effeminate Courtiers and Favourites: And that the Grand Seignior, who diverted himself wholly in Hunting and with Women, neglecting the main concerns of the Empire was not like his Progenitors, who in Person

1685. march'd at the Head of their Armies, and encouraged their Soldiers by their Presence and Personal Valour: From such Discourses as these amongst the Commonalty, who reported much worse of their Affairs, than perhaps they were in reality, we may expect some greater Changes for the ensuing Years: For the Army was become Cowardly and Mutinous, and running from the War more willingly than coming to it; and the Common People affected with a strange Superstition, that Fortune will change with exchange of Officers.

But before we put an end to this Year 1685, let us a little return once more into *Hungary*, and take a view of what was acting in the Upper parts of that Kingdom; where the Success of the Imperial Arms had produced such Dread and Terror in the Minds of *Turks* and *Malcontents*, that many places yielded at the first Summons, or at the appearance of an Army before them: In this manner *Potak*, *Regenz*, *Ungvar* and *Serau*, all Garrisons belonging to *Tekeli*, several places belonging to *Tekeli*, yielded without one Blow, and received the Imperial Troops, which being welcom'd with real Joy by the Inhabitants, the Military Pal was maintained, and not the least injury or damage offer'd to the People. The Surrender of these Places were leading Cards to *Senetz*, *Valachia*, and to the Castles of *Sonna*, *Anoin*, *Pallotz*, *Duron*, *Spadiz*, *Joram*, *Hingben*, *Zatmar* and other places, which submitted to Count *Caprara*, and willingly received German Garrisons, and being pardon'd and absolv'd from their Rebellion by this General, they took a new Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance to the Emperor.

But that which chiefly facilitated the defection of these Places, was a report that *Tekeli* was seized by the *Turks*, and lay chained at *Waradin*; the Fame of which had some Foundation; for the Seraskier *Shiban Ibrahim* having had very ill Success the last Summer, knew not where to charge *Tekeli* in the Fault, and excus'd himself better than by laying all the blame upon *Tekeli*; and to evidence his Repentment, caus'd him to be imprison'd at *Waradin*, until his Crimes were notified to the Court, and Orders given by the Grand Seignior for his Punishment. But *Tekeli* by his Agents had so well managed his Cause before the Divan, that he was fairly acquitted from all Blame, and the Seraskier disgrac'd for his rash Judgment, as will hereafter be discour'd more at large: And indeed the Grand Seignior and his Council did wisely consider the great Interest of *Tekeli* in *Hungary*, and what Influence his present Disgrace had already had over the many Towns and Castles which belonged to him, and which had Surrender'd upon the Report only of the Im-

1685. imprisonment of their Prince; wherefore the Grand Seigneur and his Council hasten'd, with all possible speed, Orders to the Pasha of *Waradin* for his Release, and at the head of his Army to proclaim his Innocence, and repair his Honour; the which was accordingly performed, as appears by a Letter from *Tekeli* himself, dated the 4th of December 1685, from *Alba Regalis*, directed to his Wife, the Princess of *Ragotzki*, wherein also he signified his Intentions to return with the Spring into *Hungary*, with a Body of Fifteen thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*, and endeavour to recover those Places which were revolted from him. These Advices so encouraged the Princess, that she bravely refused to receive an Imperial Garrison into *Mongatz*, tho' her Town was block'd up by Count *Caprara* during the whole Winter, of which we shall speak more at large at the beginning of the ensuing Year; and we shall conclude this, with the taking of *Arad* by Colonel *Heufler*, a Place situate upon the Banks of the River *Maroz*, between *Temeswar* and *Ginlia*, distant twelve Leagues from *Temeswar*, and about as far from *Sigeth*. *Heufler* being not far from *Arad*, detached a Party of *Hungarians* before, to provoke the *Janisaries*, and draw them forwards to an Engagement: Upon sight of the Enemy, the *Janisaries* made a Sally, supported with Fifteen hundred *Spahes*, Commanded by the Pasha of *Soffia*, which were newly come thither from *Constantinople*: These Forces in the vigour and briskness of their Courage, pursued the *Hungarians*, who made an orderly Retreat until they came to their main Body, at which the Pasha nothing dismayed charged with much Bravery; but Colonel *Mercy* coming up with his *Germans*, fell in upon them with such fury, that the *Turks* in a confusion and disorder endeavoured to make their Escape by flight into *Arad*; but were so closely pursued at the heels by the *Germans* and *Hungarians*, that they entered into the Town in mixture with the *Turks*, killing and destroying them with such a Slaughter, that a Thousand of them, together with the Pasha, were slain at the Gates and within the Town, which remained a rich Booty and Prize to the Conquerors; for these *Spahes* lately come from their Homes, were well furnished with Money, scarce any of them had less about him than Two hundred Hungarian Ducats in Gold, with good Vests of fine Cloth, well lined with Sables or other Furs, and their Hories of the best Breed of *Asia*, well adorned with the Accoutrements belonging to them, all which became a Prey to the victorious Army; besides, the Town was well supplied with all sorts of Provisions in great abundance, with which,

the Soldiers refreshed themselves, and for the space of four Days sacked, plunder'd and welter'd in all sorts of Bestiality and Debauchery; at the end of which, they set fire to the Town, and in a few hours reduced all to Ashes. Those few *Turks* who escap'd the Slaughter'd to *Temeswar*, whereupon, this News was so great a Consternation, that the Pasha to prevent the like fate on his Town, thought fit to burn the Suburbs, to the great damage and ruine of the Inhabitants.

We have formerly mentioned, that the ill Success of the *Turks* in *Hungary* had caus'd Mutinies in the Army, and that one *Arenzade*, a grave and wise Person, was sent with a Sum of Money to appease the Soldiers, and enquire into the Cause of these Disturbances: The Matter being examined, a Report was made much to the Prejudice of *Shaitan Ibrahim*, by reason of the disaffection of the Soldiers and Commanders to him; for it seems impossible for a General to be unfortunate and beloved: When the Report was come to the hands of the Grand Seigneur, the *Capelar-kiasie*, or Master of the Ceremonies, was speedily dispatched, with a Command to take off the Head of *Shaitan Ibrahim*, and to make *Apti*, then Pasha of *Buda*, Seraskier or General in his place, and *Osman* Pasha, *Ogli* Pasha of *Buda*; but *Osman's* Head was cut off by *Ibrahim* three Days before the Order came: In return for which, *Shaitan Ibrahim's* Head was brought to *Adrianople* the 6th of December. He had been in the greatest Employments of the Empire for the space of forty Years, and render'd considerable and signal Services thereunto: One might have thought that his brave and valiant Defence of *Buda*, would have attoned for future Misfortunes; or that his Marriage with the Grand Seigneur's Sister deceas'd, and afterwards with his Aunt, would have been Interests sufficient for his Protection; but the Grand Vizier feared him, and therefore was willing to wreak upon him all the Misfortunes of an unhappy Campaign, laying it to his Charge, that he had converted the Soldiers Pay to his own Profit: And so he fell about the Eightieth Year of his Age, commiserated by all, and according to the Character we have formerly given of him, he might have deserved a milder Fate. And so we shall put an end to the Martial Enterprises, Wars and Conquests of the Year 1685.

ANNO 1686.

THE Grand Vizier being of a melancholy pensive Nature, and much afflicted with hypocondriacal Distempers, made his Thoughts more burdensome by suppressing them,

1686. them, and not communicating his sad Apprehensions to other Friends. At the Siege of *Buda* he was ill for the space of a Month; but when good News came, he recover'd again, and his political Disease had its cold and hot Fits, according to the changes and vicissitude of Times. About the end of the last Year, or beginning of this, *Soliman* Pasha, who was General of the Army against *Poland*, had not only defended the Confines, but worsted the *Poles*, and returned to *Adrianople* with much Applause; for it was now no less Glory for a General amongst the *Turks* to save his Army, and not to be Overcome, than it was formerly to Conquer. This was the Fortune and Honour of *Soliman*, for having brought off his Army entire and unbroken; which was a piece of Service so highly esteem'd, that the Grand Vizier received him upon his arrival, with all Honour and Appearances of real Friendship, sending the *Chiausaballee* and *Chaoites* to conduct him to his Presence, where at the same time were the *Mufti*, the Generals of the *Janisaries* and *Spahes*, and other great Ministers of State assembled, and all congratulated the Honours and Glories he had acquired; which Ceremonies being ended, all these great Persons (except the *Mufti*) attended *Soliman* to the *Seraglio*, where the Grand Seigneur received him with much Kindness, clothed him with a rich Vest of Sables, entertained him with a splendid Banquet, and presented him two Hories richly furnished: According to which Example, as is customary, all the great Men made him their Presents; for whom the Sultan will Favour, the inferior Officers are obliged to Honour. The next Day *Soliman* came to the Vizier's Palace, held a Divan, and acted all publick Business, and in the Mouths of the Commonalty, he was cried up for Vizier *Azem*. And tho' what *Soliman* Pasha acted was only as an Assistant or Coadjutor to the Vizier, during his Weakness and Infirmary; yet *Soliman* got so much ground in Esteem of the Sultan, and of the People, that the Vizier thought it time to rouse up his Spirits, and to act every thing by his own Person. And to secure himself from the danger of being supplanted by so powerful a Rival, he addressed a Memorial to the Grand Seigneur, wherein he represented the Vertues and Abilities of *Soliman* in an eminent manner, that he was a faithful, experienced, and a fortunate Minister, and the only Person in the World fit and able to be General in *Hungary*, and to conduct an Army in this dangerous and difficult War. The Grand Seigneur entertaining a like sense of the Abilities of *Soliman*, inclin'd thereunto, and would have given him that Employment, had not some

Accidents interven'd to prevent it. For the *Embrabhor*, or Master of the Horie, the *Kuzir* Aga, or Eunuch of the Women, and the Sultana or Empress her self, being all Friends and Confidants to *Soliman*, advis'd him of the Plot, which might bring upon him the like Fate, which had befallen *Shaitan Ibrahim*; and that the best way to avoid it, would be to push at the Office of Vizier, and demand the Seal. *Soliman* encouraged by such powerful Abettors, boldly cast himself at the feet of the Grand Seigneur, and told him, That he was ready to lay down his Life either at Home or in *Hungary* for the Service of him his Master, and sacrifice all to his Pleasure and Glory; but to go into *Hungary* without the Seal (which was without the power of Vizier) would be of Prejudice and ill Consequence to the whole Empire, for which he alledged many Reasons, and being an eloquent or a well-spoken Man, was seconded by others, who represented the present Vizier to be a Person infirm and unfit for War. The Grand Seigneur was prevailed upon, and agreed to constitute *Soliman* his Vizier; but the Execution thereof, at the desire of *Soliman* was deferred until next Morning; and in the mean time, the Matter was carried so feverently, that the Vizier had no Intimation or Jealousie of the Resolution. Next Morning being the time, when the Pay of the *Spahes* was to be delivered out, *Soliman* came to the Vizier's Chamber, and pressed him very instantly, that since he was now in better Health, that he would be present at giving out the Pay unto the *Spahes*; and that in case he were wearied or uneasy, he would perform the remainder of the Trouble for him; but the Vizier excus'd himself, and would not come, but desired *Soliman* to take the trouble upon him of that Day's Office; which as he was performing, and had half done, the *Bostangiballee* to the Grand Seigneur, or he who is Master of the Wardrobe, came to the Vizier and demanded the Seal, shewing him a Warrant for it, under the Hand of the Grand Seigneur: The Vizier was so struck with the Surprise, that he had scarce power and strength to put his trembling Hand into his Bosom to give it to him; and Nature being weak in him, he fell in a Swoon, and so was left. So soon as *Soliman* had finish'd the giving out the Pay, a *Capigiballee* came to call him to the Grand Seigneur, to whom being come, he had the Seal confer'd upon him, with the Character of the Supreme Vizier, and so was conducted to the publick Palace belonging to that Office; from whence the former Vizier, without other Ceremony or Warning, was in a moment removed, and being by his Servants put into a Coach,

1686. was carried to a private House, and four Days afterwards was order'd to retire unto *Constantinople*, with a Pension of an Hundred and fifty *Shillings English* Mony. This *Ibrahim* (for so we must now call him) having a House and Garden of his own upon the *Bosphorus*, obtained leave to retire thither, but not to go to *Mechæ*, as he instantly desired: But he had not long continued there, before a Command was issued to seize his Estate, which was executed early one Morning by the Janizars-Aga and *Bostangibæhe*, who surrounded his House, the latter of which went in to him, and told him that he must go with him; *Ibrahim* apprehending that his End was near, asked him, If he came for his Head; and when he told him no, he could not believe him, until he had Sworn by his Law and by his Prophet; being herewith a little comforted, he was carried Prisoner to the Middle gate of the *Seraglio*; in the mean time his House was rifled, and all his Servants and Pages of any fashion were taken into Custody, and Examined for better Discovery of his Estate. All the Mony found, did not amount unto more than Five thousand Purfes, besides his Jewels, and his great Revenues in Lands and Houses. Being thus stripped of all his Estate, he was on the 18th of *March* put into a Gally, and sent to *Rhodes*, there to remain a Prisoner in the Castle. *Soliman* Pasha, now Vizier, compassionating his Case, and not knowing how soon it might be his own turn, sent him Five thousand Dollars, with a Velt of Sabres, and obtained a small Allowance for him from the Grand Seignior.

Nor was this Change only of the Vizier, but attended with others at the Court; for the Janizars-Aga, or General of the *Janfaries* was put out, and one *Hassan Aga*, Lieutenant General of the *Janfaries* at *Buda* was put in his stead: *Zulficar Aga* a vast rich Man, one of the Pashas of the Bench, was sent to command in the place of *Muslupha*, Brother to the late Vizier *Kupriogli*, who was recalled to Court and made *Chimacian* at *Constantinople*. *Ammet* Pasha nam'd for Captain Pasha last Year, was made *Sersaskier*, or General in *Hungary*, in the place of *Shaitan Ibrahim*, and *Apti* Pasha (whom we have formerly mentioned) was return'd again to his Province of Pasha of *Buda*. The *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary of State was displaced, the Reason not known, and that Office supplied by a Relation of the late Vizier's, who wrote his Letters for him, a raw and an inexperienced Man. The *Mosap* was continued General in the *Morca*, and *Masir-ogli* was made Captain Pasha in the place of *Mazzamama*, to whom

as we have said, the care of the Fleet was committed the last Summer.

These were the Changes with which this Year began in the Ottoman Court, after which care was taken to Recruit the Army, and make all Warlike preparations in *Hungary*, for which the new Vizier *Solyman* was preparing; and all the Court and People were full of hopes, and expectations of mighty Successes under the auspicious Conduct of *Solyman*, whose very Name had been Fortunate to the Turks.

Tekeli (as we have mentioned before) being set at Liberty, and restored to his Command with Honour; received Money from the Vizier to Raise Two thousand Men, and was recommended by the Vizier to the new *Sersaskier*, to give all the encouragement and assistance he was able, that so he might once more try his Fortune in the Upper *Hungary*.

Amongst the many ways and contrivances to raise Money, one was to discover the hidden Riches of the Imprison'd Vizier, for which, whilst they made diligent Search in his *Seraglio*, or Palace at *Constantinople* it came to be known, that Three hundred Purfes belonging to the Vizier *Kara Mustapha*, who was Strangled at *Belgrade*, were found in a secret conveyance of the House, the *Chimacian* and *Embrabore*, or Master of the Horse, would be present at Sealing of the Bagges, and had counted out Two hundred, when it proving dark and late, the Vizier's Palace burnt.

At *Adrianople*, where the Court resided, an Envoy arrived from *Moscovy*, and another from the General of the *Cossacks*, with Complaints against the *Tartars* and Governour of *Ajac*, a Fortrels of the Turks on the *Tanais*, for Incursions made upon them: The *Moscovites* remain'd until this time in suspense, whether to make War, or confirm a Peace with the Turks; but the Success of the Emperor, and the Provocations received from the *Tartars*, put that Business beyond all doubt, and brought the *Moscovites* into a League with the Emperor and *Poland*, as will shortly be made manifest by the Capitulations between them. Amongst other Applications to the Ottoman Court, a new Ambassador from France arrived at *Adrianople*, to assure the Sultan of his Master's Friendship, and his Resolution to stand Neuter in this present War: But the Turks, who rely not with much confidence on the Word and Stories of the French, gave them an ordinary Reception, without Favours, or any unusual Concessions, denying them the Guardian-ship of the Holy Sepulcher at *Jeru-*

1686.

Tekeli received aid from the Turks.

The Vizier's Palace burnt.

Addressed to the Ottoman Court.

1686. *Jerusalem*, which had formerly been granted to them.

This was the State of the Ottoman Court, in the beginning of this Year 1686; when Count *Caprara* kept the Town of *Mongatz* Blocked up, which is strongly fortified with a Castle, Situate on the River *Turza*, between *Unguar* and *Zatmar*, near the Mountains. The place belonged to the Countess *Tekeli*, in right of her former Husband Prince *Francis Ragotski*; She was Daughter of Count *Peter Serini*, and Married to *Tekeli*, as we have formerly mentioned. *Caprara* having all the Winter his Quarters not far from *Mongatz*, sent frequent Messages to this Lady to Surrender the Town and Castle to the Emperor, promising in the name of his *Cæsarean* Majesty, to conserve both herself and her Son, in the same Condition of Greatness, and Estate as at present; adding thereunto many Complements, which are commonly given to a young and beautiful Lady. The expressions he made to her, were so full of tenderness and respect, that she could not refuse to return an Answer, agreeable to so much concernment as he testified for her; assuring him, That nothing so griev'd her, as to see herself embark'd in a Cause against the Emperor; and that nothing could be so uneasie to her and difficult to determine, in what manner she was to behave herself, between the Duty and Faith she owed to a Husband, and Allegiance to the most gentle and gracious Prince of the Universe: But as to the Surrender of the Town and Castle, it was not in her Power, but depended entirely on the Secretary and Deputy of her Husband, who was there constituted Governour, with all the Riches and Wealth of the place; and that the Citizens and Chief Magistrates thereof, were joy'd in the same Resolutions with him, to defend and maintain the Place to their utmost hazard of their Lives and Fortunes; and that herein they were the more encouraged, by Advices lately received from Count *Tekeli*, whereby he not only gives them the good News of his Liberty, and the great Honours and Aids, which the Turks had bestowed upon him in recompence for the Affront, which the late Vizier had cast upon him; but promised them very speedily a Relief sufficient to drive their Enemies from their Doors, and at a distance from their Country, and would bring Rewards in his Hands for those, who should in the mean time remain true, and constant to his Interest.

Count *Caprara* rightly judging, that by such delays and excuses as these, the Princes intended only to gain time, and to illude his designs, began to draw his Forces nearer, with a Train of Artillery, Mortars

and other Engines proper for a Siege: But the Garrison nothing dismay'd thereby, made a Sally with Six hundred Men, and gained a Redoubt which the Imperialists had rais'd near the lower Town, with the slaughter of Four hundred Souldiers therein; and having taken out the Arms and Guns, they demolished the Fort, and rais'd it to the very Ground. However, *Caprara* having received a Recruit of Two thousand Men, possess'd himself of a Post, whereby he hoped to bar the Town of the Water, which supplied both that and the Castle: But matters happened quite otherwise, for the Rains fell in such abundance, as fill'd the Cisterns with water, which were anciently made to supply the wants of the Inhabitants on such occasions.

In the mean time *Apafi* Prince of *Transylvania*, labour'd with all his power to gain a Neutrality for himself between the Turks and the Emperor; by the first of which he was press'd with all imaginable instances, to serve in this War both with Men and Money, according to agreement and obligations of his Investiture, when he received the Standard from the Sultan: And by the other, That is, by the Emperor he was threaten'd to declare himself either a Friend, or an Enemy, for that no sort of indifference would be admitted in this Case: And the better to compel him thereunto, Count *Caraffa* advanced into his Country with Eight thousand Men, Two thousand whereof were *Hungarians*, and took up their Quarters on the Frontiers of *Transylvania*, which was now in a Condition under such a Force rather to receive Laws, than to give them. The Prince *Apafi* being much incommoded by Quartering of Soldiers, dispatched three Agents to *Vienna*, to Treat of those matters, to which he was altogether averse in former times, and readily offer'd to give free Quarter to those Troops which were sent into his Country; but as to an open Declaration of nearer Alliance he desired to be excus'd, considering that his Country was environed by the Turks, and their strongest Garrisons bordering on his Confines, so that until the Emperor had driven the Enemy at a farther distance, it could not be advisable for him to make a more publick Declaration.

The City of *Debrezin*, Situate between *Tokay* and Great *Waradin*, is Populous and Rich, and had voluntarily desired to be received into Protection of his Imperial Majesty, after *Zolnock* and *Callavia* had been reduced, having conversed themselves in a Neutrality during the late Revolutions of *Hungary*, without taking part in any Engagement with the Malecontents. This City I say, was received into Protection, upon

1686.

Apafi did not a Neutrality.

Debrezin received into full free State.

The late Vizier sent to Constantinople.

The Sultan's Jewels.

Changes of Officers in the Turkish Court.

Mongatz blocked up.

A Sally from the Town of Mongatz.

1686. upon promise to maintain with free Quarter Five thousand *Germans*, and One thousand *Hungarians*; but finding themselves overburdened and harassed with Quartering these Soldiers, they agreed to pay Eighty thousand Florins per Month, for the space of six Months, in lieu of their free Quarter, by which Sum of Money they eased themselves from the inconvenience and insolence of Soldiers, as did also many parts of the upper *Hungary*, the main burden of Quarters being cast upon the Counties bordering on *Transylvania*, which was of great relief to the Hereditary Countries.

This Year began early with Action; for the Generals *Mercy* and *Hensler* having their Quarters at *Zolnoch*, made frequent Incursions upon the *Turks* with great Success and Advantage: And having intelligence, that in *Transylvania* a Convoy of about an Hundred Wagons was providing laden, with Money, Ammunition and Provisions for the subsistence and relief of *Buda*, they made a Detachment of Five thousand choise Horse, with some Auxiliaries from Count *Caprara*, and ordered them to march towards *Segedin*, and to Way-lay them in their Passage over the River. *Hensler* being advanced about a League from *Segedin*, gave Orders to *Peterbasi*, with a strong Battalion to embosk himself within the Woods, which grew very thick in that Country; and when the Garrison of *Segedin* should Sally forth to the assistance of the Convoy, That he should then with his Battalion arise from the place of Concealment, and seize upon the Town, which might perhaps be left naked, and void of all defence. Matters did not in all things answer expectation; for the Convoy being Guarded with a strong party of *Turkish* Soldiers, they Fought with such Valour and Resolution, that tho the Imperialists remained Masters of the Field, and of the Convoy; yet the Action cost so much Blood, that it could not properly be called a Victory; for a Victory may be too dearly bought, when it is purchased with the Lives of so many brave Men, as are not to be climated by any advantage whatsoever: And so it happened now; for tho Three thousand *Turks* were killed on the place, yet they were not to be valued with the Blood of Two thousand *Germans* and *Hungarians*, all choise and select Men, who lay dead in the Field. But as it happens commonly amongst Soldiers, those who live and survive, have little sense or regard for such as are slain; unless that being made Mad, and more Furious by the death of their Companions, they breath nothing but Revenge; as did this remaining Party, which exasperated by the difficulty of the late Fight, fell upon the Lands of *Seudin*, *Gefst*,

Babatz, and the Parts adjacent, or not far from the place of Battle, destroying and consuming all with Fire and Sword. The News of these Successes were not very pleasing at *Vienna*, where they esteemed the Victory too dearly obtained; and tho they publicly applauded the bravery and resolution of the Officers and Soldiers, yet in their private Councils, they could not but secretly blame the rashness of the Commanders.

As all places in the upper *Hungary* were filled with Slaughter and Confusion; so no less Damage was caused in *Croatia*, by the vast Floods and Inundations, which for Floods of Water in Croatia. the same Time drowned all that Country, and carried away whole Towns and Families, Cattle and Provisions down the Torrent: And not only hinder'd all Commerce and Correspondence of one Town with another, but prevented the intended Incursions on the Enemy, destroy'd the Provisions necessary for support of the Army, and superinduced a grievous Famine over the whole Land. Count *Nicolas Erdeedy*, who was then *Ban* or chief Commander at that time of *Croatia*, being much affected with the Common Calamity of his Country, assembled a Convention of all the Estates at *Zagrabia*, to consider of the said Condition and Desolation of their Province, where after divers Conferences, they concluded it necessary to represent unto the Emperor, the State and Condition of *Croatia*, and the Confines and Militia thereof, and how necessary it was to defend and guard those Frontiers, from the Forces then gathering between *Belgrade* and *Esseck*.

Nor were these Advices ill grounded; for the *Turkish* Forces were daily on their march from *Belgrade* to the Bridge of *Esseck*, which they had received Commands to Repair and Defend, being the most important Pass of all *Hungary*. *Apti* Pasha now Seraskier, or General of the *Turkish* Army, was extremely diligent and active to provide every thing necessary against the next Campaign; and with admirable Sedulity, as his Reimbursements for several former years. as well as the shortness of time would admit, he succour'd all the Frontier Garrisons with Provisions, and reinforced *Waradin*, *Agria*, *Segedin*, *Temiswar*, *Buda*, *Alba Regalis* and *Kanisa* with Recruits, and all necessary supplies, being places most exposed to the Enemy; and such as might with Reason be believed, would all or some of them be attempted, and become the Enterprize and Design of this Years Campaign. This *Apti* Pasha, was a Man of some experience in the War, but being of a softer and morose Temper, was ill beloved by the Soldiery.

Tekeli

1686. *Tekeli* being intent to Relieve his Coun-
tefs and City of *Mongatz*, and raise the
Siege which *Caprara* had laid, and now
completely formed; departed from Great
Waradin about the beginning of *February*,
with Seventeen Standards, and took his
march by way of *Hongland* into *Transylvania*,
about two Leagues from *Claffenberg*,
where understanding that several of his
Troops, which the last Year had made a
Defection from him, were Quarter'd in the
Parts thereabouts, he hoped either to sur-
prize and cut them off, or else to regain
them back to his Party; but these *Hun-
garian* Troops having advice of his near Ap-
proach, changed their Quarters, and march-
ed away to join with the *Croatian* Regi-
ments of *Lodron*, and six Companies of the
Regiment of *Spinola*; of which *Tekeli* being
advised he alter'd his design, and resolv'd
to pass the *Tibiscus*, and march with all
expedition towards *Mongatz*. This Motion
of *Tekeli* Alarm'd all the Countries, and
caused *Caprara* to endeavor to Way-lay him,
and take some convenient Post to inter-
cept him in his march; but *Tekeli* upon
this intelligence directed his Course towards
Gidlia, to join with the new Pasha of that
place, and to concert other Methods, in order
to their future proceedings. In the mean time
Caprara not to remain idle, having a Force
of Four thousand *Germans* and Three thou-
sand *Hungarians*, with four Pieces of Can-
non and four Mortars, sent to Summon the
Fortress of St. *Job*, about three Leagues
distant from Great *Waradin*, Situate in the
middle of a great Marsh or Fen, which ren-
der'd it naturally very strong; and was form-
ed by Art in a Quadrangular Figure, encom-
pass'd by four Bulwarks, joyn'd by strong
built Curtains, and encompass'd by a very
deep Ditch: Upon one side of this Fortress
there is a great wide open place, in which
many Houses are erected, and is called by the
name of the *Little City*; which also is forti-
fied in the nature of a strong Palanca, encom-
pass'd with a convenient Ditch, by which
it is joyn'd to that of the Castle, and hath
communication therewith by a Draw-bridge:
Notwithstanding the strength of this place,
Caprara invest'd it on the 9th of *February*,
raised his Batteries, threw Bombs and Fir'd
instantly upon the Town, which was re-
turned in like manner from thence. But
so it hapned by the Divine Providence,
that one of the Bombs fell directly into a
Tower in the middle of the Castle, where
the Powder and Ammunition was conferv'd;
with which all blowing up, not only tore
and rent the Tower in Pieces, but shook
the whole Castle and the neighbouring
Town, and put all the Soldiers and Inha-
bitants into such amazement and conferna-

tion, that they knew not which way, nor
how to apply themselves for their defence
and safety. This fatal Blow gave advantage
to the *Christians* to Attack the Fortress in
three several places; for which when the
Turks perceived, that preparations were
making, they spread a white Flag on the
Walls, and demanded Terms of Surrender,
which were readily granted and allowed to
the Garrison, and to all the Inhabitants to
march forth with their Arms, with their
Wives and Children, and with as much of
their Baggage, as every person could carry.
Possession being taken of the Gates and En-
trances by the *German* Soldiers, Six hun-
dred *Turks* of the Garrison marched out,
besides Women and Children, which were
according to the Faith given, safely con-
ducted within a League of Great *Waradin*;
only an unlucky accident hapned, that
as the Garrison pass'd forth, about Twelve
Persons were discover'd amongst them, to
have been *Hungarian Christians*, and such
as had become Renegadoes, and denied the
Faith of Christ: Upon the sight of which
the *Christian* Soldiers became so scandaliz-
ed and incensed, that forgetting the Capitu-
lations agreed, they violently seized upon
them, with intention immediately to Hang
them up, or by some other way to put
them to Death as Apostates: This Buffle
caused great disturbance, and made the
Turks to Cry aloud, that the Conditions
and Articles of Surrender were broken: But
the Officers applying themselves with their
Authority, to restrain the Licentiousness of
the Soldiery, the Tumult was appeas'd:
After which due care and diligence being
used to extinguish the Fire, which still rag'd
both in the Town and Castle, it was at
length overcome, and much of the Ammu-
nition and Provisions conferv'd; what Goods
remained were given to the Soldiery. In
the Castle were eight Pieces of Cannon,
without other Arms; about Two hundred
and seventy *Christian* Slaves were set at
Liberty. The taking of this Place was
esteemed of much importance, by Reason,
that thereby the Counties of *Zathmar* and
Zobolech were freed of all Contributions,
and the Towns and Boroughs in all Parts
round, as far as *Waradin* were bridled
and kept under some restraint, by a Garrison
of an Hundred *Musketiers*, and Two hundred
Hoydukes and a Hundred *Hussars*, which
Count *Caprara* had put into St. *Job*, which
were esteemed sufficient to resist any sud-
den Incursion of the Enemy until Relief
came, which could not be long wanting
from the neighbouring Places.

In the mean time (as we have said) Count
Caprara had drawn his Line of Circumval-
lation before *Mongatz*, and laid a formal
Siege:

Tekeli
marches
towards
Mongatz.

The For-
tress of St.
Job.

Hensler
attacks a
Convoy of
the *Turks*.

The Prison-
ers
dreadfully
bought.

1686.

1686.

And Ser-
vanted.

1686. Siege : Against which, the Besieged wanting no resolution to defend themselves, fired continual Volleys of great and small shot : And on the 10th of March made a Sally to ruin the Batteries of the Imperialists, but were vigorously repulsed with some loss : Tho' not long afterwards they made another Sally with more success, having overthrown a Battery, and made the Cannon unserviceable : But in regard the Defendants found by experience that frequent Salies cost the Lives of many Soldiers, which they could ill spare, they resolved to conserve themselves within their Walls, on the Defensive part, without other hazards of offending the Enemy. On the other side, the Imperialists pressed forward with much Resolution, plaid with their Cannon on the Palanca, and threw Bombs and Carcasses into the Town ; but what damage was done thereby was soon repair'd by the diligence of the Besieged, returning their Shot with fiery Bullets of a new invention, which did great execution within the Lines. This and other Successes, raised their Spirits within the Town to a steady defence ; to secure which, the Princefs *Ragotzki* imposed a new Oath of Fidelity on all the Souldiers, which they cheerfully took, and to express their readines thereunto, they fired all the great and small Shot round the Town, with resolute Proclamations never to hearken unto any Offers or Conditions for Surrender of the Place : To confirm the Soldiery in this good Humour, it was noised in the Garrison, that there were sufficient Provisions in the Magazines, for the subsistence of a whole Year ; that the Princefs had received Letters from her Husband *Tekeli* assuring her, that he would very suddenly appear before the Town, with an Army sufficient to raise the Siege and restore their Liberties, and reward all those, who had continued firm and constant in their Faith and Allegiance unto him. Nor was this Report confined within the Walls of *Mongatz*, but it was spread over all the Imperial Camp, that *Tekeli* had joyned the Seraskier's Army, with a Force of Eight thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*, and shortly resolved to attempt the raising of the Siege before *Mongatz*, and to Re-inforce the place with considerable Recruits. To prevent which, Count *Caprara* dispatched General *Piccolomini*, with a strong Detachment to joyn with *Mercy*, *Caraffa* and *Hensler*, and with united strength to oppose the Enemies passage, and watch some favourable opportunity to engage them : But the Report of the *Turks* numbers, and *Tekeli's* design soon vanished, there being no such apparent Force in the Field to give them opposition. In the mean time the Siege proceeded vigorously,

Bombs and Carcasses being daily fired and thrown into the Palanca and Castle ; one of which fell into the very Room, where the Princefs *Ragotzki* was at Dinner, which without any disorder, or affrightment of the Lady was soon extinguished. However, the Besiegers made such a Breach into the Palanca, that they lodged a strong Party upon the brink of the Ditch. The Besieged on the other side had raised a great Battery behind the Breach, which dismounted several of the Imperialists Cannon, and made divers Retrenchments, and fired continually Bombs and Carcasses into the Lines, which often times did considerable execution. But when the Officers of the Garrison consider'd, that the only means to preserve the place, was to prevent the Draining of the two Ditches of the lower Town, which were extremely deep, they cut a passage for several streams of Water, by secret and hidden Channels to fall into the Ditch, which being increased by the melting of Snow from the Mountains, and continual Flouds of Rain, which fell in that Season of the Year, the Ditches were not only filled, but the Earth made so soft and moist, that it was impossible to maintain their Works ; so that *Caprara* could do nothing more than Batter the Town with his Cannon, and throw some Bombs and Carcasses with little or no Execution. In fine, the Season coming on for Action, which required an application to something more profitable and promising than this difficult Work ; the Siege was raised by Order of the Emperor about the end of April, after five Months had been unprofitably spent before that place.

But before the great and most considerable Actions of the following Campaign began, there were certain Preparations or Preludes thereunto represented in Fights and Skirmishes between certain Parties detached from the main Bodies, in all which the Imperialists gained the Advantage, and sometimes had the fortune of a clear Victory : On the 14th of March, some Imperial Troops having their Winter-quarters in *Croatia*, routed Fifteen hundred *Turks* drawn up in open Field, and put them to flight ; *Achmet* Aga their chief Commander was killed, and his Son taken Prisoner : This Engagement happen'd near a little Town called *Jalonne*, which the Croats stormed, and took and pillaged it, and set at liberty Eight hundred Christian Slaves, of which Three hundred were in a condition to take up Arms. Another Detachment of Croats possessed themselves of the Castle of *Clanitz*, where they found a considerable Body ; as also of the Town of the great *Claduja*, about four Leagues from *Sredicelo*, from whence

1686.

The Siege of Mongatz raised.

Achimé Aga de- feated.

1686. whence they were enabled to make Incursions into the Territories of the *Turks* without any opposition.

April. About the beginning of this Month, other Detachments from the Garrison of *Vesprim*, and Places in the Lower *Hungary*, took the Castle of *Palotta*, about two Leagues distant from *Alba Regalis*, and put all to the Sword. About the end of this Month, Count *Baragotzi* with a Regiment of German Horse, and some *Hungarian* Troops, intended to surprize *Tekeli* in *Glen-na*, a little Town belonging to the *Turks* ; but the Design failed, *Tekeli* being retired a little before the coming of the Enemy : However his March was not altogether fruitless, for in his return he took forty *Turks*, whom he made Prisoners.

The *Turks* on the other side, with Three thousand Horse and Foot, under the Command of *Fonduck Pasha*, designed to surprize *Wirowitz* in *Croatia* ; but the Governour of that Place having notice thereof, got together about One thousand Seven hundred Horse and Dragoons from the neighbouring Garrisons, with which he surprized the Enemy in their Camp, before Day in the Morning, and charged them so briskly, that they killed about an Hundred and Seventy on the Place, took Thirty seven Prisoners, amongst which were two Agas, and several Officers of Note with three Standards, Drums, Timbrels, and a considerable Booty.

The Imperialists were still within their Winter-quarters, which were so well disposed, and in that Military Order, as if the Army had been drawn in Battalia, by which means they kept the Seraskier in continual Alarms, on both sides of the *Tibiscus*. The *Hungarian* and *German* Troops possessed a vast Tract of the Country ; for General *Barkotzi*, with Four thousand of his Countrymen, acting jointly and by agreement with *Piccolomini*, and the Regiments of *Schultz* and *Dunewald*, extended themselves all along the Upper *Hungary*, as far as to the Confines of *Poland*, to hinder the Incursions of the *Tartars*, who were used to make that Way their common Road to Pillage and to Infest those Countries. The Quarters of these Forces reached so far as to be near, or (as we may say) in call of General *Caraffa*, who with the Counts *Gerz* and *Terzi*, extended their several Bodies of Horse and Foot all along the Confines of *Transylvania*, and the Counties of *Chege* and *Debrezin*, even to the neighbouring Jurisdiction of great *Waradin*. In like manner General *Mercy* and *Hensler*, extended their Quarters from the Province of *Zolnok*, beyond the *Tibiscus*, into the very Heart of the *Turks* Country, bringing all those Parts

under great and heavy Contributions, and still maintaining a mutual Correspondence with the other Generals : By which means the *Turks* were so locked up on all sides, that they could not come to the Relief of any one Place without fighting, unless it were *Felth* and *Buda*. The Prince of *Transylvania* was environed on one side by *Caraffa*, who laid grievous Impositions on his People ; and on the other, by many Troops that Quarter'd on the Confines, which to humble him, that he became much more pliable and submissive in his Language towards the Emperor, than he had formerly practised in all the Treaties held with the Imperial Ministers. In this strained Condition, the Prince *Apafi* acquainted the Ottoman Port, and the Seraskier, that it was impossible for him to answer the Expectation of the *Turks* either with Men or Money, unless he were relieved from the Oppression of the *Christians*, who levied those Monies on his Subjects, which were designed for his own and the Turkish Forces. To remedy which, the Seraskier drawing forth a Detachment from the Garrisons of *Buda* and *Agria*, marched in two Bodies ; one by way of *Gulja* and *Lippa*, and the other pass'd the *Danube* at *Felth*, by which *Marschal Marcy* and *Hensler* being greatly Alarm'd, drew out their Forces into the open Field, with resolution to give Battle to the Seraskier, who considering that the Success of War was hazardous, and that the ill event thereof might prejudice the *Turks* in all the Enterprises of the ensuing Campaign ; he thought fit to draw off and return back to his former Quarters : However, left he should seem to act nothing, he detach'd a Body of Fifteen hundred Men to advance forward, and make a discovery of the Forces and Disposition of the Enemies Camp ; but being met by a Party belonging to *Mercy*, were treated so ill by them, that about an Hundred and fifty were killed on the Place, and Fifty taken Prisoners, the remainder in a disorderly manner betaking themselves to flight. This Victory opened a free Passage for the Cavalry as far as *Wesserhiesel*, a Country abounding with Provisions for Man, and Forage for the Horse, which the Inhabitants freely bestowed upon them. The Garrison of *Schnonot* much offended at this Kindness of the *Turks*, sent Commis- saries to examine the Matter, and without much Dispute, empaled diverse People, plunder'd and burn'd their Houses and Mills ; threatening greater Destruction in case they continued to afford Relief to the *Christians*. *Mercy* on the other side being greatly enrag'd at this manner of Proceedings, resolved to revenge the same on *Schnonot* ; and to that end, joyning with *Hensler*, they at- tempted

1686.

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1686. tempted the Town, and were proceeded therein so far, as to enter the Ditch, the News whereof so allarm'd the Turkish Camp, that they resolv'd with all their force to endeavour the Relief of *Schonor*; which *Mercy* not being of sufficient strength to oppose, drew off from the Town, and possessed himself of a Pass at the Bridge of *Aratib*, where he hindred the Turkish Forces from joining; and with a party of *Hussars* and Dragoons so charged the advanced Troops of the *Turks*, that they defeated a great number of them, and took the Bey of *Lippa*, and the Aga of *Jiena* Prisoners.

But all these were petty Actions, and inconsiderable Preludes to what was to follow in the succeeding Campaign, which was now in its beginning. The general Rendezvous of the whole Army was appointed to be on the 15th of May, between *Gran* and *Barkan*. The main Body of the Army, which was to act under the Command of the Duke of *Lorraine*, was to be composed

of 14,000 German Foot, and 12,000 German Horse, drawn out from the Troops of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg* and *Suabia*, to which Three thousand *Hungarians* were to be joined, with other Troops, so far as would make up an Army of Fifty five thousand Men; Count *Caprara* and Count *Staremberg* were to be Major Generals; the Duke de *Croy* was created General of the Foot, Prince *Lewis* of *Neubourg*, and Count de *Sula* Lieutenant Generals; the Barons of *Tinghen*, *Thun*, and the Marquis of *Nigrelli* were made Sergeant Majors of Battle. There was likewise another Army preparing under the Command of the Duke of *Bavaria*, consisting of Thirty five thousand Men; of which Eleven thousand were to be Foot, Eight thousand German Horse, to which the *Bavarian* Troops were to be added, with those of *Francia*, and Two thousand Five hundred *Hungarians*. Of these Count *Leslie* was nominated for Major General, Count *Serini* for General of the Infantry; the Marquess of *Vergne* and Count *Schaffenberg* for Lieutenant Generals; the Barons of *Walis* and *Berk*, and the Count de *Apremont* for Major Generals. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was made General of the Horse, the Counts *Caraffa* and *Gonda* Lieutenant Generals, and the Counts *Piccolomini* and *Veterant*, and Baron *Hausler* Major Generals.

In this manner all things being prepared and disposed in Martial Order, for carrying on the War for the present Campaign; a Council of War was called to consider and determine the Proceedings and Methods thereof, and to resolve of the Enterprize which was first to be undertaken; upon Debate whereof, two different Opinions

arose; one propos'd the Siege of *Agria*, or *Alba Regalis*, and the other that of *Buda*. The first urg'd the difficulty and hazard in the Attempt of *Buda*, which was much better fortify'd than in the former Siege; for that several new Works were rais'd on the Banks of the *Danube*; and that on the other side, the Ditch had been made much more deep and large than it was before: That the *Turks* had prepared diverse Countermines in those places where the *Christians* had lately made their Mines: That they had made diverse new Sally-ports: That they had unpaved all their Streets, uncovered the tops of their Houses to prevent the Mischief which was feared from Bombs and Carcasses, against which they had fortified the large Cistern of Water, which was built in the middle of the City: That they had furnished the Town with such quantities of Provisions and Ammunition, and Stores of all things necessary for War and support of Human Life, as were sufficient without other Supplies or Recruits to maintain a Siege for six Months: That the Garrison consisted of Twenty five thousand select Men at least, chosen out of the *Fanjaries* and *Spabees*, and were all resolute Men and good Soldiers: That the Governour in chief was a stout and valiant Man, a Renegade, and one who was learned and experienced in all the Military Arts of the *Christians*: That under him six Agas were subordinated, all Men of Conduct and Bravery to succeed in the Government, as one or the other of them should fail. And lastly, That the Town was discharged of all useless and unnecessary Inhabitants, such as Women and Children, and *Jews* and *Armenian* Merchants, who were permitted to withdraw themselves, with all their Goods and Estates, out from the City.

Notwithstanding this Discourse maintain'd and urg'd by divers, the contrary Opinion prevail'd for the Siege of *Buda*; as if the Difficulties thereof serv'd rather to enflame, than to discourage so many valiant and generous Spirits: Such an Enterprize as the taking a Capital City, with the Conquest of which, the whole Kingdom would follow, and fall a Prey into their Hands, seem'd an Adventure and an Exploit worthy the undertaking of so many brave Soldiers, who were certainly the greatest Captains of this Age, and perhaps we may speak it without injury to past times, that they were the best Soldiers that ever the World had produced. Indeed, the whole Army of this Year was in a most flourishing Condition, well Provided and Accoutred, Fleeted with Blood and Victory, and so Courageous that nothing seem'd too hard and difficult for them. And this was one Reason,

1686.

A Council of War called.

Arguments against the Siege of Buda.

The Siege of Buda resolved.

1686. to persuade the Military Councils to the Siege of *Buda*, not knowing whether the next Year would produce such an Army as at present; which as it was capable to undertake any thing, so it was pity to have it wasted and employed in trivial matters, and taking in of Fortresses from whence no Important Consequences could be expected. There was moreover one thing more especially urg'd, that by the last Siege the Defects and Errors, and false Attacks were all seen and discover'd, the which might now easily be rectified, and provisions made against the mischiefs, which cost the Lives of many Men; and the Ground and nature of it, and Situation being perfectly known, the subjection of this place would become much more easy than the time before, notwithstanding all the Provisions the *Turks* had made. In fine, with these Arguments, as I said, the Siege of *Buda* was resolv'd, and every thing prepar'd in order thereunto: In the mean time, the *Turks* were not idle on their part; every Day *Olacks* or Carriers were dispatched in all hast from *Buda* to *Belgrade*, and thence to the Port, to expedite the coming of the *Ottoman* Army, and Succours for Re-inforcement of their Garrison; giving them advices of the Motion, and Approach of the Imperial Troops against them, which if not prevented would quickly surround their Walls, and intercept their Advices and Relief. The Turkish Officers and Soldiers in all their Quarters in *Hungary* amass'd, and gather'd what Forage and Provisions they were able, which they laid up, and dispos'd in those Garrisons which were most exposed to the Enemy; and Re-inforc'd them with Troops drawn from other places, which were in the least danger of the Enemy, and at farthest distance from them.

The *Tartars* were urg'd and solicit'd, not only to hasten their march to the Confines of *Poland*, to keep that Country in Awe; but also to send another Body to join with the *Ottoman* Camp in *Hungary*. In the mean time, Skirmishes daily happen'd between several *Hussars* and Dragoons belonging to *Raab* and *Strigoniom*, and detached Parties from *Buda*; to which place Reinforcements were so constantly sent, that the

1686. Garrison was calculated to amount, upon above Nine thousand Men, besides the Citizens and Inhabitants; tho' in reality the numbers were much greater. And in regard, the Grand Seigneur was not well satisfied with the Valour and Conduct of the present Passa, another was sent to supply the place, who incessantly labour'd both Day and Night about the Fortifications; for tho' it was not certain, whether the Imperialists would make that Siege the business of this

Year; yet it was greatly feared, and too much labour and caution could not be used, for the Defence of a place of such Importance.

In the mean time the Grand Seigneur removed from *Adrianople* to *Constantinople*, to pass his Summer there, in hopes that his Presence would bring some Trade to that City; but the War had drain'd all the Money in such manner, that the Merchants found little benefit, or alteration in the quickness of their Trade. The Grand Vizier intended at the same time to have moved from *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*, but the great Fire which had happen'd lately there, caus'd him to retard his March for some Days, in order to rebuild the publick Edifices consumed by the Fire. Besides the Fire and Sword, there was great Scarcity of Corn in all the *Ottoman* Dominions; by the two first, the Rich were the greatest Sufferers, but the latter was an Aggravance which most affected the Poor. However, they supported these Troubles and Losses with Patience, without Murmurs amongst the Citizens, or Mutinies as yet in the Camp.

The *Moscovites* were all this time playing a double Game, having sent an Envoy to the Court to complain of the Incursions, which the *Tartars* had made into their Country, and of the Depredations which the Turkish Governour of *Asiac*, had made upon them at the Mouth of the *Tanais*. The Envoy found a kind Reception, and Orders were sent both to the *Tartars*, and Governour of *Asiac* to abstain for the future, from all such Acts of Hostility, and maintain a good Correspondence with the *Moscovites*, who were become Allies and faithful Friends to the Port: And more to engage the Envoy, some few *Russian* Slaves were given him, with License to rebuild an old ruin'd Greek Church in *Constantinople*; with which to outward appearance, the Envoy returned with entire Satisfaction.

The *Polish* Inter-nuntio, who from the beginning of the War had been kept under restraint at *Constantinople*, was now upon exchange for a *Turk* of quality, again set at Liberty; and being upon his return into *Poland*, was on the Confines met by a *Polish* Jesuit, who had some Months before been sent by the late Vizier with Letters to that King, containing a Project for making a Peace; and was now returning with Answers to those Letters, and Instructions to the Inter-nuntio, in what manner to manage a Treaty with the *Turks*. The Inter-nuntio return'd herewith, and made Propositions, That in case the *Turks* would Surrender *Cimbrice*, with all they had taken in *Poldnia*, That then the *Polish* King would

1686.

The Grand Seigneur goes to Constantinople.

Scarcity of corn throughout the Turkey.

The blockade of Asiac with the Turks.

The Polish Envoy makes proposals.

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1686. become a Mediator for Peace with the other Confederates: But the *Turks* were not as yet sufficiently humbled, to give up any Places they had in Possession, especially that important Fortress of *Caminie*, which was the very Key of *Poland*; and tho' an Expedient was offer'd to Demolish the same, it would not be accepted by the *Turks*, who had a greater value and esteem for that Place, for having been the only Conquest, which this Grand Seigneur had made in Person. And the *Turks* having no great value of late for the *Poles*, either as to their Prowess in War, or Conduct in Peace, gave a proud Answer to the Demand; resolving this Year to stand on the Defensive part, and to tire out the *Christians* with a long, and an expensive War: For tho' they had lost some of their Towns, and been often beaten in the Field; yet they kept up that Pride and fierceness, which is agreeable to their nature and former successes in War.

The *French* Ambassador, who had for a long time maintained a Controversy about the *Safran*, (as formerly mentioned) did now conceive that it might be a very proper Season, after such various revolutions and change of Officers, by which the Pride of the *Turks* might be abated, to obtain those Demands which were formerly denied. The Grand Vizier at the desire of the Ambassador admitted him to Audience, and treated him very civilly: But howsoever, at the beginning of their Discourse, he gave him a caution not to demand any thing, which was not warranted by the Capitulations: And when the Ambassador moved, That some Alterations should be made in the Ceremony of his Audience, that when he arose to put on the Vest, which the Grand Vizier or *Chimacam* had given; that they also should rise up at the same time, until he was Clothed, and that then they should sit down together. The Vizier provoked a little with this new Demand, believing that it proceeded from a meaner Opinion conceived of their Power, by Reason of their late Misfortunes, readily Answered with some quickness, and said, That the first *Turks*, who came over into *Europe*, passed the *Bosphorus* but with Forty Men only, and that they would return again by the same Way with the like number, rather than condescend to any thing tending to a Diminution, or Abatement of the Honour of the Empire. In fine, Tho' the *French* were treated at this Audience with more than usual Civility and Respect; yet could obtain nothing more than a Confirmation of the Privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and a Liberty to rebuild a burnt Church.

But whilst Preparations were making on

both sides for the War of the succeeding Year; It was adjudged in the Councils at *Vienna*, to be a matter absolutely necessary, to engage the *Moscovites* in the Confederacy, for that thereby, the King of *Poland* would not only be freed from all Jealousies, of being Invaded by the *Moscovites*, whilst his Arms were otherwise diverted; but the *Tartars* restrained from their Incursions, in case the *Czars* would take that Incumbence upon them, to give a stop to their Depredations. The benefit thus doubly considered, Ministers were sent from *Vienna* and *Cracow* to *Mosco*, and many Arguments offered to induce the *Czars* to enter into the League; the which Work found the greater difficulty and opposition, by reason that a Treaty was so lately concluded with the *Turks*, and their Ambassador returned with a favourable Grant, and Concession of all their Demands: But the *Moscovites* in reality, could easily dispense with such Articles and Agreements, provided their Interest was advanced, and their Territories enlarged; in pursuance of which, a League Defensive between *Poland* and *Moscow* was concluded for ever, and an Offensive so long as the present War with the *Turks* should be continued; the which League was Dated the 24th of April, according to the following Articles.

First, That a perpetual Peace be concluded, and established between the two Powers.

Secondly, To avoid all Differences and Disputes arising about the Titles to be given to the *Czars* and the King of *Poland*, the same was agreed by both Parties.

Thirdly, That the *Poles* shall Deliver and Surrender up to the *Moscovites*, the Palatinates of *Kiovia* and *Smolensko*, with some other Places specified in that Article.

Fourthly, That the *Cosacks* of those Countries, shall be mutually discharged of the Oaths of Allegiance, which they had taken to either Crown.

Fifthly, That the Rebels and Revolters, who had submitted to the *Turks*, should find no Protection or Refuge from either Party.

Sixthly, That the *Czars* should pay 1500.000 Florins of Polish Money, to the Government of *Poland* in two equal Payments; the first to be made at the Signing and Sealing of the Articles, and the second at the Meeting of the next Diet.

Seventhly, That the Towns and Fortresses, Situate on the Banks of the *Boristhenes*, from *Kiovia* to the River of *Tasimia*, which runs by *Czckrim*, shall not be Rebuilt or Repaired, but that all that Country should remain Waste and Depopulated, until such time, as the Differences arising thereupon should be decided by more ample Authority: The Plenipotentiaries of *Poland* declaring, That they had

1686. had no Power nor Instructions in that particular.

Eightly, That to avoid all Differences, which might arise about the Cities and Places, which were to be Surrender'd by the *Moscovites* into the Hands and Possession of the *Poles*, shall be particularly nominated and mentioned: And accordingly they were afterwards nominated in this Article.

Ninthly, That free Liberty be given to the *Roman Catholics*, to Exercise their Religion in the Suburbs of *Kiovia* and *Smolensko*: Notwithstanding any endeavours or opposition, which the Patriarch shall make thereunto.

Tenthly, That their Majesties the *Czars*, being desirous to introduce and establish the Christian Religion within the Mahometan Dominions, at the Instance and Request of the King of *Poland*, and in pursuance of the League Offensive and Defensive concluded with His Majesty, do Promise and Oblige themselves immediately to make War upon the *Turks*, and with a numerous Army to Invade his Dominions this Summer, by such Ways and Roads, as the *Tartars* have usually Invaded *Poland*, and thereby give a stop to their Incursions: And that Commands be immediately dispatched to the *Cosacks* of the *Tanais*, That they forthwith Equip their Fleet for the Black Sea, and Trouble and Infest those Cities and Countries belonging to the *Turks*, which are Situate on that Coast.

Eleventhly, That in case the *Turks* shall lay Siege to *Kiovia*, or any other place appertaining to the Dominion of the *Czars*, That then the King of *Poland* shall send an Army for the Relief and Succour of such place Besieged: And in like manner, in case the *Turks* shall Besiege *Leopolis*, or any other City in *Poland*, the *Moscovites* shall endeavour the Relief and Succour thereof.

Twelfthly, That the *Czars* shall forthwith give Advice to the Ottoman Port of the League concluded with *Poland*, and their Intentions to make War upon the Grand Seigneur: And tho' the *Turks* upon such intimation shall offer to give satisfaction to either, or both Parties; yet no heed shall be given thereunto, or Conclusion made without the Approbation and Consent of all the Confederate Christians.

Thirteenthly, The *Moscovites* engaged to send their Ambassadors into divers parts of *Christendom*, as, *England*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, and other Princes to crave their Assistance, and Union against the Mahometan Army.

Fourteenthly, That after a Peace shall be concluded by common Consent of the Confederates with the *Turks*; And that afterwards, any of them shall be desirous to commence a new War, That then the other Confede-

rates shall not be obliged to join therein.

Fifteenthly, That whereas some Disputes remain still undecided, touching the Limits and Bounds of *Poland* and *Moscow*, That Commissioners shall forthwith be authorized and dispatched for accommodation of that Matter; especially about the Dependencies on *Kiovia*.

Sixteenthly, That Security of Trade and Commerce be established between the two Kingdoms.

Seventeenthly, That the Debts which are owing from the Subjects of one Kingdom to those of another, shall mutually be accounted for, and satisfied by one to the other: And that what Suits do or shall arise between the Subjects of either Kingdom, shall be determined by the ordinary Courts of Justice, where the Defendant abides.

Eighteenthly, Those Points which remain undecided, and cannot be agreed by the Commissioners, the same shall be remitted to the Determination of the Sovereigns.

Nineteenthly, That the People on each side, who live on the Borders, shall pass friendly and peaceably one with the other; and in case of Differences arising between them, the smaller Causes shall be determined by the Palatinates, and the greater by Commissioners.

Twentiethly, Neither side shall give Succour or Assistance to the common Enemy, nor entertain any of their Subjects in the War, or in any Office or Employment.

One and twentieth, That their Majesties the *Czars* shall Swear to the Observation of these Articles in presence of the Polish Ambassadors. And the like shall be performed by the King of *Poland*, at a meeting of the Diet, in presence of the Ambassadors from the *Czars*; and in the mean time, the Ambassadors shall mutually engage, that all these Articles shall be observed and maintained.

Two and twentieth, That whilst these Articles are interchanging, and before the Ratifications are made, It shall be lawful for the Merchants of each Country and Nation to Trade and Traffick without any trouble or interruption of Commerce: Only Tobacco and Brandy shall not be brought into *Moscow*, but remain Contrabanda; as by ancient Articles.

Three and twentieth, In case the *Poles* or *Moscovites* shall have occasion to dispatch Messengers to Persia or other Parts, no molestation, let, or hindrance shall be given them, nor Passports denied.

Four and twentieth, And in regard a good Understanding and Communication is necessary in this War, the King of *Poland* obliges himself to maintain and defend the Confines and Country of the Dukedom of *Solensko*; and the *Czars* so far as *Kolizin*: And that

1686. private Letters shall pay Postage on both sides; but the Publick and Royal Letters shall go free without Charge.

Five and twentieth, That both Parties shall give Advices to all the Allies and Confederates of this happy League and Agreement.

Six and twentieth, That this Contract shall as well oblige the Heirs and Successors as the Princes, who are Parties thereto. And in case this Original Instrument of Accord should be lost or embesled in the Chancery, or Paper-Office of either side, yet the Agreement shall not be Rescinded thereby, but stand in full Vertue and Force.

The League being in this manner agreed, signed, and ratified on both sides, the News thereof soon spread it self over all Europe, and was particularly received at Vienna, and in the Confederate Camp, with as much Joy and Triumph, as it was at Constantinople with Trouble and Confusion. And now it was expected by all the World, that this Agreement should be executed, and that the Moscovites should in the first place, to give a beginning, have made Incursions into the Enemies Country, and without farther delay, have invested those Places, which lay upon the Frontiers; but instead thereof, their first Exploit was to take Possession of the Dukedom of Smolenzko, and of Kiovia, and of about Fifty Leagues of Country, which lies along by the Banks of the Niester; but as to other Acts of Hostility, unless it were by some ranging, and confused Incursions made by their own Cossacks, with design rather to Pillar and Pillage, than to Offend and Damage the Enemy, nothing of Moment was performed; by which means the Tartars, against whom the Moscovites were obliged to oppose their Arms, found an opportunity to joyn with the Cossacks of Poland, who with united Forces, not only disputed the Passes with the Poles, but likewise recruited and reinforced the Grand Vizier's Army in Hungary.

After this Agreement was finished, the next Treaty in hand was to deal with Apafi, Prince of Transylvania, to draw him off from his Adherence to the Turk. This Prince finding himself between two great Powers, the least of which was able to crush him to nothing, kept and maintained his Agents at both Courts, only to protract time, and divert a Storm. Count Caraffa quartering with a strong Party of Horse and Foot, on the Confines of that Principality, was appointed by the Emperor to treat with Apafi, and to joyn Menaces and Force to fair Words; but little Satisfaction could be extorted from him, more than a Desire to

live in a kind of Neutrality; for tho' the Imperial Forces were not far distant from him, yet the Turks were not as yet beaten out of the Field, nor their Garrisons taken, but all things seemed to remain in a doubtful state and change of War. Thus Apafi feared both, and demanded Protection and Assistance from both sides, hoping that whilst he was wavering and seemed unfixed, he should preserve both his Friends, or at least not provoke them to be his Enemies. But what Count Caraffa could not obtain by Treaty, he forced by two Regiments, which procured the Contributions, which were then exacted; to which Apafi more easily yielded, because such a Compliance seemed rather an effect of Violence and Necessity, than of Choice. However, the Turks were not so very well assured of the Constancy of the Transylvanians, but that just cause of Jealousie remained of their Inclinations towards the Emperor; to prevent which, the Turks order'd a strong Body of Men to march and quarter on their Confines, there to attend and observe the Motions both of the Germans and the Transylvanians; the latter of which seeing the Sword over their Heads, continued still in a state of Irresolution: So that the Emperor esteeming that nothing was to be done by Treaty, commanded the Agents to quit his Court: However, for a while a fop was given to their Departure; for that the Brother of the Prince of Valachia, called Catechuzzeno, (of which Family and Name were the last Greek Emperors) being privately dispatched to Vienna, to enter into a Treaty and League with the Emperor, in the Name and Behalf of his Brother, did insinuate many fine and hopeful Projects, for gaining without Blood or Treasure the three Principalities. In order unto which, a Dispatch was sent to the Count Schaffenberg, under the Imperial Signature, immediately to march with his Forces to Cassovia, where he should find Orders for his farther Proceedings: the Count accordingly obeyed, and immediately upon his arrival, received a positive Commission to joyn Seven thousand Germans to Four thousand Hungarians, detached from the Troops quartered in the Upper Hungary; and with that Army, without any farther delay, to march to the Confines of Transylvania, situate on the River Maros, where Catechuzzeno had given Assurances, that Twelve thousand Transylvanians, well provided and armed, would be ready to meet Schaffenberg, and joyn with his Forces at their first appearance; and with these, proceeding farther to Valachia, he should there on the Confines have his Numbers increased by an addition of Sixteen thousand Valachians and Moldavians, with

1686. with which formidable Force composing a most powerful Army, it was not to be doubted, but that after the Example of their Soldiers, the three Provinces would revolt, and yield to the Emperor; and with such a Force, which nothing could oppose, Incursions might be made with Fire and Sword into all Towns and Quarters of the Turks, from the River Danube to the Confines of Poland, and whereby an intercourse of Arms, and other intelligences would be obtained. This had been a rare design, and a happy project, had allthings corresponded with the like Success, and in such a manner as they had been promised, and insinuated by Catechuzzeno: But tho' all things did not answer these expectations; yet in other matters, the March of these Forces came very opportunely into those Countries, and served to obstruct the Tartars passage into the upper Hungary, where they were speeding to joyn with Tekeli, and to wait and destroy all those Counties.

By this time the Sultan had received a new Confirmation of the Advice, That Apafi had sent Commissioners to Treat with the Emperor at Vienna; and tho' the Turks were well assured of the inclination of Apafi towards them, yet not knowing how far the fear and dread of the successful Arms of the Imperialists might prevail, Orders were dispatched to the Vizier then at Belgrade, immediately to send Succours into Transylvania, to fix and confirm the wavering Mind of that Prince: Accordingly a very considerable Force being on the march thither, they were encounter'd on the way by Count Schaffenberg, who charged the Ottoman Troops sent to secure Transylvania with such Bravery and Success, that he killed and routed that whole Party, and made himself Master of that important Pass of Hermannsburg: After which he pressed the Estates of Transylvania once more to declare, but they seeking new pretences and excuses of delay, endeavouring so long as they could to maintain their Neutrality, were fo distressed at length by Oppression and Free quarters, and Insolence of the Soldiers, that seeing no other remedy they joyned their Troops with the Imperialists, and in a body charged a party of the Tartars and put them to Flight.

In the mean time the Season coming on for laying (as was resolved) Siege to Buda, the Duke of Loraine departed from Newstadt, with intention to go to the place of General Rendezvous; but being seized by some indisposition, he stopt at Odernberg and came not unto the Muster, and Review of the Army until about 25 of May: At which time the Elector of Bavaria, and Prince Lewis of Baden, Count Staremberg, and Count Bick

with a Regiment of Swedish Cuirassiers, raised for the Service of the Duke of Bavaria, together with the Auxiliary Troops of Saxony came to the Camp at Newstadt upon the River Waagh; but the Brandenburgers, and the Troops of Suabia being not as yet come; the Duke of Loraine marched toward Raab, Comarra and Gran, and put off the Review and Muster of the Army until the 1st of June: But on the first of that Month, a General Council of War was held to agree upon such Measures, as were to be taken for carrying on the Siege of Buda. At that assembly of Officers, all the miscarriages and defects in the management of the last Siege of the Year 1684 were examined; and Plans brought of the place drawn by divers Hands. In fine, after long Discourses thereupon it was resolved, That every one should posside the same Post, which he held before at the last Siege; and that some false Attacks should be made at first, until the Lines were formed, and secured in such manner as to hinder all Succours from being brought into the City. After the Council was risen, several small Parties of Horse were detached to scourge about the adjacent Parts of Buda, Alba Regalis and Erlaw, to make discovery of the State and Condition of the Enemy. The same Day the Commissary Generals brought unto the Duke of Loraine a List of the Forces, which were formed and in a readiness to be employed in the Siege of Buda, the which was composed of Thirty thousand Foot, and Twenty thousand Horse, besides the Hungarians and Brandenburgers, which were not as yet come to the Camp: The Artillery consisted of Sixty Pieces of heavy Cannon, Forty Mortar Pieces, besides a great number of Bombs, Carcasses and Granadoes, with vast Stores of Ammunition and Provisions.

The greatest part of the Army was by this time advanced as far as Gran, which is about Forty English Miles distant from Buda; the Imperial Troops with those of Saxony passed the Danube over a Bridge at Gran, whilst the Bavarians continued their march on the other side; that place being designed for the General Rendezvous, and where the Feast of Corpus Christi falling out on the 13th of June was to be celebrated; the Solemnity thereof caused so great a Concourse of People, that the City nor being capable to contain them, the Procession was made without the Walls, and within the compass of the Camp. Some Writers say, That the People flocked in greater numbers to perform the Festival in that place, where it had been interdicted by the Turks, for the space of One hundred and twenty Years; which now they were joyful to see restored;

How the Treaty was put in execution.

The Turks jealous thereof.

Catechuzzeno, brother of the Prince of Valachia, in the Emperor's name.

Orders sent to the Grand Vizier to relieve Prince Apafi.

The Transylvanians joyn with the Imperialists.

His Preliminary.

A List of the Forces designed for Buda.

1686. red: These Writers had said more properly, if instead of the word *Restor'd*, they had used the word *Introduced*; for that it is scarce an Hundred Years, as yet, since that Feast was first ordained. After this Day of Devotion was past, the Duke of *Lorraine* leaving his Infantry under the Cannon of *Gran*, marched with his Cavalry without any Opposition as far as *Maratz*, a place near to the Isle of *St. Andrew*; he caused the Ways to be enlarged, which were narrow, and full of Woods and Bushes, and then took a full Survey of all the places Situate near the City.

In the mean time the *Turks* were not idle to secure and defend themselves; and for encouragement of the Garrison of *Buda*, an Aga arrived there from *Constantinople*, with a great Sum of Money to pay the Soldiers all their Arrears; and being assured now, that the Siege of *Buda* was certainly designed, great numbers of Boats freighted with Ammunition and Provision, were with a strong Convoy sent up the River; which so drained all the Countries round of Victuals, that there was almost a Famine in the adjacent Provinces. Several Troops of the most select and choise Soldiers were likewise sent to *Buda*, which increased the Garrison to 12,000 effective Foot and Three thousand Horse, besides which the Vizier kept an Army by him of Forty five thousand Horse and Foot, which he thought a sufficient Body to oppose any Force, which could be spared and detached from the *Christian* Army, and to disturb them in their Trenches and Works before *Buda*. And because the Jealousies which the *Turks* conceived of the three Provinces of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia* grew higher every Day, and more cause to fear their inclinations towards the Emperor, some Forces were sent against them; but considering that there was great need of an united Force, a great Detachment from the main Body could not well be spared; and therefore it was contrived, that Hostages composed of the Noblest, and most considerable Persons of those three Principalities, should be sent to the Port, for better securing the Faith and Allegiance of those Provinces unto the *Sultan*: But whilst things remained in this doubtful Condition, the *Turks* could avail little either by fair Terms, or rude Menaces.

But the time now approaching for the Siege of *Buda*, the Troops of the Hereditary Countries, hastned their march from every Province. The Auxiliaries were already advanced to the Confines, and having quitted their Winter-quarters, marched towards the large Campaign of *Barkan*, which was appointed for the place of General Rendez-

vous. The Military Stores and Ammunition, with the Train of Artillery being all in readiness, were dispatched away, part by Water and part by Land, besides the Provisions which accompanied the Regiments and Troops in the Field: In the mean time, frequent Councils of War were held at *Vienna*, at which the Emperor, the Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Bavaria* and *Newburg* were present, the Resolutions of all which tended to the Siege of *Buda*; towards which place Orders were given to all the Army to march, and to the Officers to repair unto their respective Commands; for tho' all the Forces were not as yet come up, yet seeing the Year was so far advanced, it was thought necessary to lose no longer time before the Siege was formed. The Forces immediately under the Command of the Duke of *Lorraine*, to whom the Counts *Caprara* and *Staremburg* were Major Generals, consisted of Forty seven thousand and seven hundred Horse and Foot; the Troops under Command of *Maximilian* Elector of *Bavaria* consisted of Thirty four thousand Horse and Foot. The Forces under Count *Schultz* appointed to guard *Croatia*, and the Banks of the *Drave* made a Body of Twelve thousand Men; which in all made an Army of Ninety three thousand and seven hundred Men, besides the several Garrisons in *Hungary*, and the two Bodies of *Schaffenberg* and *Carassa*, which were appointed to act apart on the Frontiers of *Transylvania*, and along the *Tibiscus*; besides a great number of Volunteers, which flocked from all places, to gain Honour and Renown in so Signal a Conquest, amongst which were several Persons of great Quality; as one of the natural Sons of King *James* the II. called then Mr. *Fitz-James* now Duke of *Berwick*, with many other English Gentlemen of good Quality: Also two Grandees of *Spain*, namely the Dukes of *Pejar* and *Scalona*, with about Three hundred Spanish reformed Officers and Gentlemen of that Nation.

With this formidable Force (tho' the Troops of *Brandenburg* were not yet come) about the beginning of *June* the Army began to move. The Duke of *Lorraine* with his Horse Encamped at *St. Andrews*, The Count *Staremburg* with his Foot at *Poffcamp*, The Elector of *Bavaria* at *Wailun*; so that tho' the *Turks* could from the Rampiers of *Buda* discover the *Christians* on both sides of the *Danube*, yet they made no Sallies to hinder, or obstruct them in their march; believing that this might prove a false Appearance; whilst the real and true intentions of the *Christians* was designed against *Alba Regalis*: But it was not long before they were undeceived, when they saw the Bridge of Communication passed over the River,

1686.

Councils held about the Siege of Buda.

Receives his vizier to Buda.

The Force of the Christian.

1686.

The Turks demand the surrender of the three Principalities.

The drive march.

1686. and the *Bavarian Troops* near to *Pesth*, and their City environed on all sides with armed Force, then they began to believe that the Siege of *Buda* was designed; for until that time they were of Opinion (as we have said) that *Alba Regalis* or Great *Waradin*, or some other place would be the labour of this Summer.

1686. On the 19th of June, the whole Army appear'd before the City to the great Consternation of the *Turks*; and Orders were given to form a regular and close Siege: And to make the Communication between the Armies the more easie and expedite, a strong and spacious Bridge was built over the *Danube*, by the Island of *St. Andrew*, which was Situate in the middle of the River. The *Bavarian* Troops approaching towards *Pesth*, enter'd it without any opposition, for that the *Turks* finding it to be a place not to be defended without a greater Force, than what could well be spared from the Walls of *Buda*; had Demolished the greatest part of the Works, carried off the Cannon, their Ammunition and their Stores, leaving the Town dismantled and desolate: Howsoever, before they had wholly demolished every thing as they had intended, they were surprized by the *Bavarian* Troops, and forced to quit their Work and fly to the Bridge; but when they came thither, they found it broken down by some of their Companions, who had passed before, fearing to be pursued by the Enemy; so that terrified and amazed, many leapt into the Water, of which divers were Drown'd, and about Thirty with an Aga were taken Prisoners; the Boats of which this Bridge was Built, floating on one side and the other of the River, were taken up by the *Bavarians*, and brought to the Isle of *St. Andrews*, where they served, and contributed much to the speedy finishing of that Bridge which was there in Building.

Pesth being in this manner possessed; It was agreed at a Council of War, That those Fortifications which were the least damaged should be repair'd; which was accordingly done, and a Platform made in a Triangular Figure, and surrounded with a deep Ditch, and fortified with some Cannon, and a sufficient Garrison left to defend it, whereby they cut off from the Enemy all Incursions and Communications on that side of the River.

Apti Pasha was then chief Commander in *Buda*: He was an aged Man, but a good Soldier and of great experience in the War: He had repaired all the Bastions, and Curtains, and Walls, which had been battered down and blown up in the last Siege; and that those Repairs might be the less seen and discovered by the Enemy, he had caused all the Walls to be new whitened, that it

might not appear where the Repairs had been lately made, and the Earth brought, which could not be so close and binding and solid, as the old Works: Moreover he had erected a strong Wall descending from the Castle to the River, to secure the Water and Communication with the *Danube*.

The Duke of *Lorraine* passed over the Water in a little Boat, to Visit and hold a Conference with the Duke of *Bavaria* then in his Quarters near *Pesth*; where after some Discourse, the Aga taken at the Bridge was examined; and a *Turk*, who had voluntarily escaped out of the Town was brought before them, and declared, That there was not above Eight thousand Men in all the Garrison, accounting *Janisaries*, *Spahies* and *Segmen* (which are a sort of Foot Soldiers, properly belonging to those Countries) and most of them of the new Levies; and that *Apti* Pasha himself, had not gained so much Reputation and Esteem amongst the Soldery, as *Shaitan* Pasha had done, who had so bravely Defended the City in the Year 1684; and tho' the wife Generals gave little or no credence to such Relations as these, coming from affrighted Prisoners and Captives, whose business it was to flatter, and mollify the Minds of their Conquerors; yet such Reports proceeding from Witnesses that were come from the City, served to encourage the Soldiery, who were ready to believe what they desire, and what may render their Enemies Low and Contemptible.

Count *Staremberg* received Orders from the Duke of *Lorraine* to perfect the Bridge with all possible speed, which being finished, the Elector of *Bavaria*, with all his Forces, (except those which were left for the Guard of *Pesth*) passed and encamped his Men at the Foot of the Mount *St. Gerard*, and took possession of the same Posts and Places which he had possessed two Years before; and on the side of the Mount he raised two Batteries against the upper Town, and made his own Head-quarter, at the Baths of hot Waters, to be nearer to that Place, which his Forces were to Attack; and there raising a Battery of six Pieces of Cannon, he thence drew two parallel Lines of Communication; to which another was added very large and deep extending to the lower Town, into which the same day Two thousand Men were sent to attack that Place. Next herunto were the Quarters of Count *Staremberg*, to which were united the Troops of the Prince of *Saxony*, having their Lines in a circular Form: Next herunto the main Body of Horse was lodged, being as it were in the middle; and in the most commodious place to oppose the Sallicies of the Enemies Cavalry;

D d on



Apti Baba.
Late governor of *Buda* who having defended the place
to the last Extremity was killed upon y^e Place

P. 201.

The Turks
stand in
Pesth.

A Fort rais'd
at
Pesth.

Apti Pasha
Governor
of *Buda*.

Execution
of
Turks taken.

Proceedings
of the
Duke of
Bavaria.

The Situation
of the
Army.

1686. on the other side of which Prince *Lewis of Baden* had made his Allodgement. Next hereunto were the Quarters of the Duke of *Lorraine*, opposite to the Breach, which they were labouring to lay open. Next in order were placed the Troops of the Circles, which with the Volunteers reached to the brink of the River, making a most formidable Body encompassing the Town: And to surround it on all sides, Trenches and Lines were made on the side of *Pesth*, guarded and defended by *Heydukes* and *Hungarians*. Thus was this City again encompassed with the Christian Arms, on the 22^d of this Month, which about two Years ago, was accounted the impregnable Fortrefs, and the Sanctuary, and Place of Refuge for the *Turks*, where Fortune had made its *Nephus ultra*, and set Bounds to the Progress of the Imperial Arms. But these brave Captains and Soldiers being returned again to their old Quarters, remembering the Disgrace they had received by being foiled, and beholding the Places where their Comrades and Fellow-Soldiers had breathed out their last, and where some of them had received such Wounds, as were still smarting, and scarce healed, became more enraged and animated to avenge themselves, of which they conceived greater hopes by Experience and Acquaintance with the Situation of the Place, and thereby better enabled to amend the Errors of the last Siege, having made Provisions of all things in great abundance, for want of which, Armies commonly suffer more in their Trenches, than they do from the Efforts, and Violences, and Sallies of the Enemy.

The provident and wife Duke of *Lorraine* being well advised and aware hereof; and observing that very little Rain had fallen that Spring, so that the Grass and Forage for Horses was very short; and that the great Heats and Drought had burnt up the Pasture in all parts round the Leaguer: He drew out from every Troop ten Men only, to lodge within the Trenches, which made a Body of two Regiments, or Two thousand Horse, under the Command of Count *Taff*, which were esteem'd sufficient to repulse any Sallies of Horse which the Enemy could make from the Town: But the main and great Body of Horse were ordered to march towards *Alba Regalis*, under Command of the Counts *Palfi* and *Gondola*, and other Generals; and taking their Quarters upon the Banks of the River *Saruvitz*, they might there not only find plenty of Forage for themselves, but deprive the Enemy thereof, and diminish their Stores; besides, the Place was commodious both to interrupt the Vizier in his March, and all other Succours designed for the Relief of *Buda*.

The parallel Lines of Communication being finished, by which the Soldiers might pass under shelter to the lower Town, and the Batteries raised on the side of the hot Waters, where (as we said) the Duke of *Bavaria* had his Head Quarters; Six Pieces of Cannon of Twenty four pound Ball, began first to play on that Wall, where two Years before a Battery and Breach had been made, and an Assault given; the Place was called the *Burg of Walfersbadt*, in English, the Water-Town; and here it was thought fit to renew the Battery; for that the Earth having been lately laid, and the Work repaired, it could not be so well settled, and so firm as the ancient Fortifications, the which was manifested by a plain and open Proof; for being for one whole Day continually battered, to great a Breach was made, and so wide, as to open a Way to a formidable Assault: On the other side the *Turks* plyed their Cannon very hard upon the Camp, which did not much damage, tho' lodged within Musquet-flor. And tho' the Breach was made, yet it was thought necessary to defer the Assault until the Approaches were perfected, which before Morning were almost finished, under the darkness of the Night.

On the 24th all things being prepared, and a Breach open'd of above twenty Paces wide, a Signal for an Assault was given by firing three Pieces of Cannon; upon which the Troops appointed for that Service, advanced with such Bravery and Resolution, that the Enemy yielded up that Station with little Resistance; and a Party of them descending from the upper Town, gave only a single Volley of Shot, and so again retired with some Disorder. This being the first Action of this Siege, there was scarce a Volunteer or Gentleman-Adventurer in the whole Army, but who presented himself in this Enterprize, being desirous to signalize his Valour in the first beginning. The Night following the *Turks* kept continually firing, which did not hinder the *Christians* from lodging themselves to the right and left on the Breach of the lower Town; in the taking of which, they lost but Eight Soldiers in that Day and Night's Service, which being so cheaply obtained, the Generals suspected that the Enemy had abandoned the Place with Design, and with Intention to Blow up the Assaults with some Mines prepared for them; and for that reason they gave a stop to the Advancement of the Troops; but the next Day, having searched and examined those Places, and finding all secure, they proceeded to make a new Lodgment in the Angle of the Wall of the lower Town, which answered in a right Line to the main Tower of the upper City, under which they lay secure from the Enemies

1686.

Batteries raised.

June.

The lower Town of Pesth.

and taken.

1686. Enemies Shot. This Exploit being performed with the loss only of Sixteen Men; there was but little Plunder found therein, besides some Horses and Oxen, and some few Field-pieces upon one of the Works; for all the Houses were beaten down by the *Turks* themselves, and consumed by Fire, and the Inhabitants either fled or retired into the upper Fortifications; which shews evidently that the *Turks* looking on that Place as not tenable, had drawn their Force into the higher Town, in which they placed all their Security, hoping to make a most vigorous Resistance, both by the advantageous Situation, and the goodness of the Fortifications: But the *Christians* finding the Advantage of the lower Ground, whereby to offend the upper City, employed immediately Two thousand Men, with diverse Labours to draw the Lines, and deepen the Approaches from one Gate to the other.

In the mean time the *Turks*, who lived in the parts adjacent to *Buda*, being put into great Consternation by the concurrence of the Christian Arms, prepared themselves to fly, and seek Refuge in remote parts; so that many, with their Wives, and Children, and Servants, having taking with them the best of their Householdstuff and Goods, passed over to the Island of *St. Margarets*, which is situate in the *Danube*, and of a very great length; but finding this Place of too near Neighbourhood to the Christian Army, and very insecure; having got about thirty large Boats and Barges, they had laden their Goods and embarked their Persons thereon, with design to pass down the River to *Belgrade*; when a Body of *Hungarians*, *Hussars*, and *Heydukes*, under Command of Count *Budiani*, having Advice thereof, armed out a good number of Boats and Barges, and with Three hundred Dragoons by Land, boarded their Vessels, and having killed the Boat-men, and the chief amongst them, easily made themselves Masters of the rest, and of all the rich Householdstuff, Money, and Goods, in such abundance, that every Common Soldier had a Suit and Vest of Silk for his own Share, with other good Booty and Plunder, which they carried away, and departed; but being informed afterwards by some *Rascians*, that the Inhabitants of that Island had committed many Cruelties and Outrages upon the *Christians*, they returned again to the Island, which is about seven *Hungarian* or *German* Miles long. (Which make about Twenty eight *English*) and there put all to Fire and

1686. Sword, with the Slaughter of about a Thousand Men. After which, Count *Budiani* went purposely to the Duke of *Lorraine*, in the Camp, to render an account of his late

1686. Achievements; and in testimony thereof, he presented him with seven Turkish Standards, which he had won in that, and in another Encounter, in which he had defeated a Party of the Enemy near *Erskin*, together with some Prisoners of Quality and Condition, amongst which there was an Aga and a Chiaus.

The Christian Soldiers animated with these daily Successes, some few of them, with more Temerity than Prudence, made an attempt to Lodge themselves nearer to the Upper City, without those due Precautions of Defence, which are commonly used by throwing up of Earth, and making some little Blinds as is practised in all Military Approaches; but these bold Men adventured with open Breasts to enlarge their Lodgments on that side of the City which looks towards *Strigonium*; which when the *Turks* observed, a great number of them flanked on one side by the round Tower, and on the other by a Party of Musqueteers, throwing Stones and Hand-granades, assailed the *Germans*, (who were not above Fifty in all) with so much Fury as forced them to make their Retreat; the which notwithstanding they did with good Order, being assisted by their Comrades, who came to their Help, and repulsed the Enemy, and made them with some loss to retire back into the City: Howsoever, in a short time after, about the Close of the Evening, the *Turks* made a more vigorous Sally on the Left-hand of the round Tower of the old City: The Count of *Ausberg* and the Cavalier *Robne* having the Command that Night of those Quarters, with great Bravery received the Enemy, and engaged with them for above an Hour's space; when the Prince of *Cambray*, and the Prince of *Vaudemont* having their Quarters near thereunto, came seasonably into their Succour with many Gentlemen, who were Volunteers, and Soldiers of Fortune, and forced the *Turks* back into the City, with the loss of about Fifty *Tamars*: Of the *Christians* were about ten killed in this Action, which was well paid by the advantage then gained; for whilst the Parties were engaged in this manner, they opened the Trenches on both sides of the old City, with two large Parades or places of Arms, and extended the Lines of the Approaches towards the two Bulwarks of the upper City. And because it was necessary to Batter the City on that side, a Battery was raised, without the old Wall, of Sixteen Pieces of heavy Cannon, from which many Shot were made at the round Tower, and several Bombs thrown into the City.

The *Turks* nothing disanimated herewith, made a vigorous Sally on the Quarters of the *Bavarian* Forces, with Three thousand

Dd 2 Horse

Lines drawn in the lower Town.

The Turks near Buda fly to the Isle of St. Margarets.

Are attacked by the Christians and plundered.

Many of them killed.

The Boldness of the Christian Soldiers.

Soldiers made by the Turks and were equal.

1686. Horfe and Foot; and thó the Elector was at that time indispos'd in his Health; yet his Bravery prompted him to mount on Horfe-back, and with the assistance of the Horfe, under Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Hofkerken*, which were Quartered in a Vally on the Way towards *Strigonium*, he with a feddy Foot opposed the *Turks*, and forced them to Retire with Disorder into the Town. In this Action Twenty four of their Officers were Slain, with many *Janisaries*, and many Wounded. Of the *Bavarians* about Forty were Killed, caused by a Surprise at the first beginning of the Sally: The Prince of *Savoy* according to his natural Courage and Valour, pressing into the thickest of the Enemies numbers, had his Horfe Killed under him; but mounting another, pursued the Enemy to the very Gates of the City.

Whilst these things were acting, it was a matter of great encouragement to the Camp, to find their Forces daily augmenting by new Recruits. For the *Suedes* were then newly arrived under the Command of the Marquis of *Turlae*, and took their Station on that side, which leads to *Alba Regalis*. These were followed by Lieutenant General *Schoning*, Commander in Chief of the *Brandenburg* Forces, whose arrival at the Camp sooner than was expected, was a cause of much Joy and Satisfaction to the whole Army. About the same time also came Prince *Lewis of Neuburg*, Great Master of the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order, with Count *Dunewalt*, and many Knights of that Order: As also divers famous Engineers, together with Count *Rabata*, who brought with him many Bombs, Mortar-Pieces, with a new Train of Artillery, abundance of Ammunition, and all Warlike preparations: With which, and with the Addition of new Forces, they were enabled to draw a new Line of Communication, without that which was next to the City, extending from one Encampment unto the other; which they supported with small Redoubts raised and fortified with Cannon, which proved to be of great use against the Salles of the *Turks*, which were very frequent, and performed with Resolution and Courage: Besides all which Recruits, the Auxiliary Troops of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, to the number of Five or Six thousand Men, with two Companies from *Passau* and *Ratisbone* arrived in the Camp; and on the first of July they took those Stations which were appointed for them.

The Town was now Batter'd on all sides, and particularly by a Fort raised by the *Suedes*, which on the third of this Month, began to make a Breach on three Towers which defended the upper Wall. The Cannon on the side of the *Lorraine* Quarters, had in

four Days time absolutely demolished two Bulwarks, which flanked the Wall on that side, and ruined the Wall it self, having made a very large Breach; to discover which, and to know in what manner it lay open to an Assault, four Musketeers were Order'd to mount thereupon, and see in what Posture the *Turks* remained on that side; so soon as these adventurous Men appeared at the Mouth of the Breach, the *Turks* cried out and took a general Allarum, running immediately to drive them from thence, but they being succoured by another Party of Musketeers, and by continual Peals of Cannon, and Fourteen Mortar-Pieces, which threw Bombs, the *Turks* were worsted and lost many Men; and being not able to endure the constant Firings, were forced to Retreat, as also did the four Musketeers with some Wounds received by Stones and Granadoes. By two or three Inhabitants, who for fear had deserted the Town, informations were given, That by the many Bombs, and the continual Firing of great Cannon, the Conformation was so great, that both the Inhabitants and the Soldiers esteemed themselves in as much danger within the City, as those were who mounted the Guards, and were actually employed in Defence of the Walls: Wherefore, to secure themselves the better, the

Tops of the Houses were uncovered, and Caves and Vaults made under Ground, to Lodge both the Citizens and the Soldiers; and for the better safeguard of the Garrison, which was always exposed on the Walls, it was contrived to make some Mines without at every Bastion, well charged with Powder, that upon any Attack might be ready to be fired: Of which the Duke of *Lorraine*, having intelligence from these Fugitives, he order'd Countermine to be made, which hinder'd the *Turkish* Labourers something in their Works; but either by the looseness of the Ground, or the unexpectedness of the Mines, the Success did not answer Expectation: For thó the Mines had proceeded a great way under Ground, by which it was believed, that the Springing of one Mine would widen the Breach and facilitate the Assault; that Project had little effect, for the Mine being fired did not cast up much Earth: Howsoever, it was followed by an Assault on that side of the Duke of *Lorraine*, of which the *Turks* being aware made a most vigorous resistance, throwing great quantities of Bombs, Stones and Hand-Granadoes amongst the Besiegers. In this Action above Sixty Musketeers were killed and wounded; the General *Tingen*, and Major *Befancon* were wounded with Stones, and the Cavalier de *Rosne* was shot through the Shoulder. Howsoever, the Imperialia-

1686. perialists keeping their Ground in their Trenches, about Two hundred Paces from the Wall, did at length repulse the Enemy; and with continual Batteries the Walls were so plied, that from the Tower in the Corner of the City, to the first Bulwark, they were almost ruined and beaten down, as were also the three Towers which were opposite to that Attack.

On the 9th of this Month about break of Day, the *Turks* made another Sally to the Left-hand, where the *Brandenburg* Troops were lodged, which was performed with such Fury, that the *Brandenburgers* being surprised, quitted their Posts, and were beaten out of their first Line, with the loss of about Two hundred Men killed, amongst which there was one Captain, one Lieutenant and an Ensign: And the Enemy firing at the same time a Mine, in which four or five Mines were buried, had caused much more disorder, had not a Body of Reserve, and the Main Guard come in to their Assistance, which so bravely Charged the Enemy, as to force them to Retire in great Confusion. The Imperialists lost in this Action, besides the *Brandenburgers* above One hundred and fifty Men, amongst whom was a Lieutenant Colonel, who was a *Suede*, a Captain of the Regiment of *Mansfelt*, two Lieutenants and many other substantial Officers.

In the mean time the *Bavarians* advanced their Approaches, and from a new Battery began to Fire, and shoot at a small Tower, which notwithstanding did little execution, the Walls being very good on that side. The same Day a Deserter from the Town brought News, That the Besieged expected in Twenty four Hours time a Reinforcement of Three thousand Men; upon which intelligence Three hundred and fifty Men were immediately dispatched over the Water unto *Pesth*, to strengthen the Redoubt at that place, and to prevent the *Turks* in their design of cutting off all Communication between that Fort and the Camp. And upon farther intelligence, that the *Turks* assembled in great Bodies about *Segedin*, the Duke of *Lorraine* dispatched away the Baron *Marcy*, with Three thousand Horfe, and six Battalions of Foot over the *Danube*, with Orders to advance as far as *Hatwan*, and to Engage the *Turks* in what place soever it should be his Fortune to meet them: Accordingly Baron *Marcy* passed the River, and posted himself near the Bridge of *Pesth*, there to attend the Enemy who were coming upon him, as was reported, with a Body of Ten thousand Men, under Command of *Achmet* Pasha: Upon which Advice, the Duke of *Lorraine* dispatched away three Imperial Regiments, to join with and reinforce the Detachment under *Marcy*, left

the Enemy should seize the Passage over the *Teyffe*. In the mean time, the *Christians* working hard upon a Mine on the *Bavarian* side, which they designed should make the Breach wider and larger than it was, were discovered by the *Turkish* Miners, who were preparing a Mine near thereunto; and had almost completed it, when fearing lest the *Christians* should be before-hand with them, they precipitated matters so fast, that due care was not taken to hinder a Reverse; but on the contrary, the *Turks* giving Fire to their Mine, it recoiled back on themselves, and buried many of their Men, and so shook the Walls and Fortifications of the Tower, that by the help of a Battery of eight Pieces of Cannon, which were levelled and plaid upon it, the Breach was made considerably wide, and so enlarged, that at a Council of War held on the 13th of this Month, it was resolved not longer to defer the Assault on the *Bavarian* side: The Orders for which were no sooner issued, and the Signal given, than all the Volunteers and brave Adventurers in the Army, Transported with Ambition, and Desire of Glory, pressed to be the first that should mount the Breach. In this Action Count *Guy of Staremberg*, Count *Herberlein*, and Count *Auersberg* were Commanded each with Two hundred and twenty Men to make the Assault in three several places; the first of which was to enter in the middle of the Curtain, the second on the right Hand, and the third on the left; amongst which some Granadiers were mixed, and Pioneers to prepare and level the Ground to make an Allodgment; and a Reserve of Two thousand Men was appointed to sustain, and second the Assaults. The Assault unto the Breach was very difficult, and the *Turks* had repaired it in many places with Palisadoes; howsoever to brave Minds spirited with a desire of Glory, such as were the Volunteers, who were Gentlemen of principal Quality, from divers Parts and Nations of *Europe*, nothing seemed so difficult and hazardous, but what they were able and daring to surmount. The Onset was made about seven a Clock in the Evening, and the first thing attempted was to force up the Palisadoes, which being done, they found the Besieged posted behind their Trenches with good Order; the *Christians* Attacked them with great Vigour, and the *Turks* made an equal Defence, pouring whole Volumes of shot with great numbers of Granadoes, and discharging a prodigious quantity of Stones from their Mortar-pieces upon them; on each side likewise was a round Tower filled with Musketeers and Granadiers, who bestowed their Shot liberally upon them; so that the Assaultants being between Firings on each side,

The Works of the City better'd.

1686.

1686.

The Turks made a Sally and were repulsed.

The Suedes and others come to the Camp.

The Turks discover their designs.

Mines and Counter-mines.

Succour sent to Pesth.

Marcy sent to oppose the march of the Turks.

The Turks fire a Mine to their hurt.

July.

An assault made on the Town.

1686. side, as also on the Front were killed and wounded in great numbers; howsoever they made themselves Masters of the Breach, which they maintained and defended above the space of an hour; but at length the heat of the Fight was so great, as had put things into much Disorder, and caused the Pioneers and Labourers to disperse; and a Provision of Faggots, and Sacks of Earth not being at Hand, sufficient to cover the Assaultants, they lay naked and exposed to the Shot of the Enemy; and at the same time a Mine being prepared, and fired under the Breach, it did great execution; so that many Persons of great Quality and Valour were killed and wounded in this Action; and the *Turks* making a Sally in another place at the same time, the General caused a Signal to be given for the Troops to Retreat, which was done in very good Order. The Regiments of *Souches*, *Mansfelt* and *Staremburg*, were those which suffered most in this Action.

The Persons Wounded were:

The Prince of Commarcy.
The Duke of Bejar, a Grandee of Spain.
Marquis *Blancfort*, Son of Marechal *Crenqui*.
Count *Staremburg*.
Count *Dona*.
The Duke of *Escalona*, a Grandee of Spain.
Two Captains of *Souches's* Regiment.
The Baron *Chiffier*, the Natural Son of Prince *Rupert*.
My Lord *George Savil*, Second Son of the Lord Marquis of *Halifax*.
Count *Maldeghen*.
Mr. *Fitz James*, Natural Son of King *James* the II. of England.
Count *Urfe*, three Spanish Gentlemen.
Monsieur *Sulpice*, a Gentleman belonging to the Prince of Commarcy.

Persons Killed were:

Prince Palatine of *Veldens*.
Prince *Piccolomini*.
Count *Hortemback*, Page to the Duke of *Lorraine*.
The Cavalier of *Courmaillon*.
Count *Ermelstein*, Major of *Schezfemberg's* Regiment.
Six English Noblemen, amongst which was that Worthy Gentleman Colonel *Robert Forbes*, Second Son to the Earl of *Granard*.
Three Spanish Gentlemen, belonging to the Duke of *Bejar*.
The *Turks* had about Two hundred Men killed, and One hundred wounded.

The Besieged thinking hereby to have gained a great advantage over the *Christians*, and thereby to have put them into some Confusion and Disorder, made a Sally that Night on the *Brandenburger's* Quarters; but were vigorously repulsed back again into the Town, with the loss of many Heads, which the *Brandenburgers* carried into the Camp, to receive the usual Rewards promised thereupon.

For several Days there hapned nothing but Batteries, and Firing Mines on one side and the other; but the Mines on the *Christian* side did not so much execution, as did those of the *Turks*: Howsoever, the Bombs were much available, and did great damage within the Town; especially those of a new Invention made by an Ingenieur called *Gonzales*, which not only killed, but set all on Fire wheresoever it fell. One of this sort of Bombs hapning within the Walls of a great Edifice, (for as we said before, all the Roofs and Coverings were taken off) produced most terrible and dreadful effects, not only beating down the Walls, but Killed above One hundred Men, Women and Children. The *Turks* to Revenge themselves for all these Slaughters, were very diligent and active in Springing their Mines, which they had prepared with great Art; by which many Soldiers and Officers of note were destroyed, to the great diminution in number of the Besiegers: In the mean time the *Christians* plied their great Guns, and Sprang the Mines to widen the Breaches, in order to make a General Assault, for which Preparations were daily made, and Ladders brought, and all Instruments provided in order thereunto.

On the 20th Day of July, about seven a Clock in the Morning, a strange hollow Noise was heard under Ground, and the Earth trembled both in the Town, and under the Feet of the Soldiers in the Camp; and a dark Cloud of Smoak and Ashes cover'd the City, so thick and black, that for the space of an hour, scarce any thing of the Walls themselves could be seen; which caused a Terror in the Minds of the Besiegers, notwithstanding their Resolution and Bravery; for whole showers of Stones were cast up, and thrown into the *Bavarian* Trenches, whereby many Soldiers and Officers of Quality were Wounded: And whilst the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Prince of *Baden* were busily employ'd in Riding about to confirm their Solidiery, a Stone of considerable weight and bignets fell between them: All which Convulsion hapned by blowing up of the chief Magazine of the City, whether by Bomb from the Camp, or any other Accident is uncertain: But

1686.

Terrible of
fields of
bombs to
the Turks.

Of Mines
to the Christians.

The great
haze of
the
Turks
blows up.

1686. But such were the dreadful effects thereof, that it shook down one Wing of the Castle, and that side of the Wall towards the Water; threw vast quantities of Stone and Rubbish into the *Danube*; and Killed above Fifteen hundred People, who were useless and unfit for Service, and had for their better safety hid themselves in Vaults and Cellars: By this unexpected Blow, the City being much weakened towards the Water, *Giavarino* Lieutenant General of the *Heydukes*, was Order'd with a Party of his Soldiers to take the advantage of this Accident, and to post himself in the best manner he could, to hinder all Sallies of the Enemy by that way, and to make that side more easie and fit for Storm.

But whilst the Duke of *Lorraine* thought of these things, and how much his Forces were diminished by Assaults, by Sallies of the Enemy, by Mines, by Sicknes and various other Accidents; and how much Blood it might still cost, before the Town could be forced to Surrender by dint of Sword, he resolv'd to make use of this opportune Misfortune, whilst the *Turks* remain'd in their Terrour and Amazement to try the *Palha* with Capitulations and good Conditions in case of Surrender; and to send him a Summons in Writing, by the Hand of Count *Coniseck*, who according to his Instructions, represented the State and Condition of the Affair to the *Palha* Governor, that the *Christians* were very strong without, and resolv'd to take the Town, the Walls of which were almost demolish'd, and their Garrison laid open and expos'd; and that a General Assault was determin'd; and that since they could not reasonably expect any Relief or Succour, the *Palha* would do better Service to his Master the *Ottoman* Emperor by saving the Blood of his People, than by a desperate defence to sacrifice the Lives of so many by his wilful obstinacy; nor hereby could he give occasion to any to tax him, either for want of Valour or Conduct, since he had given such fair Evidence of both unto the World. The *Palha* received the Messenger with much more Humanity, than they did ever practise in the times of their Prosperity, and heard him with great attention; and Read the Letter sent him by the Duke of *Lorraine* several times over: But before he would make any Reply thereto, he called a *Divan* or Council, in which the Business being debated for the space of about three hours; at length this Answer was returned in Writing, and put up in a Purse of White Sartin, according to the Custom of the *Turks*; which was to this effect. That he did wonder much from which of his Actions during this Siege, he could ground any Hope upon these Summons;

that he should, or could be prevailed with to make a Surrender, not having been guilty as he imagin'd of such mean and Cowardly behaviour, as might merit so great an Affront to his Valour, as to be tempted with Conditions and Terms how Honourable soever unto a Surrender. But in case He, and his Soldiers had appear'd in the least manner Timorous and Base, That they would amend that fault by a more vigorous Defence, and by such Actions as should make it appear to the World, that, that City was conserv'd with a Bravery equal to the Importance thereof; That God would punish the Pride of the Christians, for daring so much as to conceive a thought of bringing low the *Ottoman* Emperor, from whose having received the Command of that Place, he was resolv'd to deliver it unto no other, than unto him only.

Whilst this Treaty continued, which was for the space of three Hours, a Cessation of Arms was granted, during which time, the Soldiers on each side discountred friendship, and jested together, and reached to one another their Pipes, and their Tobacco; from whence it may be seen, how natural Love and Friendship is to Mankind, and how unnatural and violent is Hatred, War and Cruelty.

From this Haughty and Resolute Answer of the *Turks* many did conjecture, That they had received promises of a speedy Relief; which caused some Reports and Discourses in the Camp, That the Vizier was marching with a very numerous and puissant Army for their Succour: Of which tho the Besieged had no intelligence; yet considering that the thing was not improbable, the *Turks* conceived some hopes from thence, and the *Christians* prepared to receive and engage them. Nor was the expectation of Relief by the March of the *Turks* without some ground; for at *Matwan* in the Upper Hungary great numbers of them joyn'd in one Body, which with much advantage might descend with the Current down the River, and give trouble and disturbance at the Siege of *Buda*: To prevent which, some Bridges were sent, for passing the Regiments of Horse under *Caprara*, and the Prince *Charles of Neuburg* over the Rivers, unto such Commodious Passes, as were advantageous to restrain those Forces from farther proceedings. In the mean time some comfortable News was brought to the Duke of *Lorraine* from Count *Caraffa*, who advis'd, that upon intelligence of a very considerable Convoy sent from *Segedin*, for the Relief and Reinforcement of *Agria*; he with General *Hensler* resolv'd to make an Assault thereupon; which design failing, gave an occasion howsoever to give a Defeat to a great part of the Garrison of *Agria*; in which

A ship given to the progress of the Turks.

1686. which Action *Caprara* posted himself in a close, and deep Vally, cover'd on both sides with Hills; and about half a League beyond *Peterbaf* with some *Hungarian* Troops well Armed, was order'd to lie in Ambush; from whence he detached about Fifty *Hussars* to March towards the City, and in their Way to take up all the Horses and Cattle they could find in the Pastures, with Orders that in case the Garrison should Sally out upon them, that they should feign a seeming Flight, and draw them on until they came near the Camp: The which being accordingly performed by the *Hussars*, *Osman* Pasha of *Agria* pursued them close with a select number of his best Soldiers, until unwarily he fell into the Ambuscade which was laid for him; from whence the *Hungarians* Sallying forth renewed the Fight, being seconded by General *Heuler*'s Dragoons, who kept the Enemy in play until the Foot were come up to their Assistance: And then *Osman* Pasha being sensible of the Snare into which he was fallen, encouraged his Men bravely to defend themselves, and to make an orderly Retreat, but he was then too far engaged; for after a hot and desperate Conflict, above Two hundred and fifty of the Garrison were killed, and about One hundred Prisoners taken, and amongst the rest *Osman* Pasha himself was slain: Howsoever this Victory was not gained without some loss on the *Christians* side; for Baron *Bura* a Captain of Dragoons, and the Captain Lieutenant of the Regiment of *Castells*, with above Twenty Common Soldiers were killed, besides many wounded; this Engagement being towards the Evening, the remainder of the Garrison by covert of the Night, made their Retreat back and recovered the City.

Advices that the Savoyers approached

Whilst these things were a going, the Siege of *Buda* proceeded with various Fortunes; and the wife Generals were not only intent thereunto, pressing forward with the greatest Bravery imaginable; but also were wary, and vigilant to observe the Motions of the *Turkish* Army designed to raise the Siege: For by certain intelligence it was adviced, That the *Seraskier* was on his March, but that he moved slowly, to give time unto the other Troops, which were Quarter'd along the Banks of the Rivers *Sava* and *Drave* to come and join, for that the Forces of the *Turks* were not so numerous, as to admit of any Detachments, but rather to Fight in one Body only: It being necessary to secure the Passage by the Bridge of *Esseck*, Eight thousand Men were order'd to possess it; but News coming, that the *Imperialists* were already Masters of it with a far greater Force, the *Seraskier* passed the River by a Bridge at *Peter Waradin*, and

stayed at *Segedin*; from whence he order'd a Flying Army of Horse composed of *Turks* and *Tartars* to March unto *Alba Regalis*; from whence they were order'd by frequent Sallies and Alarums to offend and amuse the *Christian* Camp before *Buda* until such time as the Grand Vizier being enforced by the *Asian* Horse, and by the *Tartars*, might be able to join with them at *Alba Regalis*; from whence it was designed to make all their Sallies upon the Camp: Of which General *Schultze* having advice, whose business it was to obviate the Motions of the Enemy, he pitched his Camp along the *Drave*; from whence he observed the March of the Enemy, and narrowly watched the Garrisons of *Kanisa* and *Zigetb*. The *League* being thus secured from outward Assaults; every Quarter of the City was attacked by several turns, sometime by the *Bavarians* on their side, by the *Brandenburgers* on theirs, and by the *Imperialists*, and others in their several Stations, with Mines and Countermines, with Cannon and Batteries, Bombs and Granadoes, and all other Instruments of Death, which cost much Blood on one side and the other. At length, to bring Matters to a more sure and speedy Issue it was resolved, to prepare all things against the 27th of July for a General Assault, which was to be performed by Fifteen thousand Men; That is, Five thousand at the Attack of *Lorraine*, Five thousand of *Bavaria*, and as many of *Brandenburg*, besides Two thousand *Talpatz*, which are a People of *Hungary*; and that the Besieged might be attacked on all sides, and their Forces divided thereby, the Lieutenant General *Giovannino* Commander of the *Haidukes*, was order'd to make a seeming Attack by the Water-gate, where part of the Wall near the Cattle was thrown down by the Magazine which was lately fired: For this General Storm all things were well prepared; the Officers of most experience, and bravery were appointed to lead the Assaults unto the respective Attacks, and Labourers placed in a readines to carry Fagots, and Sacks of Earth to cover the Men, and make good the Lodgments, and others with Mattocks and Spades, and such like Instruments to dig and throw up the Earth.

The Duke of *Lorraine* intending to begin the Assault at break of Day in the Morning, passed that Night in the Trenches; but when they were ready for that Enterprize on the *Bavarian* side, all the Palisadoes were on Fire, and burnt with so violent a Flame, caused by a certain mixture of bituminous stuff, that the Attack was deferred until towards the Evening; before which time some Rains falling, served to extinguish the fierceness of the Fire, and the Duke of *Lorraine* and

Bavaria

1686. *Bavaria* after some Consultations together resolved forthwith to proceed unto the Assault; the Sign for which was given by firing three Pieces of Cannon: Upon which Signal the *Imperialists*, *Bavarians* and *Brandenburgers* drew out of their Lines, and advanced against the Breaches: The *Imperialists* soon made themselves Masters of the great Tower, but were quickly driven thence by the *Turks*; which when the Duke of *Lorraine* observed from the place where he had posted himself, for to give out his Orders; he immediately in Person advanced with fresh Troops to sustain and support the first; and the Presence of the General, who was engaged in a dangerous place, with the Sword in his Hand and Casket on his Head, did to animate the Soldiers, that inflamed with a desire to imitate the bravery of their General and preserve his Person, they all returned to the Fight; and tearing out the Palisadoes all on Fire, in despite of the Enemies shot and resistance, they bravely lodged themselves upon the Breach of the first Wall, and presently made themselves Masters of the great Tower, with two other small Bastions on the Right and on the Left-hand; driving the *Turks* into the Retrenchments, which were lately cut behind the new Palisadoes: But the *Christians* supplied them with small Shot and Granadoes, that they were forced to quit that place also, with great loss and laughter of their Men: But while they were labouring to secure that Ground and the Lodgment there; the Enemy gave Fire to four Mines, which tossed up many of those into the Air who were the farthest advanced: Howsoever, the Presence of the Duke of *Lorraine* to encouraged the Soldiers, that in emulation of each other, they pressed forward, and made themselves Masters of that Ground, which their other Fellows had newly quitted with the loss of their Lives. At the same time, the *Brandenburgers* were so successful in their Enterprize, that they took the Tower which they attacked, whereon were Seventeen Pieces of Cannon with some Mortars. The Elector of *Bavaria* also succeeded in his Enterprize, leading on his Men in Person, and possessed himself of the great Tower which fronts the Castle, and whereon were seven Pieces of Cannon, and two Standards of the *Janisaries*.

On that part of the City allotted to the false Attack of the *Heddukes*, no great matter was performed, nor nothing expected; for the place was strong, and the Party appointed for the Assault was to make a diversion of the Forces, rather than in good earnest to gain a Lodgment.

During these Attacks the *Turks* made a Sally, and charged the *Christians* in the

Flank, but being watched by some Squadrons of Horse, were repulsed back into the Town with great loss; and finding that the *Christians* were pressing forward, as far, as to the second Wall, they fired to it a sort of sulfureous and bituminous matter, composed on purpose to suffocate and poison the Lungs, which being thrown into the Ditch, gave a stop to the Progress of the Assaults: But a Wind arising soon afterwards, which carried the Fire and Smoke towards the Town, annoyed the Defendants in such manner, that they were forced to quit their Station, and suffer the *Christians* without farther resistance to keep, and make good the Ground they had taken.

This Assault continued for the space of four hours, with a vast effusion of Blood on one side and the other; but the *Imperialists*, *Bavarians*, *Brandenburgers* and all other the Assaults, with unparalleled Valour fighting amidst the Fire and Smoke, without any regard to their Lives, and animated by the Bravery of the Commanders, who were as forward to expose themselves to danger, as the meanest of the Common Soldiers, possessed at length, and lodged themselves on all round Bullwarks, and Walls made with Earth, reaching from one side of the City unto the other. About Sun-setting the Attack ceased, and both sides as it were by mutual consent gave over the Fight, which ended with the great advantage of the *Christians*, who had penetrated to the second Retrenchment of the Wall and Ditch: And Night coming on, those who were tired with that Day's Labour, were relieved by others, who were all Night long employed in raising Earth, and fortifying the places which they had gained, on which they mounted Cannon, and turned those on the Enemy which they had taken from them; and the next Day began therewith to Batter the inward Wall. It is impossible to express the Bravery and Resolution, with which this Attack was maintained: For besides the Gallantry of all the Officers in general, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and Count *Staremberg* gave undeniable Proofs of their Courage, of their indefatigable Industry, and of their Zeal for the Glory of the Emperor, and the Christian Religion; not only attending unto their own Quarters, but hazarded their Persons in all places, where their Presence and Directions were necessary or useful. In this Enterprize many brave Soldiers and Officers were slain, who were ready to Sacrifice their Lives, being pushed forward with an Ambition to signalize themselves in the Presence of their Generals; the numbers of them were so great, that to make the Victory look more cheerful, it

E e was

1686. was thought fit to conceal them; only such as were of principal note, were acknowledged as followeth.

Killed.

Monfieur *Artein* Agitant General to the Duke of *Lorraine*.
Serjeant Major *Pini*.
Count *Schlik*.
Baron *Gela*, with many other Subaltern Officers of great experience.

Wounded.

The Duke of *Croy*.
The Prince of *Commercy*.
Serjeant General *Diepenhall*.
Baron de *Alti*.
The Serjeant Major of *Staremburg*, with two Captains.
Serjeant General *Dingen*.
The Lieutenant Colonel of *Neuburg's* Regiment.

Killed of the Brandenburgers.

The Count of *Dona*.
Serjeant Major *Marwitz*.

Wounded.

The Duke of *Curland*, with many other inferior Officers.

The Elector of *Bavaria* and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with incomparable Conduct and Bravery, expofed their Perfons to danger and hazard in all places which required their Prefence, and remained all Night upon the Watch, giving directions in what manner the Labourers were to work, nor did they Retire, or take any Reft or Repofe, until the Lodgments were fecured: For during the Darknefs of the Night, they had formed a ftrong Trench round the Tower, which is under the Wall of the Caftle; and made fmooth the heaps and ruins of Stones and Rubbifh, by laying thereon an innumerable number of Sacks of Earth, whereon the Troops could with a large Front march up to relief of the Guards. And now whereas the innermoft Gate of the Caftle was poffeffed by the *Bavarians*, fo that it could not longer hold out; the *Turks* thought fit for faving their Men to abandon it wholly, the Garrifon being much diminiſhed, and their numbers abated in the late Attack.

Officers and Soldiers killed and wounded.

In which of the Regiment of *Bavaria* were killed, A Captain, and wounded a Serjeant Major, a Captain and three Lieutenants.
Of the Regiment of *Baden* were killed two Lieutenants, and wounded five Captains, one Lieutenant and three Enſigns.

In the Regiment of *Apremont*, Killed one Enſign, and wounded the Colonel, the Lieutenant Colonel, Count *Nicholas Paſſi*, Serjeant Major, Count *Zacco*, a Cavalier of *Malta*, and fix other Captains, five Lieutenants and two Enſigns.

In the Regiment of *Rummel* killed, A Captain and a Lieutenant; wounded a Captain and an Enſign.

In the Regiment of *Gallenfels*, killed the Lieutenant Colonel; wounded two Captains and a Lieutenant.

In the Regiment of *Furſtenberg*, wounded a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Enſign.

In the Regiment of *Beck*, wounded the Lieutenant Colonel, the Baron of *Welsberg*, five Captains, five Lieutenants, and five Enſigns.

In the Regiment of *Steinau*, killed a Serjeant Major and a Lieutenant; and wounded a Captain, two Lieutenants and an Enſign.

In the Regiment of *Seibolſorff*, killed a Serjeant Major; and wounded a Captain and two Lieutenants.

In this Attack, of the Imperialiſts and *Bavarians*, were killed Common Soldiers an Hundred and ſeventeen; wounded Nine hundred ſeventy two.

Of the *Saxons*, were killed a Lieutenant Colonel, two Corporals, and ſeventy Common Soldiers; wounded a Lieutenant Colonel, two Serjeant Majors, two Captains, a Captain Lieutenant, three Enſigns, two Serjeants, two Corporals, and a Hundred Ninety nine Common Soldiers.

Having in this manner, with a vaſt effuſion of Blood, entred as far as to the inward Wall, all Art and Induſtry was uſed to blow that up with new Mines, at which they laboured with ſo much diligence, that in a Day and a Night's time they were finiſhed and fired; the third of which did ſuch great Execution by opening the Breach, as invited another Affault. to the Beſiegers to make an Affault; to the performance of which, Twelve hundred foot Soldiers, and Four hundred Dragoons were appointed; but their Officers being for the moſt part killed or wounded, the Duke of *Lorraine* was forced to make uſe of the two Generals of Horſe, the Counts of *Lodron* and *Styrum*, to Command the Attack; and in the mean time that they were coming, a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon was raiſed on the Curtain lately poſſeſſed, with four Mortar-pieces, both to widen the Breach, and offend the more inward parts of the Town. But whilſt this was doing, the Beſieged were making a new Retrenchment behind the Breach, which was an evident Proof, that they reſolved to defend

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1686. defend the Place unto the laſt extremity.

But not to drive Matters to that ultimate Period, the *Turks* ſent on their part two Agas to the Duke of *Lorraine* to enter on a Treaty; and the Duke on his fide ſent his Adjutant General, the Count of *Lanberg*, with his Interpreter, into the Town; where he was introduced to the Prefence of the Palſha, with ſuch Reſpect, Ceremony and Honour, as was agreeable to the ill Circumſtances under which the *Turks* labour'd; but he return'd again with no other ſatisfactory Answer than this: That the Officers and Commanders of that Government could not, nor would not ſo eaſily yield and ſurrender up that City, which is the Key of the Ottoman Empire: But when it ſhould be thought fit to conclude, and eſta bliſh an univerſal Peace, that they would then oblige themſelves, that an Equivalent ſhould be given to the Emperor, by the Delivery of two other Places? And that they were ready to give up the ſame, and conclude a Peace, for making which, they had received a ſufficient Power from the Grand Seignior, provided that the Siege be immediately raiſed. With this Answer the Generals not being pleas'd, they began on both ſides to fire with the uſual Fury, and that Night they finiſhed two Batteries, which were raiſed for enlargement of the Breaches, and three Mines were fired, which fill'd a great part of the Ditch with Earth; but one of them recoiling back, bury'd a hundred Men of the *Brandenburger* Troops, who were advanc'd too far, and were not advertiſ'd, when the Mine was to be fir'd.

Batteries raiſed and Mines fired.

Another Parly

which is broken off.

The next Day following, about Nine a Clock in the Morning, the *Turks* beat again a Parly towards the fide of the Breach of the *Bavarian* Quarter, and ſent the two Agas, which had been employed the Day before with the Duke of *Lorraine*, unto the Elector, deſiring that two Hoſtages might be returned in their Places, which being done accordingly, one of the Agas offered in the Name of the Vizier of *Buda*, To yield and ſurrender up the Place, with all the Dependencies, which he avowed to be very great, and to contain no leſs than a Hundred and Fifty Leagues of Land thereupon depending, or otherwiſe to deliver up any other two places within the Kingdom of Hungary, being under the *Turks* Dominion, at the Will and Choice of the Emperor, provided that a general Peace might thereupon be concluded and eſſue: But in regard the Elector was ſufficiently informed, that it was not in his own nor yet in the Emperor's Power to make a Peace without the common Conſent of the Allies, for which there was no time at that critical Seafon: The two Agas were remanded back, and the Hoſtages returned, and then the old Trade proceeded, and they began again to fire on all ſides as before. But this Ceſſation of Arms was made uſe of

by the *Chriſtians*, for diſcovery of the Breach of the Caſtle, and the entrance thereunto by way of the Town; of which a Lieutenant Colonel belonging to the Regiment of *Baden*, took a particular Obſervation.

The ſame Day a Mine was fired by the Imperialiſts at the Attack of *Lorraine*, which made a Breach in the ſecond Wall, and ſhaked the third, which ſo alarm'd the Defendants, that in great numbers they came running to that place; by which ſuch a diversion was made of their Forces, as gave the *Bavarians* an opportunity to enter the Caſtle; but being not able to make good their Ground, they were conſtrained to abandon the Lodgment which they had already begun. Auguſt.

During theſe Actions, Count *Staremburg* applying himſelf to all places, where his Prefence was required, without any regard to the hazard and danger of life, he received a Muſquet Shot on his Left-hand, which carried away his Thumb; and with another Shot he was both wounded in the Cheek, and in the Shoulder; but the Wounds were ſo flight, as did not conſtrain him to withdraw from his Care and Command. The Duke of *Lorraine* was at the ſame time diſpoſed in his Health by the acceſſion of a Fever; which though not very violent, yet it gave ſome cauſe of Fear and Diſcouragement to the whole Camp; howſoever the Spirit of this Hero was ſo great, that he ſtill continued to proſecute his Enterprize, and give direction for perfecting the Mines, which were now neceſſary on that ſide; for that little thereof could be effected at the *Bavarian* Attack, where the Labourers were ſtopped by Rocks and Quarries of Stone: The Difficulty of the Mines.

And whilſt the Miners worked at the Breach of *Lorraine*, they were forced to withdraw themſelves from the peſtilential Air, cauſed under Ground by the noſtome Stench of dead Bodies. Howſoever, the Mine under the third Wall was finiſhed, and ſprung with good ſucceſs, tho' the Ditch was not ſo filled, that the Soldiers could paſs to the Affault; yet bringing Sacks of Earth, and other defenſible Matter, they lodged and covered themſelves at the foot of the Breach.

Whilſt the Siege proceeded with all this heat and vigour, certain News was brought, that the Grand Vizier had compoſed a Body of Seven thouſand Horſe, drawn out of divers Garrifons in Hungary, and cauſed them to advance as far as *Saſſer's* March.

rouitz, which is within Thirteen Leagues of *Buda*, and that other Troops had paſſed the Bridge of *Effect*, and that the Seraskier was appointed to guard that way, until the Vizier in Perſon had made his Paſſage, who with 40,000 Men was marching to the Relief of diſtreſſed *Buda*; and that he would be ſhortly Reinforced with a very

E e 2 great

1686. great Body of *Tartars* and *Afsatic Horfe*, which were already on their March, and had paffed *Adrianople*. But the Generals, who had received more certain Advices of the Strength of the *Vizier*, were well affured, that neither the Number of his Soldiers was to great, nor the Quality of them fo formidable, being for the moft part compofed of foft *Afsatics*, of Country-men and People inexpert and unaccuftomed to War; and for that Reafon it was not to be imagined that the Grand *Vizier* would put all to the hazard of a pitched Battle. However, not to difpife an Enemy, the Generals confidering hereof at a Council of War, difpatched immediately exprefs Orders to the Cavalry, quarter'd in all parts of the Upper *Hongary*, where was no apprehenfion of any Enemy, to march into the Camp; and accordingly General *Dunewald*, with feveral Regiments of Horfe under his Command, and Count *Caprara*, and General *Hefler* with their Troops, and Count *Budiani* with about Two thoufand *Hungarians*, all valiant and veterane Soldiers, appeared at the Rendezvous, and with all expedition marched towards the Enemy, with intention to give them a flop in their Way towards *Buda*. The Ban or Governor of *Croatia*, having given Advice to the Generals, that he had raifed the Militia of that Country for the Service of the Emperor, was commanded to March towards the Bridge of *Effeck*, and joining with the other Forces, to make Head and Oppofition to the Grand *Vizier* in his March.

The rumour and report of the Grand *Vizier*'s approach with all his Army did daily increafe, and as a certain Fore-runner thereof, feveral Thoufands of his Horfe were advanced very near to difcover the Force and Actions of the *Chriftians*: Whereupon a Council of War being called of all the Generals, it was concluded to countermand the Advance of the Troops, and appoint them to appear at a general Rendezvous, where it was plainly manifested, how greatly the numbers were abated; and therefore fince the great Line of Circumvallation was perfected and well flanked with ftrong Redoubts, Spurs and other defenfible Works, they order'd, that the fame fhould be maintained by Three thoufand Foot, which were fufficient to give a flop to any Attempt, which might be made upon the Camp: And the Imperial, *Bavarian*, and *Brandenburger* Cavalry, were commanded to lodge on the Hills and rifing Grounds which were round the Town: And the *Heydukes* were encamped along the Wall of the old Town, extending themfelves from the Fort ftruate on the *Danube*, unto the Trenches of the *Brandenburgers*.

Having thus fecured their Camp, and put every thing in a readinefs to receive the Enemy, in cafe they fhould attempt to force their Lines; they proceeded on all fides to perfect their Works on the Breaches. The *Bavarians* being piqued in point of Honour for the Foyl or Difadvantage they had received about two or three Days before, had inceffantly fired on the great Tower with their biggeft Cannon; and from another Battery near adjoining plaid continually on the Breach of the Wall, which as yet was not wide enough for the Attack; and becaufe the Situation of the Place was fuch, as made it almoft inacceffible and too dangerous to the Soldiers to afcend over the Rocks and Ruines which lay in the way, the Elektor refolv'd to point all his Cannon againft the Cattle, as alfo his Bombs of greafeft weight, with defign to beat down the Walls, and with the Ruins thereof to make the Afcent thereunto more eafie and fecure; with which, and fome Mines which were blown up, that ancient and ftately Edifice was almoft destroyed.

The News of the daily approach of the *Vizier* and his Army, caufed the *Chriftians* to be more watchful and vigilant than before, and fcarce gave the Generals any reft or repofe by Day or Night free from Alarums, which the Duke of *Lorraine* fufained in a manner rather Miraculous than Natural; for being fcarce recover'd of a Fever, the prefent ftate of Affairs required him to redouble his Cares and Vigilance; which agitation of Mind was able to have droven a confirmed Health into the extremities of Heat and feverifh Diftempers; but God, who intended him for the glorious Inftrument of fubjecting this ftrong City, gave him ftrengh for his great Work; fo that notwithstanding the expectation of the *Vizier* haftning to the Relief, a general Affault was made at every Breach, which continued for the fpace of two hours; in which the Defendants behaved themfelves with fuch Gallantry, that the Duke of *Lorraine* caufed a Retreat to be founded, rather than unprofitably to lofe the Lives of his Soldiers, of which they began now to be fenfible of the great Abatement: Howfoever fomething was gained by this Affault on the right fide of the Tower, adjoining to the Cattle at the corner of the inward Wall, where they lodged forty Men. In this Conflict not many Men were killed, but many were wounded, both Officers as well as common Soldiers, and particularly Count *Leopold of Herberstein*, and Sergeant Major *Bifchoffshaufen*; and on the Quarter of *Bavaria*, the Prince of *Savoy*, and Prince *Lewis of Baden*, both flightly wounded.

By

1686.

The Bavarians point all their Batteries againft the great Tower.

The Chriftians prepare to give a fite to the Turks.

The Chriftians prepare to give a fite to the Turks.

1686. By the motion of the *Seraskier*, it feem'd as if his Intentions were to enter his Succour and Relief into the Town by the *Bavarian* Quarters; and fome Thoufands of *Turks* appearing on the rifing Grounds and fides of the Hills, put themfelves into a pofture, as if they intended to Engage; but the Trenches were fo well guarded and fortified, that there feem'd to be little danger of forcing Succour by that way into the City: Howfoever, there happen'd daily *Skirmifhes*, in which divers were killed on one fide and the other; and particularly a *Turk* well mounted and habited, advancing with more than prudent Gallantry, was laid dead on the Ground; and being ftripped by the Soldiery, there were fome Letters found about him from the Grand *Vizier* to the *Paffa* of *Buda*, fignifying that his Intentions were to force fome Quarter of the Enemy, and thereby introduce the Succours defigned for Relief of the Place; and that in the mean time with a Body of Eight thoufand *Tartars*, to flop the Pallage of all Provisions to the *Chriftian* Camp between *Strigonium* and *Buda*. Upon this Difcovery, the Duke of *Lorraine* and the Generals refolv'd to guard their Trenches with Twenty thoufand Men, pofted in the moft advantageous Places, and to draw out all the remainder of the Army into the Field to meet the *Vizier*, and fhew their readinefs to give him Battle; for tho' the *Turks* were reported to be Seventy thoufand ftrong, they were not in reality above Forty thoufand able to bear Arms; againft which the Duke of *Lorraine* forming his Van-guard of Four thoufand *Palpatzes* and *Hungarian Huffars*, flanked by a part of the *German* Horfe, marched forth in view of the Enemy. After fome *Skirmifhes* with lofs of Men on both fides, the *Turks* retired, carrying away with them fome Heads of Cattle, which the *Huffars* endeavouring to recover, were beaten back with the lofs of thirteen Men. After this, the former Refolution was changed, and it was concluded at a general Council of War, to keep within, and guard their Trenches, which were well fortified, until they were certainly affured of what Strength the *Vizier* was; according to which Refolution, they continued to Fortify their Lines of Circumvallation with Redoubts, on which they mounted feveral Field-pieces.

August. The 9th of this Month the *Turks* appeared on the Hills, oppofite to the *Bavarian* Quarters, in greater Numbers than before, and after an Engagement with the advanced Troops, made their Retreat as they had done the Day before; and in the return to their Camp, they met with a Party of about an Hundred and fifty *Hungarians*,

which were fent to difcover the Enemy; they cut them all off, thirty only efcaping, of which moft of them were wounded; and at the fame time the Befieged made a *Parade* of *Turks* appearing on the rifing Grounds and fides of the Hills, put themfelves into a pofture, as if they intended to Engage; but the Trenches were fo well guarded and fortified, that there feem'd to be little danger of forcing Succour by that way into the City: Howfoever, there happen'd daily *Skirmifhes*, in which divers were killed on one fide and the other; and particularly a *Turk* well mounted and habited, advancing with more than prudent Gallantry, was laid dead on the Ground; and being ftripped by the Soldiery, there were fome Letters found about him from the Grand *Vizier* to the *Paffa* of *Buda*, fignifying that his Intentions were to force fome Quarter of the Enemy, and thereby introduce the Succours defigned for Relief of the Place; and that in the mean time with a Body of Eight thoufand *Tartars*, to flop the Pallage of all Provisions to the *Chriftian* Camp between *Strigonium* and *Buda*. Upon this Difcovery, the Duke of *Lorraine* and the Generals refolv'd to guard their Trenches with Twenty thoufand Men, pofted in the moft advantageous Places, and to draw out all the remainder of the Army into the Field to meet the *Vizier*, and fhew their readinefs to give him Battle; for tho' the *Turks* were reported to be Seventy thoufand ftrong, they were not in reality above Forty thoufand able to bear Arms; againft which the Duke of *Lorraine* forming his Van-guard of Four thoufand *Palpatzes* and *Hungarian Huffars*, flanked by a part of the *German* Horfe, marched forth in view of the Enemy. After fome *Skirmifhes* with lofs of Men on both fides, the *Turks* retired, carrying away with them fome Heads of Cattle, which the *Huffars* endeavouring to recover, were beaten back with the lofs of thirteen Men. After this, the former Refolution was changed, and it was concluded at a general Council of War, to keep within, and guard their Trenches, which were well fortified, until they were certainly affured of what Strength the *Vizier* was; according to which Refolution, they continued to Fortify their Lines of Circumvallation with Redoubts, on which they mounted feveral Field-pieces.

On the 11th certain Intelligence was brought, that the Grand *Vizier* was encamped about five Leagues off; and the fame Day Two thoufand *Turks* appeared oppofite to the *Bavarian* Quarter, about the fame place as before; to difcover which and their numbers, a Detachment was fent, but they were foon forced to retire in haft, the Enemy defending in numbers, which were too unequal a Match for them. The three Mines on which much Work was beftowed being charged with Five thoufand weight of Powder, were now ready; and on the 12th were fired, but not with fuch good effect as was expected, having only flaken *A little* the inward Wall, and fome few of the *Palpatzes*; fo that it was believed, that the *Turks* had difcharged them of the greateft part of their Powder, by which difappointment, the Affault which was intended, was countermanded, and the Miners order'd to begin a new Work. The Afternoon of the fame Day, the *Vizier* appear'd and encamped on the Banks of the *Danube*, being as fome Deferters reported about Fifty thoufand ftrong; at the fight of which, the Befieged being encouraged, made a *Salley* with about an Hundred Horfe and Foot, upon Three hundred Horfe of the Van-guard, of the Imperialifts, who feigning a flight, drew them at fome diftance from the Town, and then returning upon them, cut the greateft part of them in pieces.

On the 14th, the *Turks* drew out their whole Army into Battalia, and Detached Six thoufand Men under three *Paffas*, amongst which were Two thoufand *Janissaries*, with Orders to make their Way into the Town, by the Imperial and *Brandenburger* Quarters. Againft whom the Duke of *Lorraine* fent the Regiment of *Hungarians* Commanded by *Palffy*, and the Regiments of *Schultz*, *Serau*, and *Lodron* to charge the Enemy and begin the Fight: The *Hungarians* upon the firft Shock or Charge began to give

Letters to him.

The Chriftians prepare to give a fite to the Turks.

A little

The Vizier appears.

A Party of *Turks* commanded to enter the Town.

1686. give Ground; but Baron Marcy putting himself at the Head of the Regiment of *Schulz*, gave a flop to the Flight of the *Hungarians*, until such time as Count *Danewalt* came up with the Regiments of *Taff*, *Lodron*, *Neubourg*, *Strum* and *Staremburg*, which being joined in a Body, charged the *Turks* with that Fury and Bravery, that they totally defeated and put the *Turkish* Horse to Flight, by which the *Janisaries* being abandoned and laid open, were almost all cut off and destroyed. The Elector of *Bavaria* with his Horse pursued them to their Camp, where Rallying again they endeavoured to charge the *Christians* in the Flank; which when the Duke of *Lorraine* perceived, he made a stand or a halt, and drew out some Forces from the Lines, which he caused to march towards their assistance; and the *Turks* having received the first Fire retreated to their Camp, whither it was thought fit not to pursue them, but rather to conduct the Troops back to the Camp, being much tired and wearied by continual Watchings, having for the space of three Days and three Nights, been always on the Guard with Arms in their Hands. The Victory was very clear and signal, for the *Turks* lost eight Pieces of Cannon, and Forty Standards, and Two thousand and two hundred dead Bodies were accounted by the Duke of *Lorraine* himself lying in the Field, where the Battle was fought, which he caused to be buried, to prevent a putrefaction in the Air; and all this with the loss only of about Two hundred Men killed and wounded, amongst the latter of which were the Count of *Lodron*, a Major, and two Captains.

After this happy Success all the Cannon were discharged, and the Colours taken from the *Turks* displayed, and many Heads of those who had been killed, were set upon Pikes, and shewed to the Besieged to increase their greater Terror and Despair.

Notwithstanding all which, the *Turks* abated nothing of their Courage; the Grand Vizier giving the *Christians* every Night Alarms, the better to discover with what Force and Vigilancy the Lines and Avenues were Guarded. At length, on the 20th of August about break of Day, Four thousand *Turks*, of which Two thousand were *Janisaries* mounted on Horse-back, made a vigorous Attempt by the Vally of *St. Paul*, and with great Fury assailed those Guards, which they not being able to sustain, gave them Way, and permitted them in a full career, to Ride up to the Walls of the Town: At this confusion of the Guards, and the Noise made by the *Janisaries*, the Regiments of *Ciprara* and *Hedler* came, and renewed the Fight with them, and killed several hundreds of the *Turks*, who as they advanced

farther into the Approaches, were so plied by the Musquetiers, that most of them were slain: Howsoever, about Two hundred of them made their Way into the Town by the *Bavarian* Quarter: Which so animated the Defendants, that they made and discharged four Volleys of Shot for joy round the Town: Though this small Recruit was rather a Weakening to them than any Reinforcement. This Attempt seemed so desperate to the *Turkish* Soldiery, that the Vizier could not prevail with any Man to undertake it, without a Large of Thirty Dollars in hand paid to every *Janisary*, and promise to any that should get within the Town, to have his pay doubled during his Life, and to be freed from going ever more to the War: Of which sort of People there are above Fifty thousand in the *Ottoman* Empire, called *Otrocks*, or as in Latin *Milites emeriti*.

All this interrupted not the *Bavarians* in their Works, or in the Batteries they had raised on the great *Rondel*, by which they very much annoyed the main Castle, which when the *Turks* observed, they planted one of their biggest Pieces of Cannon on the highest part of the Wall, which they having charged with Musquet Bullets, Iron Stones, &c. did great execution on the Soldiers, which maintained and guarded the *Rondel* of the Tower: Howsoever, not to give ground or abandon so advantageous a Post, the Elector of *Bavaria* with advice of the General Officers, resolved to Assault the Tower, which was half ruined and already demolished, so as thereby to gain the advantage of an upper Ground: The Assaultants so bravely behaved themselves, that on the 22d without any regard to the difficulty and ruggedness of the Ascent, or the opposition the *Turks* made, they surmounted the Breach and killed about One hundred Men, and made themselves Masters of the Tower: In the mean time whilst this was in Action, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the *Brandenburgers* caused an Alarm to be given without, and with continual Firing of their Artillery and Volleys of Shot, kept the Enemy at a distance.

The Pasha of *Buda* finding himself nearly urged, and pressed by the loss of so important a place, from whence the *Christians* could now shoot into the Town; he applied all his endeavours to dislodge them: But the *Bavarians* having strongly posted themselves, being assisted with the advantage of the rising Situation, vigorously repulsed all the Force which the *Turks* could make upon them, and easily threw them down head-long from the Scaling Ladders which they had erected. This place was gained by the *Bavarians* without much Blood of the Common Soldiery, but Duke

1686.

Thereward
transfied
On the Ser-
vice.

Batteries
raised on
the Rondel.

The Tower
taken.

The Turks
endeavour
to dislodge
the Bava-
rians.

Henric

1686. *Henric* of *Saxon Mersburg* was in that Action wounded in two places; and General *Rummel* of the *Bavarians* was slain by a Musquet-shot in the Approaches, which ought to have been made deeper by three or four Foot, so as to cover the whole Body of a Man; he was an excellent Soldier, and a brave Man, and therefore much lamented by his Electoral Highness, and the whole Army.

Nothing could more annoy and vex the Defendants, than the taking and possessing this Tower, which render'd the Cafe and State of the City almost desperate; so that no hopes remained, unless they were succoured and relieved by the Army of the Grand Vizier, whom to advise of their extremity, two Messengers were dispatched out of the Town, one by the way of the Water, and the other by the Land side, both disguised in the *Hungarian* Habit. The first

was discovered swimming over to the Island of *St. Margaret's*; and being pursued was taken, but his Letters he had first thrown into the River: Howsoever, being brought before the Generals, he confessed and declared the low and desperate Condition to which the City was reduced; and that it could not hold out much longer unless speedily Relieved; and that another Messenger was sent to acquaint the Vizier thereof by Word of Mouth, letting him know, that it was not sufficient to appear before the Town, and flatter them with the hopes of Succour, unless also he could force the Enemy to raise the Siege; and that the late Recruit of Two hundred Men, who bravely made their way into the City, was but a small Help and Comfort to a Garrison already wasted, and almost totally consumed by a long Siege. That the Castle was in a manner lost, since that the principal Towers and Bulwarks of it were possessed by the Enemy: And in short, that those who remain'd alive, were wearied out with continual Watchings, and every Day diminished by Cannon and Musquet-shot, by Bombs, Fires, and Carcasses continually thrown into the Town.

All these Matters being reported before the Generals, they conceived certain hopes of putting a speedy end to their Labours and Dangers: Howsoever, therewithal they so far consulted their own Condition, that they concluded it very necessary, before any thing was farther attempted, to expect the coming of that Body of the Army under Count *Scaffenberg*, and the Twelve hundred *Swedes*, which were now on their March, and near at hand. At length *Scaffenberg* being come with a Reinforcement of Eight thousand Men, besides the *Swedes*, raised the Spirits of the whole Army, and put

the Generals into a capacity of executing the Designs they had already plotted and contrived. On the *Lorraine* Quarter a Bridge was made near the great Tower, leading towards the inward Palisades of the Enemy; and to conserve it from fire, they covered it over with Earth: The like was also performed on the *Bavarian* side; but whilst these things were preparing, a flop was put thereto by an unexpected and vigorous Sally which the Besieged made, for dislodging the Soldiers which had possessed the Tower. Three Attempts were made thereupon with the greatest fury and desperation imaginable, throwing Granadoes, Sacks of Powder, and artificial Fires, composed of Sulphur, Pitch, and all sorts of burning and seculent Matter; notwithstanding which, they were most vigorously repulsed with much loss. The Elector confiding in the dangerous Post, which his Men had undertaken to defend, thought fit to withdraw his Soldiers from the Bulwark, that he might with more advantage batter the great Tower with his heaviest Cannon, which were so hotly plyed, that the whole Tower was beaten down, and the Enemy thereby made incapable to offend from those Works. The Bridge of which we spake, being finished on the side of the Imperialists, with the Battery on the *Rondel*, the inward Palisades were broken down, and the Breach widen'd above Forty Paces; so that now all had been surrender'd, had not the Vizier comforted the Pasha with Assurances, that he and the Seraskier had resolved to attempt the Camp in three places at the same time; and that the most forcible one should be given at the Water-side, where 'twas believ'd the least Opposition could be made. Upon this Advice, the Water-side and Banks of the River were well fortified and secured, and a strong Chain stretched over the Water below the Bridge of Boats, from the Shoar to the Point of *St. Margaret's* Isle, to obstruct the Passage of Spies and Messengers, who used to swim over the Water with Intelligence, and which also might serve to give a flop to the Cavalry, in case they should attempt any thing on that side.

The City being now in a languishing Condition, the Grand Vizier resolved to make his last Effort; and having chosen out of his Army Three thousand of his bravest Soldiers, which he encouraged with Thirty Dollars a-piece paid them in hand, and with promise of Increase of their daily Pay, during Life, to such as should make and force their Way into the Town; and at the same time another Body was ordered to enter the Line, at the place which they had lately attempted. The Three thousand defended by way of the Vally called *Shamboick*, and

Eight thou-
sand Men
come to the
Imperial
Camp.

Two Mes-
sengers sent
from the
City to the
Grand Vi-
zier.

One of
them is tak-
en.

The Turks
defeated.

Two thou-
sand Turks
force their
way into
the Town.

1686. with great Fury fell in upon the Guards of the Imperialists; but were so well received by the Baron of *Alti*, with his *Talpatz* and *Hussars*, and by General *Hessler*, with his Regiment, that they were vigorously repulsed. After which they made an Attempt on Count *Caprara*, and again on the Quarters of the Duke of *Lorraine*, but in all places were ill treated, and came off with a great loss of Men. In the mean time, the second Body of *Turks* assaulted other parts of the Army, which increased the heat of the Fight; to succour which, the Duke of *Lorraine* detach'd all the Forces which were about him, remaining alone only with two Assistants; but the Battle growing hot, and the *Turks* endeavouring in divers places to break into the Line, the Duke of *Lorraine* put himself at the Head of two Battalions of *Brandenburgers*, whose Example gave Life and Courage to the whole Army. But whilst this Fight was managed in divers Squadrons, which confusedly ran from one side to another, some of them had the fortune to force the Line towards the Wall of the lower City; but passing to the Line of Contravallation, they met there such Volleys of Shot, and continual Retreats, that knowing not which way to retire, they fell into the Squadrons of Baron *Marcy* and *Serau*, by whom the greatest part of them were kill'd upon the place; and those which escap'd were so confused, that being dispers'd about the Fields, they knew not which way to take. Some of them happen'd to fall in with the *Brandenburgers*, others into the general Quarters, where being encompass'd on all sides, they were miserably cut to pieces and slain, not so much as their Servants, or Grooms of their Horses escap'd. The Besieg'd in the mean time being Spectators of all that pass'd, design'd by a most vigorous Sally to meet their Succours, but were so warmly encounter'd by the *Bavarians*, that they were forced to Retreat with precipitation and disorder.

The Body which the *Turks* kept for a Reserve, observing the unfortunate issue of these Conflicts, durst not adventure to make another Attack, but retired back to their Camp. The *Turks* lost above One thousand Men kill'd on the place, and Twenty five of their Colours were taken. Howsoever, this Advantage was not obtained without some considerable loss on the *Christian* side, which was the more to be lamented by the Death of Baron *Marcy*, who after having kill'd several *Janissaries* with his own hand, receiv'd two Cuts on the Head with a Cymeter, and one on his Shoulder, which tho' at first were not esteem'd Mortal; yet the Wounds being neglected, and the Cure thereof not much regarded, he Died thereof

in a short time afterwards, to the great Grief of the whole Camp, which much lamented the loss of so brave a Soldier.

The Vizier being inform'd of this unfortunate Success, immediately gave order to the *Janissaries* of his Guards, which were kept for a Reserve to renew the Fight, and attempt once more to give succour to the Town; but the March of these fresh Forces being discovered by the General Count *Piccolomini*, who was at the Head of five Regiments of Horse, divided into Twenty five Squadrons, he march'd boldly to meet the Enemy; but the *Turks* upon appearance of the Van-guard of the *Christians* founded a Retreat, and returned back to the Vizier's Camp.

Whilst these several Conflicts and Skirmishes were acting in the Field, the Attacks upon the Town were not neglected; and on the side of *Lorraine* they had advanced their Lodgment to the Breach of the inward Wall, not above three Pikes length from the Palisadoes; but because it was necessary to attack the Town with extremum Resolution and Force, without which it could not be taken; and that in the mean time, no Interruption should be given to the Assault by the outward Force of the Enemy; it was resolv'd at a Council of War, held by all the Generals then present, that the Lines of Circumvallation should be made deeper, which being well guarded, would secure the Soldiers from the Enemy without: And in the mean time, to keep the Design secret, a Report was given out that the *Christians* intended to give Battle to the *Turks*; upon the News of which, the Vizier applied himself to fortify his Camp, and the Besieg'd neglected to provide for their last Defence.

It being now the second of September, September the Artillery continued still to play upon *ber*.

The Breaches with Chained-shot, and to burn the Palisadoes with Bullets red-hot, and to amuse the Besieg'd with the report of the Battle; so that several Troops were drawn out of the Lines, as if all the Army intended to take the Field; when on a sudden, upon a Signal given by firing six Pieces of Cannon from the *Suedes* Battery, the Soldiers arose like so many Lions to attack the Breaches in three several places, of *Lorraine*, *Bavaria* and *Brandenburg*; besides there were two other false Attacks. Baron *Alti*, with his Granadiers, was the first to mount the Breach, but being wounded in the Attempt, he resign'd his Command to lead his Men to the Sergeant-Major of *Diepenbuhl*. Never was any thing more bravely assaulted, nor more courageously defended: For the Besieg'd, notwithstanding the late Stratagem to amuse them, still continu-

1686. ed their usual Vigilance, and oppos'd themselves with open Breasts against their Enemy; so that never was made a more brave and resolute Defence than that of this Fortress of *Buda*. The *Brandenburgers*, not inferior in Courage to the Imperialists, were as forward as the others to mount the Breach; but both of them encounter'd an incredible Resistance by whole showers of Shot, Granadoes, Bags of Gunpowder, Stones, and even Swords and handy Blows, to which they came with the Enemy: But the Assaultants being seconded by Reserves, and animated by the Preference and Example of their Generals, who march'd at the head of their Men rather as Guides and Conductors, than as Commanders, were so encouraged, that they resolv'd either now at last to enter the Town, or die on the Breach: The Duke of *Croy*, the Prince of *Neuburg*, with the Generals *Souches*, *Scaffenberg* and *Diepenbuhl*, were like Common Soldiers engag'd amidst the thickest of the Enemies; and the Duke of *Lorraine*, who out of an heroic Spirit, was always present where was most of Danger, was one of the first to mount the Breach, being followed by the other Generals. The Fight grew so hot, and the Defendants so hardly press'd upon the Breach, that the *Pasha* - Governour of the Place, with the most select and choise Men of the Garrison came running to succour that part where the Enemy was just ready to make their Entrance; the *Pasha* fighting valiantly on the Breach, and giving undeniable Proofs of his Valour, was slain on the Ruins, and fell a Sacrifice rather to his own Master than to his Enemies; for had he escap'd the Danger and Slaughter, 'tis probable he would have been ill received at Home, and his Death made shameful by the Hand of the Executioner, which was now made glorious by the Sword of the Enemy. In fine, after a bloody Fight on the Breach, which continued for the space of three quarters of an Hour, the Soldiers enter'd freely into the City, where a new Engagement began, the Garrison retreating from House to House, and from Wall to Wall, firing from Windows and Holes, and all parts, being resolv'd to sell their Habitations and Lives at the dearest rate they were able, until at length with great disorder they fled to the foot of the Castle Wall. The Imperialists being now Masters of the Town, made a most direful Slaughter of all they met; and being in the heat of their Fury, put Women and Children to the Sword.

But the Elector of *Bavaria* met a stronger Resistance at the Castle; for the *Turks* who were still in their Trenches, and knew not as yet, that the *Christians* had enter'd the Town, defended themselves with their

utmost Bravery, until at length the *Bavarians* redoubling their Force, became Masters of the remaining part of the Castle; when those who had forsaken the Breach, were flying to take their Refuge in it; but now no Place or Sanctuary remaining to save the Miserable, some of them threw down their Arms, crying for Quarter, and others made Signs of Surrender, by the white Turbans which they took from their Heads, and display'd in the Air, and others thinking to save themselves in little Boats, and pass over to *Pesth*; but many of them were taken by the *Bavarians*, and most of them kill'd: But in regard that those who were still in their Trenches, perceived that no Quarter was given, they apply'd themselves again to their Arms, and as desperate Men, resolv'd to sell their Lives at the dearest rate; and having set Fire to divers Places of the City, render'd it a most dreadful spectacle of Horror and Confusion. In fine, all endeavours being made by the Generals to stop the farther effusion of Blood; the Soldiers not being as yet satiated with Revenge for the Death of their Companions; and the Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who (with his Regiment of Horse) was posted in a burying place to oppose the *Turks*, in case they should attempt any thing from the Vizier's Camp) was deaf to the Cries of the Conquer'd; for hearing that the Town was enter'd, and unwilling to lose any part of the Glory, or that his Sword should appear dry, and not colour'd with the Blood of his Enemies, at the end of the Action, forsook his Post, and let loose his Soldiers, crying out to give no Quarter to the *Janissaries*, which to the number of about Sixteen hundred defended themselves within the Trenches and Works of the Castle; but the Generals consulting together, consider'd that the Night was coming on, that the Enemies Camp was in sight, that Fires were kindled and furiously burning in divers parts of the City, and that the Confusion was every-where great; they at length agreed, tho' with some Opinions to the contrary, to grant Quarter to the *Janissaries* for their Lives only; the which they having accepted, and surrender'd themselves, were by a strong Guard conducted to one of the Moschs of the City, others to the chief Store-house, and others to a part of the Castle, where they were kept in Custody until the Day following.

In the great Action of this Day, being the 2d of September, 1686, which gave the capital City of the Kingdom of *Hungary* into the Hands of the Emperor, after it had remained in Possession of the *Turks* ever since the Year 1529, when it was taken by *Solyman*; There were kill'd only Four

Ff hundred

The Commanders Guide to the Soldiers.

The Pasha and his killed.

The City and its taken.

The Turks and their Quarries.

But in general not given.

by the P. of Savoy.

but in general not given.

1686. hundred Soldiers, and about Two hundred wounded; for where is a great Conternation, there is seldom much Blood spilt on the victorious side: Of the *Turks* about Three thousand might be slain, and Two thousand made Captives; of which last, the *Kalya* to the Pasha of *Buda*, or his Deputy, was made Slave to the Elector of *Bavaria*; the Aga or Commander of the *Janisaries* to the Duke of *Lorraine*; as also the *Musli*, the Treasurer, the *Hafnadar* or Privy-Purse to the Pasha, the Secretary to the Pasha, with several other Officers of Note: Many others were taken and kill'd, who endeavour'd to make their escape over the River, some of them being overtaken by the *Talpatz* in their swift-rowing Boats; and others taken or kill'd by the Garrison of *Pesth*, at their landing on the other side; but still was the City all this Night in continual Flames and Confusion; for the *Turks* had conferv'd divers Stores of Powder and Fire-works in places near the Attacks, which were not regarded by the *Christians*, when they first enter'd the Town; where the Fire encircling, and running from Houfe to Houfe, at length touching the Magazines, they blew all up with so terrible a noise, that the General began to suspect some Treason, and fear'd that all the Town was min'd in subterranean Vaults; but considering afterwards the place from whence the Blow came, it soon appear'd that it was all nothing but an Accident; howsoever, with that and other terrible Blows, very few Houses in the City remained standing, and the Roofs uncover'd; only the principal Church of the City was not much damnified, and the chief Magazine or Store-houfe was conferv'd by the great Care and Diligence of Count *Rabata*, Commissary General, with another containing vast quantities of Powder and other warlike Provisions.

The number slain at the taking of the City.

The Store-house of Powder takes fire.

Endeavour made to quench the Fire.

Two Mines discover'd.

A stop being put (as we have said) by the Authority of the Generals, unto the Slaughter; and the Fury of the Soldiers growing cool, they began to hearken to the Voice of their Commanders, who with good Words, and promises of Reward, prevail'd with them to apply themselves to the extinguishing of the Fire, which by the assistance of God was in a few Hours overcom'd. But a more wonderful deliverance by the Hand of God's Divine Providence, was the discovery of two Mines under the Castle, charged with Ten thousand Pounds of Powder, which the *Turks* reserv'd for their last and parting Blow, which had they taken Fire, would not only have destroyed the remainder of the City with the Walls and Bulwarks, but therewith buried the greatest part of the Assailants in the Ruins, and given a sad occasion or cause of Rejoy-

cing and Triumph to the surviving Conquerors; but the *Turks* amidst this great Conternation had forgot these Mines, or else abstained from that desperate Attempt in hopes of Life.

This was the Fate of this great and strong City of *Buda*, the Capital of all *Hungary*, and Residence of the Beglerbei of that Kingdom, under whom are Twenty Sangiacks: He is fill'd the Vizier of *Buda*, and eldest after the Grand Vizier *Azem*, and the Pashas of Grand *Cairo* and *Babylon*, (who are always call'd Viziers) the next in order of Superiority; and because his Station is on the Frontiers, and Neighbour to such a Formidable and Martial People, as are the *Germans*; they commonly chuse Men of Valour and Conduct for that Employment, of which we have had a good Proof and Evidence in the Person of the late Pasha, who decently Died on the Breach amidst the croud of Common Soldiers.

This City was at first taken by *Solyman* the Magnificent, in the Year 1526; and afterwards in the Year 1527, was subdu'd by *Ferdinand* the I. King of *Bohemia*, Brother to *Charles* the V. In the Year 1529, *Solyman* regain'd it by Treachery of the Garrison, and after it laid Siege to *Vienna* it self, which after many bloody Assaults he was forc'd to raise in haste and confus'd Precipitation. After which, *Buda* sustain'd eight several Sieges without any Effect.

The first was by *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*, in the Year 1530, which he was forc'd to raise with shame and loss.

The second was by the same King, under the Conduct of his General *Leonard Felsius*, in the Year 1540; but the King dying, the Siege was rais'd.

The next Year being 1541, the General *Rogendorf* laid Siege a third time to that City, which again was reliev'd by a powerful Army under the Command of *Solyman*.

The Marquess of *Brandenberg*, in the Year 1542, made an appearance as if he had a design upon *Buda*, and came to near as to Attack *Pesth*; but being repuls'd thence with some loss, he return'd back into *Germany*.

In the Year 1598, the Count of *Swartzenburg*, having by a Stratagem taken *Rab* from the *Turks*, march'd thence towards *Buda*, and in the Month of *October* laid Siege thereunto, with the Forces of *Matthias* the Arch-Duke, which after thirty Days time he was forc'd to raise, by reason of the continual Rains: And what is observable, the *Turks* did the like at *Waradin* on the Frontiers, being under the same Inconveniences.

1686.

The Great-ness and Power of the Vizier of Buda.

The many sieges which Buda sustain'd.

1st.

2d.

3d.

4th.

5th.

The

1686. The *Christians* made an Attempt the 6th time upon this City, in the Year 1602, under the Conduct of General *Rofworm*: And tho' they had ruin'd the Bridge over the *Danube*, and taken by force the City of *Pesth*, yet being overtaken by the rigour of the Winter-season, they were forc'd to desist from that Design.

7th. The 7th Siege was laid in the Year 1684, by *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, Generalissimo of the Imperial Forces, and of the other Princes of *Germany*; which after many bloody Assaults was again rais'd; as we have at large declar'd in the Historical Treatise of that Year.

8th. But now at length, after many Battles unfortunate to the *Turks*, this Fortrel was forc'd to surrender to the said Duke of *Lorraine*, being over-whelm'd by the Power and Valour of the *Christians*, and taken in the fight of the Ottoman Army, Commanded by the Grand Vizier himself, in which was the Flower of the Turkish Troops; but having lost the best and bravest of their Soldiers in former Battles, and discourag'd by a Series of evil Successes, their Courage fail'd them, and no wonder, when they were generally possess'd with an Opinion, that God fought against them; in sense of which, so soon as the City was taken, the Vizier with such Precipitation rais'd his Camp and march'd away, that he was forc'd to burn a great part of his Baggage to prevent the falling of it into the Hands of the Enemy. And indeed it was no wonder that the Vizier with fear and dread should hasten away, for the Duke of *Lorraine* had dispatch'd Count *Budiani*, with Six thousand *Hungarians*, to march in pursuit of him, whilst he with the other Generals render'd Thanks to God, and sang *Te Deum* for their Successes in the great Church, Dedicated to St. *Stephen* King of *Hungary*.

In the mean time the Command of this important City was committed to the Charge of General *Beck*, with the Assistance of the Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Salm*, and of *Bischoffhausen*, Sergeant-Major to *Diepenbal*, with a Garrison of Three thousand Five hundred *Germans*, and a Thousand *Hungarians*: The first Work to be done, was to clear the Streets of the dead Bodies, which was perform'd by the *Turks* and *Jews*, who were made Prisoners; those Bodies which were *Turks* and *Jews*, like themselves, by Command of their Task-masters, they threw into the River, but the Bodies of the *Christians* were decently interr'd. The next Business was to demolish the Works, repair the Breaches, to fill up the Trenches, and level the Lines: But the chief Prisoners, and Persons of

The Christian soldiers and soldiers.

The Camp of Buda given.

Quality, were conducted by Count *Rabata* to the Emperor at *Vienna*, where the Joy and Triumph of that Court was much increas'd at the sight of such considerable Captives.

The Spoil and Plunder of the City could not amount unto much, by reason that the greatest part of the Householdstuff and Moveables was consum'd in the Flames: Howsoever, there were some who had the fortune to seize considerable Sums both of Gold and Silver. After which the Place being visited and survey'd in all parts by the two Generals, they found therein above four hundred Pieces of Cannon of great weight; of which there were four of vast bigness, carrying an Hundred and fifty Pound Bullet; to which the *Christians* afterwards gave the Name of the four Evangelists; besides, there were twenty Mortar-pieces, and Provisions and Ammunition for about a Month longer.

The Generals having refresh'd their Armies in *Buda* for the space of three or four Days, on the 6th of September they march'd towards the Vizier with Twenty thousand Foot and Twelve thousand Horse; of whom Count *Budiani* (as we have said) being dispatch'd before, gave an account, that the Vizier having visited and reinforce'd the Garrison of *Alba Regalis*, or *Stultwillenberg*, had taken his March with all expedition towards the Bridge of *Esseck*; and that his Army was reduc'd to a very small number, being deserted by the Country-people and Handycraftsmen, whom they had forc'd to the War; so that the Vizier not knowing otherwise in what manner to save himself, encamp'd with all the advantage he could about three Miles distant from the Bridge of *Esseck*, upon the little River of *Sarwitz*, having his Rear guarded by a Bog or marshy Ground, intending there to remain, until he saw and discover'd the Designs of the Enemy, who could not in that advantageous Post force him to an Engagement.

The Duke of *Lorraine* being with the Imperial Army encamp'd at *Tolna*, about three Leagues distant from the Vizier, whom he could not force nor perforce to Fight; he detach'd Eighteen Regiments under Command of Prince Lewis of *Baden*, with Orders to Besiege the Town of *Quing*; Ecclesiae, whilst he with the remainder of the Army pass'd the River, with a Bridge of Boats, at *Tolna*, taking his March towards *Pesth*; and in his way seiz'd on the Town of *Hatwan*, which the *Turks* had abandon'd, and set on Fire; but the *Christians* entering therein before all was reduc'd to Ashes, they extinguish'd the Fire, and sav'd the rest, and found therein seventeen Pieces of Cannon.

1686.

Several times in the Town.

The army march'd against the Vizier.

Hatwan, surrender'd.

1686. Thus did the Imperial Arms proceed with a prosperous gale of Fortune, nothing standing before them, but all yielded to the conquering Eagles; for Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* in his March, made himself Master of *Simon-Torn*, a Fortrefs encompass'd with a Dirch of thirty Paces broad, and that also defended by a Marth quite round; the Passage over which is made by a Bridge of Three hundred Paces long, and the Castle is built of Free-stone, with Fortifications after the ancient Fashion. In this Place were sixteen Pieces of Brass Guns, and one of Iron, Twenty six Granado-shells, and Twenty five Tuns of Gun-powder. Then without farther loss of time he proceeded to *Kapofwar*, which he Pillag'd and Burnt, the Castle only excepted: And being reinforc'd by Count *Scaffenberg* and some Troops of the *Croats*, which joy'n'd with him, they march'd together towards *Quing*; *Ecluse*; and being come near the Place, a Detachment of Three thousand *Germans* and *Croats* was made to take a View of the Situation and Strength of the Town; which they finding to remain in a secure Condition, enter'd it by Surprise, and put an Hundred *Turks* to the Sword, the rest flying to the Castle for Refuge, after they had set fire to the City in four places; but the Dragoons scaled the Walls, and with their Swords in their Hands call themselves into the Place, and open'd the Gates to give entrance to the other Troops. After which the Fire was put out, and considerable Booty, and rich Plunder taken, and about a Thousand Christian Captives set at liberty.

This Success was soon afterwards followed by the Siege of *Segedin*, by some Troops detach'd by Order of the Duke of *Lorraine*, under Command of Count *Caraffa*, one of the Generals; who, coming before the Place, in a short time rais'd four Batteries, and mounted his Cannon thereupon, which were brought from *Zoluck*; but Forage and Provisions growing very scarce in the Leaguer, *Caraffa* went himself to hasten the Provisions, leaving Count *Wals*, Major-General, Chief Commander of the Forces before the Town: In the mean time Count *Wals* receiv'd Intelligence, that Two thousand *Turks*, joy'n'd with a considerable Body of *Tartars*, were marching to raise the Siege, or to force Succours into the Town; he detach'd six Regiments of Horse and Foot, with some *Croats*, and a Regiment of Dragoons, under the Command of Count *Veterani*; who having march'd all the Night, by break of Day drew up his Forces in to Battalia, and with his right Wing charged the *Tartars* with such resolution, that he put them to flight, and kill'd great numbers of them in their Tents, and took Four or

Five thousand of their Horse, with all their Baggage: Nor was the Colonel of the Regiment *de Gotz*, whose Incumbence it was to Charge the *Turks*, less successful in his Enterprise; for thó they had the advantage of a Palanca for their Defence, yet the Imperialists (to whom nothing could now be difficult) did Storm it with so much Courage and Vigour, that they soon became Masters of it, killing Two hundred of the Three hundred *Janisaries*, which defended the Place; at the same time the Horse charging the others, forced them to fly in disorder, of which many falling into the Hands of *Veterani*, were kill'd without Quarter given to any. This Action was scarce over, before the Imperialists espied a great number of *Turks*, passing a Bridge which they had laid over the *Danube*, as if they had design'd to reinforce those Troops newly defeated, and to come in to their Assistance for the Relief of *Segedin*. *Veterani* resolving to charge them also, made a Detachment of some Regiments to hinder the run-away *Tartars* from attacking the Imperialists in the Flank, whilst he assail'd the *Turks*, who were reputed to be Twelve thousand Men, Commanded by the Vizier himself. The Action was so bravely perform'd, that the Van-guard of the *Turks* was beaten, and forced to retreat to a Place where their Infantry lay under covert, supported by Six hundred *Janisaries*, with Thirty Field-pieces, which were discharged with terrible Fire and Smoke upon their Enemies; but the *Christians* having receiv'd their Fire with undaunted Constancy and Courage, they assail'd the *Turks* and *Tartars* with such bravery, that they put them to flight. In this last Encounter above Three hundred *Janisaries* were kill'd upon the Place, all their Artillery and Baggage taken, with their Timbals, which they found before the Passas, and many Colours, together with Five hundred Horse, and Two thousand Beasts of Burden, laden with Baggage and Provisions; and all this on the Christian side, with the loss only of a Hundred Foot Soldiers, and about Fifty Horsemen. After which *Veterani* returning to the Camp before *Segedin*, where *Te Deum* was sung; some Prisoners were releas'd to carry the Intelligence of these Successes into the Town: And thereupon a Treaty being desired, and Hostages given, it was agreed, That the Soldiers of the Garrison only should have liberty to march out with as much Baggage as every Man was able to carry upon his Shoulders, and to be conducted in safety as far as *Temeswar*. Thus *Segedin* being taken, great quantities of Provisions were found therein, which served to augment the Loss, and increase the terrible Confection

1686. tion in the Turkish Army, and in the Court, and in all parts of the Ottoman Dominions. Nor did the *Turks* Misfortunes of this Year's Campaign end here, nothing being able to withstand a victorious Army. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* divided his Army into two Bodies; the first he Commanded himself, and march'd towards *Darda*, which is a Fortrefs built by the *Turks*, and serv'd to cover the Bridge of *Eseck*; the other Detachment was committed to the Conduct of Count *Scaffenberg*, with Orders to Attack *Zyclos*, which he so well executed, that in five or six Days he took the Place, the Soldiers and Inhabitants Surrendering at discretion: In the Town were found Twelve Pieces of Cannon, with stores of all sorts of Provisions and Ammunition. The Men were made Prisoners of War, but the Women and Children were dispersed into several Cities and Towns under obedience of the Emperor. After the taking of *Zyclos*, the Count of *Scaffenberg* joy'n'd again with Prince *Lewis*, who was now come before *Darda* on the first of *November*, where he underfoot the two Palhas, who had layn encamp'd on that side, with about Two thousand Five hundred Men, were already pass'd the Bridge of *Eseck*; and that the Garrison of *Darda* had abandon'd the Place, and march'd the same way, carrying their Cannon and Provisions with them, and to hinder the pursuit of their Enemies after them, had beat down and burnt a great part of the Bridge behind them. The Fort and the Bridge being both possess'd without any opposition, Prince *Lewis* burnt about Six thousand Paces more of the Bridge, notwithstanding the Cannon-shot which they fired continually from the Town of *Eseck*, without any great loss or damage to the Imperialists, or the People of the Country, which came in to their Assistance; so that by what one side and the other had done, the Bridge was totally ruin'd. Prince *Lewis* having put a good Garrison into *Darda*, march'd to *Zyclos*, and thence to *Kapofwar*, which he took upon Conditions, that the Garrison should march out, and be conducted in safety as far as *Sigerb*. There were in that Town Twenty four Pieces of Cannon planted, and the Magazines well stor'd with all sorts of Provisions and Arms.

In this glorious manner did this Campaign end in favour of the Christian Arms: And now it being time for both Armies to retire into their Winter-quarters, the losing Party had leisure to lament and quarrel, and lay the fault on each other, and the victorious Party to rejoice and triumph. And so it was; for by this time the news of the loss of *Buda*, and the several Victories gain'd by the *Christians*, being come to Con-

stantinople, it struck all forts and conditions of Men with a wonderful Confection and Astonishment; and yet under this Affliction and pressure of heavy Taxes, they behav'd themselves with much Humility and Resignation of Mind to the Will and Pleasure of God, acknowledging all these Miseries which had fallen upon them, the flights and turning of their Backs to their Enemies, the loss of their fortify'd Towns, and the Slaughtering of their brave Soldiers, and valiant Men of War, to be all the effects of the Divine Anger and Vengeance upon them for their Sins. The *Imaums* or Parish-Priests, the *Sheeks* or Preachers in their Moschs, the Religious Men, such as the *Devices*, *Kalenderi*, *Nimetulabi*, and others made diverse Processions, exhorting the People as they pass'd to Repentance and Amendment of Life, and particularly to lament their Sins of drinking Wine and unnatural Lusts, the common Wickedness and Vices of the People: And for better observation of their Law, which had been much neglected, it was commanded on pain of Death strictly to observe the *Ramazan*, which is the Month of Fasting, during which Month, no Man is by their Law, in the Day time, till Night comes, to eat Bread or drink Water: Every Friday in that Month, the *Mufti* and *Kades* clothed in penitential Habits, were oblig'd to visit all the principal Moschs of the City, and to make Prayers for turning away the Anger and Displeasure of God: But the People and Soldiery were of another Temper, being inclin'd to enquire after the Cause and Grounds of all these Evils, Slaughters, and Confusion. The News of taking *Buda*, and putting all the Garrison to the Sword, (which as reported) consist'd of Eight thousand Men, besides Women and Children, had fill'd all *Constantinople* with a most wonderful Contagion; the common sort of Shopkeepers and Handycrafts-men ran to Coffee-houses, and Places of publick Meetings to hear the News and Particulars of what had pass'd. The *Kades*, who were Lawyers and Judges, and the *Otorack Janisaries*, who are like the *Milites immeriti*, or Soldiers with dead Pay, caball'd every Day together without the knowledge of the Grand Seignior, which so soon as he came to hear, he was affrighted, not knowing what might be the issue of such seditious Meetings, and thereupon doubling his Guards in the *Seraglio* with *Bastangees*, who are Gardiners, and stout able Men, he sent to know the meaning of such numerous Assemblies; to which answer was made, That seeing to their Grief the extream Ruin and Danger, then threatening both the Person of his Majesty and the whole Empire, they thought it their Duty as Loyal Subjects and Slaves, and

Simon Torn taken

and Kapofwar was

Quing, Ecluse taken

Segedin besieged

Veterani routs the Tartars

1686.

A Body of Turks routed

1686.

Another body of the Turks defeated

Segedin taken

1686.

The Turks humble themselves

Keep justice in Constantinople

The Grand Seignior at the sight of the Statues, and Fountains

1686. and true Musselmens and Believers to con-
 fult together what Advices and Expedients
 they might with all Humility offer to his
 Majesty, for his own personal Conservati-
 on, and for the Defence of their holy and
 true Religion, with the great Body of the
 Empire. The Grand Seignior, who dread-
 ed the ill Consequences of such seditious
 Meetings, return'd to them a gentle Mes-
 sage of Thanks for their Care and Love,
 desiring them to offer him such Remedies,
 which they in their Wisdom did judge con-
 venient for cure of the present, and preven-
 tion of future Evils; it being natural for the
 common Fort of People in such cases to
 cast the Blame on the chief Ministers of
 State, they immediately reply'd, That the
Mufti was a bad Man, and had abused his
 Office, and that it was generally murmur'd
 in all places of the Empire, That his Ma-
 jesty was in such times as these too expen-
 sive in his Seraglio, and too loose in his
 Government, giving himself up to Hunting
 and Recreations, and forsaking as it were
 the Helm of Government, whilst the Vessel
 of the Empire was tossed amidst an Ocean
 of Miseries, and ready every Day to suffer
 Shipwrack. And that his Majesty did too
 much neglect his Imperial City of *Constanti-*
nople, gracing every little Place with his
 Presence, which made that Royal Seat be-
 come desolate and so impoverished, that it
 was not possible to answer and pay the vast
 Taxes and Impositions which were charged
 upon it. The Grand Seignior seem'd to
 take all this that was said very kindly; and
 immediately depos'd the *Mufti*, and banish'd
 him to *Prusa*, and calling for one of the
Kadifchiers (who are Chief Justices) he
 cloth'd him with a rich Sables, and invest'd
 him with his Office: And looking more
 nearly about him to the main Chance, he
 recall'd the Orders he had lately given for
 a general Hunt on a certain Day, and a vast
 number of Grey-hounds, which with great
 Charge had been got together from all parts
 of the Empire, were let loose, and suffer'd
 to run without a Master through all the
 Streets of *Constantinople*: The Expenses of
 the Seraglio were also much retrench'd,
 and the daily Allowances reduc'd to one
 Moiety: And after this Example, the *Ku-*
slir-Aga, the *Kimacham*, and all the great
 Ministers of State made a Regulation in
 their Families: And to make this Reforma-
 tion the more publick and notorious to the
 People, the Grand Seignior put on a more
 grave and penitential Face than ordinary,
 and frequented the Royal Mosques, going
 to one or other of them every Day with
 much Solemnity: This Reformation quieted
 the Minds of the Commonalty pretty well;
 but this and the News of the Vizier's co-

ming to *Constantinople* very speedily, to
 assist at the Councils for conferring Mea-
 sures for the next Year's Campaign, terri-
 fied the Ringleaders of the late Cabals,
 with an Apprehension of being called to
 an Account on score of their late seditious
 Meetings; for the *Turks*, who can easily
 diffemble with the Vulgar, and temporize
 during the Outrages and Fluctuations of
 the People, yet so soon as the Storm is ap-
 pear'd, they never fail to question the
 Cause, and punish Captain *Tom* and his
 mutinous Rabble with Punishment agree-
 able to their Demerit.

As the Grand Seignior was afraid of his
 People, and they of the Grand Seignior,
 and Vizier, so likewise were they generally
 possess'd with a Panic-fear of the coming
 of the Enemy, which will plainly appear
 by this Instance. The *Turks* having surren-
 der'd up *Napoli di Romania* upon Condi-
 tions to the *Venetians*; one of them was,
 That they should Transport the Inhabitants
 and Garrison of that City, to some Place
 within the *Dardanelli*, near to the Castles:
 The *Venetians*, in pursuance of this Article,
 embark'd all the Soldiers, with the Men,
 Women and Children, and transported them
 to the place appointed; to which when they
 began to draw near, to that many Colours
 of St. Mark were seen from the Castles,
 entering into the *Hellepont*, the News thereof
 was posted from all hands to *Constantinople*,
 which put the whole City into a Consterna-
 tion, and gave cause of Rumour every-
 where, that the *Venetians* had already pass'd
 the Castles, and Reports flew up and
 down, that they were in a few Leagues, or
 as some fancied in sight of the Town.
 This put all Hands to work, and in a con-
 fused manner, many Pieces of Cannon were
 mounted at the Seraglio Point, on the Maiden
 Tower, which is a little Fort built on a Rock
 in the Water, in the midway between *Con-*
stantinople and *Scutari*, where all Guns were
 mounted, and Soldiers and Inhabitants of the
 City posted in all places, where might be
 any suspicion or danger of the Enemies de-
 scent or landing. This hurly burly contin-
 u'd for the space of two Days, by which
 time the truth of the Matter being known,
 and that the *Venetians* were retired, things
 began to be quieted, and the People to return
 to their own Habitations and Business.

Thus have we done with the Campaign
 in *Hungary* for the Year 1686, which end-
 ed very glorious for the Emperor: It rests
 now before we proceed farther, to take a
 view and survey of the Successes of the
Venetians both by Sea and Land, which
 were not less prosperous than those in the
 parts of *Hungary*.

1686.

A Panic-
 fear possess'd
 them at
 Constantinople.

They stir
 themselves.

The Grand
 Seignior ap-
 pears
 thence.

1686. In the preceeding Years of this War, the
Venetians made it their chief Business and
 Enterprize to render themselves Masters of
 the *Morea*, a fruitful and ancient Country,
 in which are many Provinces, and amongst
 them, that of *Laconia*, now call'd *Maina*,
 and the Inhabitants, *Mainiots*, a sort of
 People, who call themselves *Christians*, but
 live chiefly upon Spoyl and Robbery: In this
 Country the most considerable Places are,
Calamata, *Zarnata*, *Chiolesfa*, and *Passava*,
 all which Places were subdu'd by the *Vene-*
tians, and taken from the *Turks* in the pre-
 ceeding Year of 1685, in despite of the Cap-
 tain Pasha, and in the sight of him and his
 Army, as we have before related, which
 Disgrace being a Crime sufficient to cost
 him his Head, he resolv'd to save his Life
 if possible by recovery of *Chiolesfa*; to gain
 which, he began betimes his Campaign, and
 on the first of April, he invest'd the Place with
 an Army, composed of Ten thousand Foot
 and Fifteen hundred Horse, commanded by
 himself and four other Pashas, with a great
 number of Labourers and Pioneers. At his
 first appearance before this Fort, the
 Captain Pasha sent a Summons to the Gov-
 ernour, call'd Seignior *Marin Gritti*, Pro-
 vider extraordinary for the *Maina*, de-
 manding with many Threats the Surrender
 of that Town. To which Seignior *Gritti*
 return'd a resolute Answer, That he and all
 his Soldiers would either live or die in De-
 fence of that Place, not doubting but that the
 Omnipotent God would favour their just
 and brave Intentions. The Captain Pasha
 having receiv'd this Answer, immediately
 rais'd a Battery, and began to fire upon the
 Town with six Pieces of Cannon; at which
 the Governour not being in the least dismay'd,
 put all things in order for a resolute Defence.
 The *Turks* ply'd their Batteries so warmly on
 the Town, that in the space of ten Days they
 had open'd a Breach wide enough for an
 Assault; which whilst they were preparing
 to do, the News being brought to Seignior
Girolamo Cornaro, the General of the Islands,
 how that the *Turks* had invest'd *Chiolesfa*,
 he immediately gather'd all the Force which
 was then ready in *Zant*, consisting of divers
 Nations; and having embark'd 'em on a Fleet
 of Ships commanded by Seignior *Lorenzo Ve-*
nier, he sail'd with a favourable Wind to
 the *Morea*. This News flew likewise with
 much speed to the Captain General *Morofini*
 then at *Corfu*, who, with like diligence, ha-
 ving embark'd all the Forces he had there,
 and being assisted with a prosperous Wind,
 arriv'd in the space of four Days at the
 Place, where he design'd to make his De-
 scent, and the Day following being the
 30th of March, he landed Four thousand
 Men under the Command of three Major

Generals, that is, *Storff*, and the Cavaliers
Alcenago, and *d'Andria*.

This unexpected News of the arrival of
 the Captain General surpriz'd the Captain
 Pasha, and filled all the Turkish Camp
 with Fear and Confusion; so that at the
 very Name of *Morofini*, and the Christian
 Troops, they rais'd their Tents, and drew
 off their Camp, but with such haft and
 precipitation, that at a little distance from
 the Town, they left six Pieces of Bras
 Canon behind them, four of which were
 thrown down a Precipice, and two were
 recovered by the industry of the *Vene-*
tians. So soon as the Besieg'd observ'd
 the Enemy to raise their Camp, and to fly
 away with a Panic-fear, the *Greeks* and
Mainiots pursu'd them, and kill'd above
 Four hundred of them; and the whole Body
 of the rest were dispers'd through the whole
 Country of the *Morea*; only the Captain Pa-
 sha with some few Troops pitch'd his Camp
 in the Country near to *Passava*, where he
 labour'd to gather his dispers'd Troops.

Towards the end of May, the Auxiliary-
 Gallies and Forces being united to the Army
 and Fleet, under the Captain General; the
 whole Body of the Armada consisting of
 about Two hundred Sail, on the second Day
 of June appear'd in sight of old *Navarin*,
 which fill'd all that Country round with
 great Consternation. The Gallies and
 great Ships led the Van, and serv'd to shel-
 ter and protect the smaller Vessels in land-
 ing their Men, which being enter'd on the
 Shoar, were drawn up in Battalia by the
 Art and Direction of that valiant General
 Count *Conismarc*, in fight of the People of
Navarin. *Morofini*, according to his accu-
 stomary Generosity, sent first his Summons
 to the Garrison to Surrender, before he thought
 fit to make use of his Force, in answer un-
 to which, they desir'd time to consider until
 the next Morning; and then they propos'd
 a longer Term, with design only to pro-
 tract the Time, until they might receive
 Succours from the Seraskier, whom they
 knew to be not far distant with a consider-
 able Force; of which the Captain General
 well considering, gave order to Count
Cenismarc to advance with a great part of
 the Army towards the Town, and at the same
 time, he caus'd another Regiment to take
 possession of a Rock which forms the Port,
 and to plant a formidable Battery thereon;
 in which Matters whilst they were thus em-
 ploy'd, the Besieg'd being greatly affright-
 ed, set forth a white Flag, and dispatched
 immediately in their Admiral Gally, certain
 Deputies to treat on, and receive some rea-
 sonable Conditions upon the Surrender,
 which, as they desir'd, were generously
 granted.

1686.

The Vene-
 tians re-
 cover'd
 Chiolesfa.

The Vene-
 tians re-
 cover'd
 old Nava-
 rin.

The Inha-
 bitants
 treat and
 surrender.

1686. granted by the Captain General. In pursuance of which, the Inhabitants were permitted to march forth with all their Bag and Baggage and small Arms, being not above Four hundred in number, of which One hundred were Soldiers, who were judged to be a sufficient Garrison to maintain a Fortrefs to naturally strong, and situated on a high and almost inaccessible Rock; and afterwards according to the Articles, all these People were transported to *Alexandria in Egypt*. Thus in a few Hours, without loss of Men, or the least effusion of Blood, did this old Fort of *Navarin* fall into the Hands of the *Venetians*, in which were found Forty three Pieces of brass Cannon, with many Arms, much Ammunition and Provisions. The Captain General having furnished the Place with a Garrison of an Hundred and sixty Men, under the Command of *Pietro Griani*, in Quality of Provveditor in ordinar, he immediately block'd up the Port, and guarded the narrowest freight of it, to secure the Passage for the more safe and easie Transport of Cannons, Mortar-pieces and Provisions from that Place, where the Camp was pitched with design to Attack *New Navarin*, which was a Royal Fortrefs, and a place of greater Importance than that of *Old Navarin*.

1686. On the 4th of June at Night, the Gallies of *Donado* and *Pizzamano*, both Noble *Venetians*, were the first to enter into the narrow Passage; on the first of which the General Count *Conisfmarc* was embark'd, who enter'd safely within the Port, tho several Pieces of Cannon were fired at them from a Ravelin, which trolled the Shot exactly on the Surface of the Water. There were follow'd by the Captain of the *Gulf*, with three other Gallies, who pass'd without any damage or loss; and on the 6th at Night, *Cornaro*, General of the Islands, enter'd with his four Gallies also without other hurt, than the breaking some few Oars by a Shot from the Ravelin: The Cannon and Mortar-pieces, and other Necessaries for an Attack were first to be landed, which by the diligence, use and labour of the Slaves was presently effected, notwithstanding the many Difficulties which interven'd; and a formal Siege in a short time laid by the Industry and Valour of Captain General *Morossini*, and the happy Conduct of Count *Conisfmarc*, who had rais'd a Work, on which eighteen Mortar-pieces were planted, carrying Bombs of Five hundred pounds weight, and on another advantageous Ground had rais'd a Battery of Twenty Pieces of Cannon, carrying Fifty pound Bullets.

Whilst these Matters were acting, a certain Greek was taken with Letters from the Town, directed to the Seraskier, whereby they gave him to understand, That tho

Sefer Pasha, a valiant and resolute Soldier, was come to them, with a good Recruit both of Men and Ammunition, whereby their Garrison amounted to a Thousand Soldiers, and that nothing wanted either of Arms or Ammunition, yet that it was impossible for them to hold out long, unless the Siege was rais'd by a vigorous Force. Upon this Advice, General *Conisfmarc* resolv'd with the greatest part of his Troops to advance into the Country, and engage the Seraskier: Upon which Advice, the *Conisfmarc* *Turks* were so far from designing to disturb the Siege, that they rais'd their Camp, and retreated: Upon which also *Conisfmarc* thought fit to draw his Troops off, and return to the Siege; the *Turks* defending themselves, and refusing to Surrender upon any Summons or Force, which had hitherto been applied, upon hopes as they conceived of receiving speedy Succour and Relief from the Seraskier, concerning whom the Report was, that he was approaching towards the Christian Camp: In the mean time, the Captain General form'd all the Trenches and Traverses for an Attack, and bomb'd the Town with Twenty Mortar-pieces, and batter'd the Walls with six Pieces of Cannon, carrying Fifty pounds weight of Bullet. The Report of the Seraskier's near approach, confirm'd by the Scouts and other Messengers, and that the *Turks* with a Body of 10.000 Men were come within six Italian Miles of the Leaguer; Count *Conisfmarc* with a very strong Party advanced once again to meet and give them Battle, leaving the Cavalier *Alcenago*, one of the Major Generals, with a sufficient Force to maintain the Siege.

The next Day after, Count *Conisfmarc* had risen from before the Town, being the 14th of June, they found the Seraskier encamp'd with 10.000 Men, of which Two thousand were Horse, in a very advantageous Post, which seem'd very difficult to be forced: Howsoever, the *Venetians* resolving to surmount all the Disadvantages with their Valour, enter'd into the Vally by a very freight Passage, where the *Turks* lay encamped, and forced them to engage in Battle, which lasted for the space of two Hours in a dubious Condition, it not appearing as yet to which side the Victory would incline: The Regiments of *Carbon* and *Visconti*, which were Dragoons, behaved themselves very bravely, and sustaining the heat of the Battle, the greatest part of the Loss fell on them; but the *Saxons*, and the Troops of *Brunswick* coming to their assistance, with four small Field-pieces, forced the Enemy to quit the Field, and betake themselves to flight, leaving about Five hundred dead upon the Place, with all their Tents and

1686. and Baggage, besides many of them are wounded, amongst which the Seraskier himself was one; all which was perform'd by the wonderful Mercy of God, without any considerable loss on the Christian side. The Joy of this Victory was solemnized with *Te Deum*, and giving Thanks to God, and with many volleys of Shot and Cannon, which wholly disanimated the Besieged, and put them into such a distracted Conternation; that with more lenity than before, they began to hearken to a second Summons, which the Captain General, to spare farther effusion of Blood, had been pleas'd to send to them. After divers Debates, and Articles propos'd, the Besieged declar'd themselves willing to lay down their Arms, and yield, on Conditions that three Days should be given to the Garrison to march out with their small Arms and Baggage; and that shipping should be given to the Garrison and Inhabitants, to Transport them to the nearest Coast of *Barbary*. Whilst these things were in agitation, it unfortunately happen'd that by some Accident a Fire took in certain Houses, near a Magazine of Powder, which on a sudden blew up, and killed an Hundred and Fifty *Turks*, with *Sefer Pasha*, the Commander in chief of *Navarin*, and also six *Christians*, and about fifteen wounded without the Walls of the City. The *Turks* fearing lest this Accident should be esteem'd as done with Design, came trembling before the Captain General, solemnly protesting their Innocence in the Disaster, offering two other Hostages for performance of the Articles agreed; and laying their Standards and Keys of their City, at the feet of the Captain General, they were graciously received: And accordingly at the time appointed, above Three thousand Persons were embark'd, of which, One thousand were capable to bear Arms, and were conveyed over to the Coast of *Barbary*; and the *Venetians* took Possession of the Town, and planted the Colours of St. Mark on the Walls thereof.

It was not long after before the Fortrefs of *Modon* follow'd the same fortune; for the Christian Forces losing no time to pursue their good Success, on the 22d of June the Armada of Ships and Gallies shew'd themselves before *Modon*; at which the Garrison not seeming to be dismay'd, the *Pasha*, who Commanded in chief, returned a resolute Answer, full of Bravery and Defiance, to the Summons sent to him by the Captain General: Upon which the Approaches were begun, and the Batteries rais'd, and Cannons plac'd, and Bombs thrown by Direction of that famous Engineer *Muton*, by which the Garrison being terrified, on the 7th of July they spread a white Flag, and surren-

der'd on Conditions, That in three Days they should leave the Place, and march out with Arms and Baggage; which accordingly was perform'd on the 10th of July, all the Inhabitants to the number of Four thousand, of which, about One thousand were Soldiers bearing Arms, abandon'd their Habitations with sad and dejected Countenances; and, as was agreed by Articles, were all Transported into *Barbary*. The Town being seized, there were an Hundred Pieces of Cannon found therein, of which, Ninety one were of Brass, besides great Quantities of Powder and Ammunition, and plenty of Provisions.

Thus good Success attending the *Venetian* Arms, the Captain General resolv'd to pursue his Conquests, whilst Fortune inclin'd to his side; and to proceed to *Napoli de Romania*, a Town anciently Famous, and celebrated for its happy and commodious Situation, in the most pleasant and richest part of all the *Morea*: The Greeks call it *Anaplia*, and *Protomy Nauplia*, being seated at the bottom of a Bay, call'd in former times *Sinus Argolicus*, having a very spacious and secure Port for Shipping, and very commodious for Trade. The Town it self is situated with great Advantages, being defended on the one side by the Sea, and on the other by high and craggy Hills, having Walls filled with Earth, much after the Modern Fortification; but without any Ditch; only at the Gate to the Land-side, there is a kind of a Ditch about six Paces broad, and about six Foot deep with Water; it hath also something like a Counter-scarp, but inconsiderable; it hath no Draw-bridge, but only some Passages thereunto, which the *Turks* have made a little difficult to enter.

The *Venetians* having refresh'd their Army for a while before *Modon*, order'd *Lorenzo Venier*, Captain extraordinary, with three Ships of good force, to Cruise within the *Archipelago*, where he discover'd, between the Islands of *Nixia* and *Nicaria*, a Fleet of Turkish Vessels call'd the *Caravan*, bound from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, plying to Windward, nine of which belonged to *Constantinople*, and four Merchant Ships from *Rhodes* and other Places, under Convoy of three *Tripoli* Men of War: The *Venetians* immediately made up to them, and engaged with them for the space of six Hours, with Damage on both sides, tho the *Turks* had much the worst, and at length with help of the Night, were forced to take Refuge in the Port of *Rhodes*, and the *Venetians* afterwards retired into *Trio*, a Port on the Island of *Paris*; where having taken some fresh Water, and mended their Rigging, and other damages sustain'd in the

G g late

1686. late Light, they failed again towards Rhodes; and being on their way between Lemno, and the Shore of Caramania, they ctyed Two great Ships, and a Sayke; and making up, and passing some Broad Sides upon them, the greatest Ship ran a-shoar, and set her self a Fire; all the persons, being 130, escap'd a-shoar and sav'd themselves; the other Ship and the Sayke were taken by the Venetians; the Ship which was burned, was called Nachis, Commanded by *Ussif*, was called *Nachis*, by Nation, very richly Laden; and the Prizes taken were well Freight with Rice, and other Provisions very feasonable at that time for the support of the Venetian Forces, which by reason of contrary Winds, were long detained at *Modon*; but by help of their Oars, and assistance of the lighter Vessels, they arrived at Port *Rogdi* about Four Miles distant from *Napoli de Romania* on the 30th day of July, from whence they had a Prospect of the pleasant Gardens, and Fountains belonging to *Assan Pasha*: And here having Landed the 200 Foot, and 20 Horse, which every Gally carried, their Orders were to march to Mount *Palamida*, which is higher than the Town, and commands it, being within Musquet-shot; This *Van* was the next day followed by the whole Army, between most pleasant Streams, and Falls of Water.

The Venetians land near Napoli.

The Town being Situated, as before mentioned, was defended by 3000 men, of which 300 were lately sent in to recruit the Garrison; well fortified with Cannon, and with sufficient Stores and Provisions for their Maintenance; the Commander in Chief was *Mustapha Pasha*, with whom were Four Brothers, who were all *Beyes*, as also a *Disdar*, which signifies the Commander of the Castle, a *Kadi* or Judge, besides the *Aga* who Commanded the Recruits. Upon approach of the Venetian Army, all those who lived in the out-skirts and lower parts of the Town, amongst which were above 100 Families of Greeks, retired with their Goods into the upper parts of the City, and of a Fortrefs amidst the Rocks called *Senobolo*. In the Port were Two Gallies unrigged, and disarmed, and all the Slaves and Soldiers taken out and lodged on a Rock not far distant, to the number of about 500 persons, one of which by the fall of a Bomb was sunk some days after the beginning of the Siege, and an English Ship called the *Mary*, which came from *Alexandria*, laden with Rice and Coffee, whose Masters there was *Edward Wall*, submitted her self to the favour of the Captain General: Besides which there were also Two Galeots in the Port, one of 25 and another of 18 Banks or Seats for Oars, besides 40 Boats, or Barks of several sorts.

In Landing the Bombs and Mortar-pieces, 1686. with all the Train of Artillery, they found little or no difficulty, or opposition, tho' the *Seraskier* shewed himself twice at a distance, as if he had intended to have disturbed them in their Works, and raising Batteries; nor did the *Seraskier* for that prevent do more, than only to fortify his Camp, which he had pitched near *Argos*, a Castle about 3 hours Journey distant from *Napoli di Romania*, the Way to which is all upon a plain, situate on a high Hill, at the foot of which is a Town containing about a hundred Houses, the Inhabitants of which, being for the most part Rich and Wealthy, had carried up the best of their Household-stuff and Moveabls into the Castle above, which is well defended by its natural Situation; it had also 8 Iron Guns, and 10 Pettercoes, some small quantities of Provisions in it, with a Cistern, not very well furnished with plenty of Water.

On the 3d of August, the Galeatics and Ships appeared in sight of *Napoli di Romania*, and forthwith Landed all the Horse and Foot, which were embarked thereon: And on the same day a Feluca belonging to *Mahomet Pasha*, a Bey or Commander of Seven Gallies, deserted, and came into the Service of the Venetians; upon the Feluca were 7 Greeks, who gave intelligence, That the Captain-Pasha having received advice of the arrival of the Venetian Fleet, had in Two Nights time entred 300 Foot into *Napoli*: But to prevent the like for the future, several Gallies with Four Felucas were detached to guard and defend that Coast, and thereby to hinder and intercept all succours on that side.

But because it was necessary also to dislodge the *Seraskier*, who on the other side appeared with several parties of Horse, and gave frequent disturbances to them in the Lines and Trenches which were then forming; the Captain-General and General *Chinixmarch* after due deliberation concerning the manner, resolved to give them Battel: To which end 2000 men selected out of the Ships, and Gallies, most of them being Volunteers, and Soldiers of Fortune, were landed in a Creek, or covert place under the Conduct of Col. *Magnanini*, who was ordered to take a compass in the Night, and fall on the Turks in the Rear, whilst the main Body of the Army charged them in the *Van*: In the Morning Count *Chinixmarch*, having left 1500 Italian Soldiers in the Trenches, under the Command of Sargeant Major Count *Repeta*, advanced two miles with his Army drawn up in good order to meet the Turks on the Plain; the *Seraskier* seemed at first very ready and resolute to join Battel, advancing with a strong Body of 3000 Horse,

The Castle Argos.

August 1686.

The Venetians march against the Seraskier.

August 16.

1686. Horse, and therewith to break into the Venetians; but finding a stout Repulse, they made a stand; and fearing left they should be attacked in the Rear by the Marine Regiments, they made a Retreat; and taking up their Tents and Baggage, they marched away with all the Order that their haste would permit. The People in *Argos* seeing the *Seraskier* and his Army, betake themselves to Flight, resolved to accompany them, and marched towards *Corinth*, where they arrived the next day, having lodged the Night before at a Village called *Centera*. In the Skirmish about 200 Turks were killed and wounded, with very little loss on the Christian side: After which having plundered the Castle *Argos* of all the Goods which the Turks had left therein, in which they found about 60 small Boxes of Powder, they returned back again to their Trenches and Siege as before. In the mean time the City was burning in several places, being Fired by the Bombs and Carcasses which were thrown into it from the *Palamida*, and the Walls which were of Stone built after the ancient manner, were battered on all sides by the Cannon, which they were not able to resist; but that which caused the greatest Conflagration in the City, and did the severest Execution, was the fall of a Bomb into the Magazine of Powder, which blowing up beat all the Houses down which were near it on every side, killed many People, and filled with Earth and Ruins the chief Cistern which supplied all the Town with Water, so that the Defendants wanted now both Powder and Water, Two very principal necessities for Life and Defence.

A Bomb blows up the Powder in the Town.

The Venetians offer conditions to the Town, Their Answer.

The Captain-General conceiving, that after such a loss, the besieged would scarce have encouragement to defend themselves much longer, resolved to try their inclinations by sending to them his Interpreter *Fortis*, with a Letter full of persuasive Motives, and good Articles, and Conditions, which should be performed upon surrender of the City; and seeing that their *Seraskier* had been beaten and dust not approach to give them Relief, they were exhorted before it was too late, to accept of the Mercy and Clemency which was then offered to them. To these Summons the Governor without much consideration returned a speedy Answer, That they were very sensible that it was for their Sin, that God had chastised and punished them; howsoever their Trust was, That God would deliver them, to whose Will and Divine Providence they remained with intire resignation. The Bombs and Batteries continuing to do great Execution, by the obscurity of the Night, several Greeks and Renegades made an escape out of the Town, and came to the Captain-

General, agreeing together in their Reports, 1686. that there was scarce a House in the Town which had not been damaged by the Bombs or Canon; and above 30 Houses burnt down to the Ground, 22 Churches and Chappels ruined with their Granaries, and Stores for Provisions: Many were the slain and wounded, and the people forced to drink brackish Water; and amidst all this misery and confusion, the poor Women in a distracted manner were running about the Streets, with tears and sighs, and shrieks. Howsoever the Governor *Mustapha Pasha* seemed to remain still firm and resolute to hold out unto the last, and to lose his Life for the sake of his Country. In the mean time the *Seraskier* fortified his Camp about *Corinth*, endeavouring there to encircle his Army; and to encourage the Besieged, he frequently caused certain Bodies to be sent from the Town, and parties of Horse to advance near to the Trenches; which tho' they did nothing, yet it supported the Spirits of the Defendants with some little glimmerings of hope. Whilst matters were in this posture, Admiral *Duodo* being returned from the Coast of *Barbary* and *Tripoli*, where he had landed the People at *Modon*; he joyned the rest of the Fleet, as did also the same day Captain *Pisani* with 8 Ships from *Argentiera*.

The Turks continued still to defend themselves, tho' their offence was very weak, now and then firing a Bomb, whilst the Venetians plyed them continually with Carcasses and Bombs, having by this time spent at least 3500 on the place: the Batteries also plaid almost without any intermission, and the Lines and Approaches daily drawn nearer to the place; and they began now to throw Bombs into the Castle, which lies upon the Sea-side. This Castle is situate on a high Rock, with many Sands and shallow places round about it, so that it is impossible for any Vessel to approach near to it: The Walls are very high with some Battions, and the place fortified with Seventeen Pieces of Brass Cannon, and Seven Iron Guns, and a Mortar-piece to throw Bombs; it was supplied also with a good Cistern of Water, and Garrisoned with a hundred Foot Soldiers commanded by an *Aga*.

The Christians continuing still with indefatigable Labour, and fearless Hazards to press the Besieged, entred the Ditch of the Town on the 23d, which Adventure cost the Life of the Cavalier *Alzenago*, one of the Major-Generals. About that time also several others dyed of the Camp Disease; August. namely, Colonel *Wifconti*, Major *Cleiss*, as did also *Signior Baron Bragadino* a Noble Venetian; and Count *Charles*, Nephew of General *Chinixmarch*, a young Gentleman

The Seraskier gives hope of Relief.

A Castle near the Sea.

1636. of great hope; likewise *Giralamo Gharardi*, Captain of his Guard. On the 29th by break of Day, the *Seraskier*, with part of his Army, shewed himself on the Hill which defends towards the Right-hand of the Line, having his Left-wing re-inforced with a thousand *Leventz* or Soldiers of the Marine Regiments sent by the Captain *Pasha*; which having joyned the Army but a few hours before, they all in good order of Battle, being Ten thousand strong with Horse and Foot, defended into the Plain, near unto the Line, charging with their usual cries of *Allah, Allah*, and much fury on the Soldiers who defended the Trenches: But General *Chinixmarch* had with such admirable Order and Art so well disposed the Militia, that they repulsed the Enemy; and then Two thousand Sea-Soldiers, by Order of the Captain-General, coming to their succour, they put the Enemy into great confusion; and the Captain-General himself at the same time coming in person, with some Troops of select men, wholly turned the fortune of that day's Fight (which for Three hours had continued doubtful) to the Christian side, and caused the *Turks* to betake themselves to a shameful Flight, leaving Fourteen hundred of their Companions behind them, killed, or wounded: In which Engagement the *Venetians* lost not more than Three hundred and Fifty men, killed and wounded. General *Chinixmarch* had his Horse shot under him, but he soon remounted another, and with great Vivacity, and Courage was present at all places, where the danger was most pressing: The Princes of *Brunswick*, and *Turenne*, exposed themselves like brave Soldiers in all places which required their help and encouragement; and having thus discomfited the *Seraskier's* Army, and caused them to withdraw in disorder from the City, the Captain-General to lose no time, left the pursuit of the Enemy, and returned to the Siege, causing the Batteries from all sides to play on the Town; and to terrify the Defendants, they shewed many Heads of the *Turks* ranked in File on the points of their Lances. The Besieged having seen the *Seraskier*, in whom was their greatest hope, routed and defeated before their Eyes, grew desperate of any relief or succour from thence, which caused them to display divers white Flags on the Walls, upon which all acts of Hostility ceased; and Two *Turks* came forth from the Town; and being conducted to the presence of the Captain-General, they presented a Paper to him, subscribed by the *Pasha*, who was Governor of the City, declaring his readiness to make surrender thereof, provided they might have free liberty to march out with

their Arms and Baggage, and to be Transported thence to *Troy*, or to the Castles in the *Dardanelli* or *Hellepont*. And that the Two *Turkish* Gallies then in Port might also be freed, with their *Chiuma*, or Slaves and Equipage, which (as we have said) were retired into the Rocks, and fast places near the Town: But this latter would not be allowed, or granted by the Captain-General, nor any thing more, than what had been accorded lately to *Modon* and *Navarin*. The first step unto all which, was the Delivery of the Castle, situate on a Rock within the Sea, into which a *Venetian* Garrison was put immediately; and therein were found Seventeen Pieces of Brass Canon, and Seven of Iron, with a large Mortar-piece to throw Bombs; after this Eight Hostages were required of the most principal *Turks* of the City; and then the other Articles were performed, which related to the Embarking the Soldiers and Inhabitants, who were accordingly Shipped and Transported to the *Dardanelli*, the appearance of which so affrighted all the Coast at first, that the Alarm ran as far as *Constantinople*, of which we have before made a Relation.

Thus was this and other famous Fortresses of Greece, which had for many years remained in the *Ottoman* power, and withstood great and considerable Forces, in a few Months subjected to the Christian Arms, by the Valour and Bravery of the Captain-General *Moreosini*, by the admirable Conduct of Count *Chinixmarch*, and the courage of those noble Princes of *Brunswick* and *Turenne*, amongst which the *German* Soldier, and all others did greatly signalize themselves in all their Achievements. And thus we shall put an end to the Successes of the Year 1636, which have terminated so gloriously in honour of the Christian Arms, by which the *Turks* were reduced to that low and miserable condition, of which they were never before sensible, nor never accustomed unto, which made them the less able to bear the Evil, nor endure the Remedy.

ANNO, 1637.

NEver had the *Ottoman* Empire, since the time, that they first passed out of *Asia* over into *Europe*, been under that Eclipse, and in that low of Ebb of Fortunes as at present: And yet this following Year, was so much more unlucky and fatal to them than the former; as if their Mischiefs would not have ended, but with the total Ruin, and Downfall of their Empire: To prevent which, the Grand Seignior meditated on Thoughts of Peace, and sent a *Chiaus*

The Seraskier shows himself, and attacks the Christians in the Trenches.

The Turks put to flight.

The Russian capitulate.

1637.

And further.

1637. (a thing which the *Turks* never practised before) to tender Articles to the Emperor, which were not received, nor other Answer given, than that his Imperial Majesty could not so much as enter into a Treaty without the consent of *Venice* and *Poland*, their Allies. And tho' the *Turks* endeavour'd to avail themselves by that Method, yet they thought, that the best way to facilitate that proceeding, was with their Swords in their Hands, and by an appearance in the Field with the most formidable Army they were able to make; to which end all *Otoracks*, who are *Milites immeriti*, or Men excused from the War, on account of past Services with a dead pay, (as they call it) of which there may be Forty thousand in the Empire, were all summoned to appear in the next Campaign, and forced to the War with the greatest rigour, and on pain of Death, besides which new Levies were order'd to be made in all Parts of *Asia*; and particularly at *Smyrna*, and in the Parts adjacent; Six hundred Soldiers were raised at the charge of the Citizens and Inhabitants; besides which eight or nine Millions being charged to be levied in the lesser *Asia*: The Quota taxed on *Smyrna*, came to a Hundred thousand Dollars, which Sum not being to be found amongst them, and perhaps scarce the Moiety thereof, the *Cappugi-baibes*, who was sent to Collect the Money, carried away most of the principal *Turks* in that Town to *Constantinople*; where having represented their Poverty, and inability to pay so great a Tax, it was moderated and brought down to one half, or to One hundred and five Purles: These proceedings may evidently convince the World, that the conceptions of the World generally formed of the vast Riches of the Grand Seignior's Treasury were imaginary, seeing, that it was so exhausted in a few Years, as to force the Government to those rigorous Courses, and unusual methods of Oppression, which can scarce be repeated without a total Desolation, or extreme Misery of that Country.

These Taxes joyned to the Discontents of the People, made all things uneasy at the *Ottoman* Court, where it was impossible to prevent the Cabals, and liberty of Speech, which the Soldiers and others freely used in public Discourse; to suppress which, and to restrain the Mutinies, which were daily expected; it was reported that the Grand Vizier designed to leave *Belgrade*, and March back to *Constantinople*: But the Grand Seignior consulting with his principal and wisest of his Confidants, laid his Commands upon him not to remove from the Confinnes, but rather to keep a watch on the Motions of the Enemy, than to attend to

domestick Seditions, which the Government was at all times able to appease; and to quiet the mind of the Vizier, they gave him to understand, that he was entirely in the favour of his Prince, who was very sensible, that the misfortunes of the last year, were not to be attributed either to his ill Conduct, or want of Courage (as did appear by a Writing under the Hands of the principal Officers of the Army for his justification) but rather to the divine Justice of God, who was pleased for the Sins of the People to abate the Pride, and Glory of the *Ottoman* Empire. By this Letter the Grand Vizier being well satisfied of his Master's good Inclinations towards him, and strengthened in his hopes, that he should yet keep his Head for some time longer, or at least until the next misfortune, he alter'd his intention of returning to the Port, and resolved to pass his Winter at *Belgrade*, where his Presence was chiefly necessary for keeping the Army together, and more entire on the Frontiers: Moreover, during the rigour of this Winter season, he continued to fortify *Belgrade*, and gave Orders to erect a Fort on the *Danube*, for better security of *Peter Waradin*, and dispatched divers Convoys with Ammunition, and Provisions for the Succour and Relief of *Great Waradin*, *Ginlia*, *Lippa*, *Zeno* and *Temeswar*.

In the mean time the Imperialists pressed *Apafi* Prince of *Transylvania*, to Declare himself entirely for the Emperor, and receive his Forces to Winter-quarters in his Country: But that Prince, who had been always very crafty and subtle in his Negotiations, did so possess the Emperor's Generals, with the danger which he himself should incur, and the disadvantage which would accrue to the Emperor thereby, whose benefit it would rather be for him to remain in a Neutrality, that Count *Caraffa* admitted the policy of his Plea to be good, and concluded a Treaty with the Deputies of *Transylvania* on certain Articles; as namely, That for subsistence of the Troops, which should be put into the Frontier places of their Country, *Michael Apafi* their Prince, should furnish them every Month with Ten thousand Bushels of Wheat and Oats, for which one Moiety should be paid in ready Money, and that the other should be carried to, and laid up in the Magazines, or Store-houses at reasonable Rates, which was of more advantage to the Emperor, being thereby disobliged from the trouble and charge of fetching and transporting such quantities of Provisions from Countries far distant from the places where they were to be used. And Secondly, it was agreed to give Winter Quarters to the Imperial Troops; upon which General *Veterani* Ordered and Assigned

The Turks prepare for War.

Taxes rigorously imposed.

Cabals at the Court.

The Vizier ordered to stay at Belgrade.

A Treaty concluded with the Deputies of Transylvania.

1687. signed the several places, and Count *Caraffa* marched from *Zatmar* to *Kala*, giving Directions to General *Hensler* diligently to observe the motions of the Garrison at *Waradine*, and rigorously to exact the Contributions of that Country for maintenance of the Troops.

The Vizier caused the Tartars to march to the River Drave, and so to join with the Turks in the City of Effect.

The Grand *Vizier* on the other side, who was a person of quick vivacity and readiness of parts, (as we have before declared) finding that the Proposals made to the Emperor for a Peace, were not likely to prevail; he used all imaginable diligence which was possible to prosecute the War, living in hopes that the following year would prove more auspicious to the Ottoman Arms, than those lately past. In the first place, frequent Messages were sent to the *Tartar Han*, to hasten their speedy march, and begin the Campaign early, and with one Body to join with the *Turkish* Forces, and with another to infect the Borders and Confines of *Poland*; and to make the diversion there greater and more violent, endeavours were used to raise divisions and jealousies between the *Cossacks*, who were Subjects to the *Poles*, and those to the *Moscovites*, sending rich Presents, and kind Salutes and Promises, to invite them to Desert and Revolt from their Princes, and take part with the Ottoman Forces. But this design miscarried, and took no Effect by the happy arrival of Two Ambassadors from the *Czar's* of *Moscovy* at the Court of *Poland*; where having occasion of their Union and Friendship, nothing was omitted to gain their Alliance, tho' their demands were so exorbitant, that nothing but a present necessity could have gained their concession.

The Vizier caused the Tartars to march to the River Drave, and so to join with the Turks in the City of Effect.

The *Vizier* being disappointed on that side, looked closely to his business in the lower *Hungary*; for having lost *Quinque Ecclisia*, *Siklos*, *Kapishwar*, and a great part of the Bridge of *Effect* being burnt, the strong Fortresses of *Sigeth* seemed to be in some danger, and he most exposed to the design of the Enemy: To prevent which, the *Vizier* caused the *Tartars* to advance and pass the River *Drave*, and so to join with the *Turks* in the City of *Effect*; the *Tartars*, who are the most expert Soldiers in the World for destroying and laying waste a Country, having passed the *Drave*, left nothing for those who were to follow after them, carrying away all the Inhabitants with them; and with what Provisions they had plundered, they supplied the small Garrisons which remained to the *Turks* on the Banks of the *Drave*; and especial care above all was taken to furnish *Sigeth* with all sorts of Forage and Provisions, so that it was made the chief Magazine of all that Country; for better defence and security of

which, several new Boats were built to repair the Bridge before *Effect*, and on the sides of the River divers small Forts were raised, on which Forty Pieces of Canon were Mounted, to prevent all Incursions of the Enemy, and Attacks on *Sigeth*; during which season of a rigorous Winter, the *Tartars* plaid their parts to hinder all Convoys laden with Forage and Provisions to supply the Fortresses, which the Christians had lately conquered. However by the diligence of *Thinghen*, Sergeant-General of *Battalia*, and the Governor of *Quing Ecclisia*, joining themselves to the Regiment, commanded by *Baron de Pace*, they agreed to disappoint the aforesaid design of the Enemy: To which end having detached Two hundred and Fifty select, or choice Foot, and Five hundred well-disciplined Horse and Dragoons, led by Brave and well Experienced Commanders, they sallied out of their Quarters about Sun-set, and the Horse for better Expedition mounting the Foot behind them, they made such haste, that before day in the Morning, they lodged themselves secretly near the Town of *Sigeth*; and without any noise conveying themselves into the Suburbs, about dawning of the day set them on Fire; which took with so much fury, that in a short time Three hundred Houses were all in a Flame; the which more increased the Consternation of the Inhabitants and Soldiery, because that many of those Houses were the Store-houses, in which were laid up vast quantities of Provisions. Many People surprized with the sudden and unexpected Fire, were smothered in the smoke, and perished in the flames; others at a distance betook themselves with great Confusion to their Arms, and not knowing as yet where the Enemy was, Fired their Canon at random, they knew not where, nor on whom: The Day coming on, the light discovered the Enemy, and the Danger in which they were; howsoever in all this Action the *Turks* killed but Four Troopers, Three Dragoons, and a Corporal of Foot, and leaving their Houses in the Town, retired to the Castle, which gave the Imperialists an opportunity to set Fire to the City, and to burn some hundreds of Waggon all laden with Provisions, designed for the Camp, and Relief of *Alba Regalis*. With this success the Christians retired, driving away with them some few heads of Cattle, a small quantity of Provisions, and such Plunder as could be taken, and carried away in so hasty an Action: To recover which the *Turks* made a sally and attacked them in the Rear, to which, shame and confusion of face gave them Courage; but the Conquerors, whose Valour increased according to their

1687.

The Vizier caused the Tartars to march to the River Drave, and so to join with the Turks in the City of Effect.

The Vizier caused the Tartars to march to the River Drave, and so to join with the Turks in the City of Effect.

1687. their success, made a stand, and so assailed the Enemy, that notwithstanding all the considerations of flame, and desire of revenge, they carried away their Spoils, and honour of the Victory.

The happy consequence of this Action.

The consequence of this success, (tho' the Action in it self was not very great) was yet very considerable; for thereby the intercourse between *Quinque Ecclisia*, *Siklos*, and other conquered Towns was rendered more free and secure, and not only the Peasants of those Countries brought their Provisions with readines and safety to the Market; but even the *Rafians*, who were Inhabitants of the Town of *Sigeth*, came voluntarily in, and submitted themselves to the Protection of the Emperor. This Action served likewise to disappoint and overthrow the design of the Commanders in *Effect*, who intended an incursion of *Turks* and *Tartars* in Two separate Bodies; but their Provisions in *Sigeth* (on which they depended for maintenance of their Forces) being consumed, that resolution was put off till a fairer opportunity. Howsoever the Imperial Forces remained Vigilant and Watchful on their Guard, having received frequent Alarums, that the *Turks* resolved on some sudden Enterprize to avenge themselves, and repair their Honour; which General *Thinghen*, and Colonel *Pace* greatly suspecting, retired to *Quing Ecclisia*, from whence they sent and distributed considerable quantities of Corn and Flower to *Kapishwar*, and other places for sustenance of the Garrisons, giving special charge to the Governors thereof to be intent and watchful to prevent any surprize of the Enemy: And for better security thereof, the Commissary General Count *Rabata* farther supplied all those places with Victuals, there being no want amongst them of Arms or Ammunition. Care likewise was taken to repair the Breaches at *Quinque Ecclisia*; in as good a form and manner as the Season of the Year would permit: But because the Fortresses of *Siklos* lay much exposed to the attack of the Enemy, being the most Frontier Garrison, they raised with admirable industry and diligence a half Moon, which they encompassed with Palisadoes, the Season of the Year nor time permitting to fortify it with a Wall, or any other Work. Whilst things were thus transacted, and places secured on the Frontiers, no care or circumspection was omitted for conservation of *Buda*, tho' as yet the Walls and Breaches made in it the last Siege were not repaired, neither time nor season of the year, and perhaps other great employments, not giving time to so great a Work, which perhaps we may find neglected for some years afterwards; howsoever they laboured

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for the present to clear the Ditches, fill up the Trenches, level the Batteries, Breastworks, and other Redoubts; carrying away the Rubbish and Ruins of Houses and Buildings, which had been beaten down, and demolished by the vast quantities of Bombs and Carcasses which had been thrown into the Town during the last Siege: In which Work great quantities of Arms, which lay buried in the Ruins were discovered, with Head-pieces, Corslets, and Semyters of value: And in digging the Cellars and Vaults, they found many Chests filled with rich Householdstuff, with Trunks and Boxes of Writings and ancient Records, amongst which, as was Reported, were the Charter and Privileges given to that City, with a Register of all passages which had happened there, since the time that it first submitted to the Dominion of the *Turk*.

Nor were the *Turks* in the mean time idle and remiss on their part; for the *Pasha* of *Alba Regalis* suspecting that that City would be the next to be attacked, and made the Work and Design of the ensuing Campaign; he studiously applied the Soldiers and Workmen to raise new Outworks, and repair the old inward Fortifications, which by time, and the neglect of his Predecessors were much decayed; and to expedite and quicken this Work, the Soldiers, besides their ordinary Pay, were encouraged by daily Wages, such as was commonly given to Day-labourers. But to disturb this Work by frequent Alarums, a party of Hussars were detached to watch the Avenues about *Alba Regalis*, and sometimes to appear in sight of the Town, and intercept those who should go in or out from thence: Accordingly posting themselves in a private way, it was their fortune to meet and surprize a party of *Turks*, of which they killed some, and took others, from whom they understood that they had been dispatched by the *Pasha* there, to carry Letters and Advices to the Grand *Vizier* at *Belgrade*: In like manner they encountered another party coming from *Zigeth* to *Alba Regalis*, to whom only they gave chase, the *Turks* saving themselves by the swiftness of their Horses. Howsoever by the Letters which were intercepted, they came to have a perfect knowledge of the state of that City, and the intentions of the *Vizier*; It was therein declared, That the Garrison consisted of Four thousand Fighting men; but much discouraged, and in great fears and consternation, to think that they were to be the next Sacrifice to the fury of the Christian Arms. Notwithstanding which, the *Pasha* encouraged the People of *Alba Regalis* assuring them that he had received late Letters from the Grand *Vizier* at *Belgrade*,

The Vizier caused the Tartars to march to the River Drave, and so to join with the Turks in the City of Effect.

1687. grade, by which he promised them such a speedy relief both of Men, Provisions, Ammunition, and Money, as might enable them to drive the Enemy from the Walls: And that he was sending a very strong Force to the Frontiers of *Slavonia, Croatia*, and the River *Dravus*, under Command of several Brave and well-experienced Pashas.

The Season of the Year much favoured this design; for the Rivers, Marthes, and Fenns were so Frozen up, that the *Turks* found an easy passage to all parts, which they intended to relieve: Of which the Imperialists being very apprehensive, feared left the Enemy, who was got together in great Numbers at *Esseck*, should attempt some of the conquered places, and thereby making a diversion, should introduce their Convoys into *Sigeth, Canisfa*, and *Alba Regalis*. But the place, which of any other was fraighted most for want of Provisions, was *Agria*, called by the *Hungarians Erla*, situate on a River of that Name, which about Three Leagues from thence empties it self into the *Tibiscus*. This place of it self was but small, but very well Fortified; It is Recorded in Histories that the first Siege which the *Turks* laid to it was in the Year 1552. with an Army of Sixty thousand Men, when it was not strong either by Art or Nature; but the weakness thereof was supplied by the Courage and Bravery of the Garrison, consisting only of Two thousand *Hungarian* Soldiers, and about Sixty *Hungarian* Nobles and Gentlemen, who had fled in thither with their Wives and Children, and best of their Riches and Moveables, and had sworn to defend the place to the utmost extremity; and to let the *Turks* understand this resolution, they raised a Coffin above the Walls in publick View, for an Evidence or Sign, that they would chuse Death rather than Captivity. Many chafe things are said of the Defence of this place, which the *Turks* battered for the space of Forty days incessantly, with Fifty Pieces of Cannon, notwithstanding which the Defendants abated nothing of their Courage; for thò the *Turks* assaulted them Three times in one day, yet they were as often repulsed, and lost about Eight thousand men. The Women also signalized their Valour above the Nature of their Sex in all these Actions; amongst which (as is reported) there was one, who fought bravely in sight both of her Mother, and her Husband; but the latter being killed, the Mother advised her Daughter to carry away the Dead Corps; but the Answered, That she could not do it, until the had first revenged his Death; and thereupon taking up the Sword and Buckler of her dead Husband, she fell upon the *Turks* with such fury, that having

Agria.

1687. killed Three of them with her own hand, she returned to perform the last Office to her deceased Husband. Several other particular Actions of this Nature, are recounted of the Siege of this Fortrefs, which in fine relieved it self, and caused the *Turks* to raise their Siege, whom they pursued vigorously in the Rear, that they killed great Numbers of them, and took most of their Baggage. And thus did this City continue in the hands of the *Hungarians* until the year 1596, when it was taken by *Mahomet* the Third, then in person before it, and hath ever since that time remained in the hands of the *Turks*; who now hearing that that place was in great distress for want of Provisions; and knowing the importance of it's Situation, endeavoured to send it relief by all ways and means which were possible.

The Pasha, who Quartered on the Frontiers, was commanded by the Grand Vizier to put Succours into the place; and he also being a good Soldier, and sensible of the importance thereof, call'd a Council of War, to consider in what manner this Action might most effectually be performed; considering whereupon, it was moved, That since *Tekeli* had made several instances to be recruited with Men and Provisions for attempting some great Exploit, That he should accordingly be reinforced with a moderate Number of *Tartars*, and some *Turks*, and that the care and incumbence of that great work should be committed to his Charge and Conduct.

Count *Caraffa*, and General *Heusler* being advised of the Design, assembled a considerable force of their Troops together, and assailed the Enemy near to great *Waradin* on a sudden, and in a manner of surprize; the *Tartars*, who are not much used to make a stand against well formed Troops, were the first who betook themselves to a speedy Flight; and were soon followed by *Tekeli* and his men; howsoever several were killed on the place, and some Prisoners taken: And so both *Caraffa*, and *Heusler* returned back to *Debrezin*, with the Forage and Spoil which they had gained in that Conflict. This misfortune did not much abate the Spirit of *Tekeli*; for having been lately supplied with a Sum of Money, he made new Levies of Men, and many of his old Soldiers who had formerly deserted him, returned to him again; so that he seemed to recover the Credit and Reputation which he had formerly lost; and having joyned his Forces to those of a Pasha on the Frontiers, and to a rabble of Soldiers, who in a tumultuary manner followed his Colours; he Encamped sometimes near *Teniswar*, then about *Giulia*, and then near *Waradin*; from which

which

1687. which places he sent Parties abroad to discover the posture of the Enemy, and to spy out how they might most securely succour *Agria*, for which the Grand Vizier was extremely pressing. Nor were the Christians less Vigilant to Observe and Watch the Motions of the *Turks*, and of *Tekeli*; whence it was that several Parties meeting each other, frequent Skirmishes happened, in all which the *Hussars* and *Germans* gained the advantage: So that *Tekeli* finding the difficulty of carrying relief to *Agria*, and other places, made Incursions into the Countries subjected to the Emperor, marching with a Body of *Turks*, *Tartars*, and a Rabble of new raised Soldiers, which served rather for Guides than Combatants. In their way they burnt a Village of no great moment; and passed into the Confines of the Town of *Szegedin*, from whence being discovered by the *Hussars* of the Garrison, they took the Alarm; and being joyned to a Body of *German* Foot, they made a rally on the Enemy, and charged them so furiously, that *Tekeli*'s new raised Soldiers, who were placed in the Front, immediately gave back, and pressed with fear, rushed into the Body of the *Turks*, which put them into such disorder, that they were forced to Retreat with considerable loss: *Tekeli* himself being wounded with a Musquet-shot in the Knee, was forced for his Cure to betake himself to the Fortrefs of *Teniswar*. In the mean time his Princeps being resolved to defend her Town of *Mongatz*, did not only fortify her self therein with a stout Garrison, and supplies of Ammunition and Provisions; but sent several Parties of Horse from the Garrison, to destroy all the Countries round with Fire, and Sword, and thereby to cut off all possibility of subsistence from the Imperialists; who having Advice thereof, detached a Party of Dragons of the Regiment of *Magni*; who having the fortune to Encounter the Enemy, gave them a total Defeat, killing Fifty of them on the place, of which their Commander was one, and Six Prisoners were taken.

Forty men of Agria desert and join with the Christians.

Whilst matters passed thus in the Upper *Hungary*, the City of *Agria* suffered much for want of Provisions, which greatly discouraged both the Inhabitants and the Garrison, so that many deserted the place; and about Forty of them came to *Onoth*, declaring themselves to be Christians, and desirous to be received into the Church by Baptism. But the Imperial Commanders being doubtful of the sincere Faith of these new Converts, were not very forward to receive them into an Association; of which they being sensible, did voluntarily joyn themselves to a Party then going abroad upon a discovery, and so bravely behaved themselves in a

Skirmish which they happened to have with the *Turks*, that they killed many of their Brethren with their own hands, and thereby gave evident proofs of their real Conversion.

All this while no Garrisons were succoured; for not only *Agria* was in miserable want, but likewise all the Towns in the Lower *Hungary*, *Slavonia*, and *Croatia*, suffered Scarcity and Famine. The Grand Vizier being in great care and pain for those places, sent strict Commands from *Belgrade* to the Commanders at *Esseck*, to supply all those places with necessary Provisions; for Transportation of which the *Danube* being frozen up, there was no other way left than to carry all by Waggon over the Snow, and Ice; for the Rivers, Lakes, Fenns, and Marthes being hard Frozen, were seldom strong enough to bear Carriages and Waggon, by the most direct and nearest way. And yet such had been the misery of the late Campaign, that the Countries were laid waste and desolate; all the Provisions and Forage being destroyed, that to sustain the Famished Towns, and Countries, Supplies were to be fetched from far distant places: To perform which, the Commander of *Esseck* laboured with the utmost of his Endeavours, and dispatched great Numbers of Waggon laden with all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions, to the wanting places under a strong Convoy. The Imperialists having Advice hereof, made a Detachment of Three hundred Musqueteers, Three Troops of Cuirassiers belonging to the Regiment of *Newburg*, and about Two thousand Four hundred Soldiers, which were *Hussars*, and *Heyducks*: The News of the Motion of these Forces soon Fled to *Canisfa*, *Sigeth*, and other places; where being in some fear for the safety of their Convoy, those of *Sigeth* sent out a strong Party, placing them in Ambush about Two English Miles distant from the Town. The Convoy proceeded with what haste they could, and the Baron *d'Orlich* pursued them as fast, and overtook them near the place where the Ambush was planted, and charged them so furiously, that he totally Defeated them, Killed One hundred and Twenty on the place, dispersed the rest, and made himself Master of all the Carriages.

In the mean time *Tekeli* was neither idle or negligent in his Arms or Plots; for he had employed his Engines in divers parts to solicit the Citizens and Inhabitants of *Bartfeld*, *Elspertes*, and *Cassovia* to a Revolt; and having driven out the Garrisons, he promised to supply them with a more numerous Force: These Offers, and the Ways and Methods being happily discovered, several were accused for Complices in a

H h Plot;

Plots conceived by Tekeli are discovered.

Grand Vizier orders relief.

The Christians endeavour to prevent it.

Enters into the Country near Segedin.

Is Defeated and wounded.

Proposals from Agria might be supplied.

They are prevented.

Tekeli with many more makes Levies.

1687. Plot; amongst which a certain Judge whom *Tekeli* had formerly employed at *Cassovia*, was seized and imprisoned: Likewise several Gentlemen and Magistrates of those places were known to have entertained Correspondencies with those of *Mongatz* and *Agria*; and that *Tekeli* had remitted considerable Sums of Money to them for execution of their design. The Judge being put to the Question on the Wrack, accused Two and twenty to have been engaged with him in the Plot. And another Conspiracy against the Life of Count *Caraffa* was likewise discovered, in which above Seventy persons, and some of Quality, were engaged. One *Rudimski*, a principal Author of the late Commotions was put to the Torture; and after he had signed a Confession, dyed by the Anguish of the Wrack; whereupon the Sentence pronounced against him, was executed on his Dead Corps, which was to have his Hand and Head cut off, and his Four Quarters disposed in divers places of the City. In like manner *Palaffi*, *Sekel*, *Burrock*, and *Conoud*, were beheaded and Quartered: As also the same day one *Belfick*, a Counsellor of *Newfol*, and *Weber*, a publick Notary, *Tafcia*, and several incurred the same fate; and so had also *Feldmeyer*, a Commissary at War, but that he killed himself in Prison; howsoever that did not hinder, but that the Sentence was Executed on his Dead Body. To examine this Plot, and sift into the bottom of it, he employed Count *Caraffa*, as for some time it deferred the design of Bombing *Agria*; and indeed for many were the Conspirators, that great Executions were acted in divers places, and many also received pardon from the Mercy and Clemency of the Emperor; for that his Imperial Majesty had been well assured, there were considerable Numbers of poor innocent People engaged in the Plot rather by delusion, and example of others, than by a Natural Spirit and inclination to a Revolt.

Thö *Caraffa* was otherwise employed, yet there wanted not other active Officers in the Field to watch the Motions of the Enemy, and take the Advantages which did present. Baron *Orlick* was commanded to burn the Bridge, which the *Turks* had built over the *Drave* near *Esseck*; and accordingly marched away from *Quing*; *Ecclesie*, with Six Companies drawn out from the Regiments of *Montecuculi*, and *Herberville*; and being on his march, he received Advice that Eight hundred Janifaries, and Two hundred Spahes selected out of the Flour of the best *Ottoman* Troops, were detached from *Esseck*, with a design to intercept a Convoy appointed for the relief of *Ziclos*, and to take and demolish a small Redoubt which had some days before been raised on the

Banks of that River, by order of Count *1687. Vechi*: Wherefore leaving the design of burning the Bridge, Baron *Orlick* marched directly against the Enemy, whom he found attacking the Fort, in which they had already killed a great many men with Grenadoes: But so soon as *Orlick* appeared, the *Turks* fell into disorder and fear; and being furiously charged by him, were defeated with the loss of above Six hundred men killed on the place, amongst which were two Aga's, and a Bey or Lord; Many Prisoners were taken with all their Baggage, and many Ensigns and Colours, of which Five were sent to the Emperor by Baron *de Hertleben*, first Captain of that Regiment: *The Turks* And on the Emperor's side, Six Sergeants, Five Troopers, and Twelve Dragoons were killed, and many wounded. About the same time another Party of *Turks* was beaten near *Zolnoch*, Twenty of which were killed, and about Thirty taken Prisoners. Moreover Seven thousand *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Male* contents being joyned together, endeavoured to surprize *Chonad*, which is a Fortrefs situate on the River *Maros*, which falls into the *Tibiscus*, near to *Segedin*: But they met so vigorous a repulse and rude entertainment from the Defendants, that they were forced to desist from their Attacks, and march away with the loss of Four hundred Soldiers, some of which were principal Officers.

Thus the News of one ill success coming to *Constantinople* on the Head of another struck the People of all sorts and conditions with a strange Consternation; the Government fearing the ill consequences thereof, endeavoured by all ways and methods of gentleness to appease the unquiet and fluctuating Spirits of the People and Soldiers. To do this, there was a necessity of vast Sums of Money, wherewith to quiet and gratify the Army and Fleet, and to satisfy the *Tartars*, who declared that it was impossible for them to move without Money; and which way to raise it, was the great difficulty; for the Grand Signior's Treasure was exhausted, and the People already tired, and over-burdened with Taxes: Wherefore after a long Debate thereupon in the *Divan*, it was agreed, That the Jewels and Plate of the Sultans amassed in several Chambers of the *Seraglio* should be put to sale, which might have raised vast Sums of Money, could they have been sold for their value: But there was an impossibility of finding Buyers; for thö the Money could have been found in *Constantinople*, yet there was none, who durst own to be Master of so great Riches. In fine, after divers Debates and Expedients proposed, it was agreed to raise Money, by way of Contribution,

1687. bution, on the chief and prime Officers of the *Seraglio*, and of the Empire, and particularly on *Kades*, and Men of the Law and Church, on Customers, Tax-gatherers, and rich Merchants, such as lived easily and idly in their Houses; it seeming reasonable that such who enjoyed Protection and Safeguard in their peaceable Acquisitions at home, should maintain and provide them who were venturing their Lives, and fighting in their defence abroad. And whereas the *Tartar Han* was very preffing and importunate for Money, without which he could not move or serve in this Year's Campaign; it was resolved to send him Fifty thousand Crowns in Money, and to make up the rest of his Demands in Diamonds, Scymeters studded with Rubies, Emeralds, and Pearls; and with Bucklers set with precious Stones, and other things of value taken from the Treasury in the *Seraglio*.

But whilst this was contriving, an unhappy Sedition and Mutiny arose amongst the Levants, who are Soldiers belonging to the Sea; who having wanted Pay for a long time, came in a tumultuous manner to the Captain *Palha*, who is Admiral of the Fleet, to demand it; and rushed with such violence into his House, that he had scarce time to escape out of their hands; and had proceeded to greater extremities, had they not been appeased with a speedy tender of Six Months Pay. When these things were quiered, a strict Examination was made into the Cause and Leaders of this Mutiny, of which some were strangled, and about Twenty others were put into a Sack, after their Custom, and cast into the Sea: Howsoever this Severity did not so suppress this Rabble, but that many of them assembled together in the City, where they plundered divers Houses, and committed a Thousand Outrages, until such time as Proclamation was made, giving Licence to the People to do themselves Justice, and kill those who made any attempt on their Houses or Goods; which was the best way to deal with a Licentious Tumult; for so loose as such a Decree was known, the lowd Mob grew afraid, and dispersed, most of them withdrawing themselves Aboard their Vessels.

But not only did the *Ottoman* Government labour under a want of Money, but of Men also. For whereas they expected a Recruit of Forty thousand men out of *Asia* for this Campaign, notwithstanding the most rigorous Commands sent, to compel all men to the War, there appeared not Six thousand; For *Tarcomania* had not furnished above Two thousand men; *Syria* and *Palestine* One thousand Eight hundred, and the *Asia* Minor Two thousand: The new Levies in and about *Constantinople* did not

amount to above Three thousand Five hundred; and all that could at present be found, wherewith to Recruit the Armies both in *Hungary*, and in the *Morca*, did not amount unto more than Twenty thousand men; many of which deserted in their march, and fled into the Mountains, where they absconded, and passed the most part of the Summer, being forced to commit many Outrages for their necessary subsistence.

These Misfortunes and disappointments moved the Grand Signior and his Counsellors, to judge a Peace with the Emperor, the most compendious Method to secure the State of the *Ottoman* Empire, which was now staggering, and falling with its own weight; and therefore gave orders to the Vizier, then at *Belgrade*, to endeavour a Peace at any price, and rate whatsoever. Accordingly the Grand Vizier dispatched a Letter from *Belgrade* dated the 6th of March, to Prince *Herman of Baden*, President of the Council of War to the Emperor, giving him to understand, That the Sultan, his Lord and Master being persuaded to put an end to this miserable War, which had long been maintained at the Expence of much Blood, and Treasure on both sides. He thought it necessary in order thereunto to Appoint a Place, and Nominate Commissioners for a Treaty: And to Evidence the reality and sincere intentions of the Sultan towards a Peace; an Offer was made, as the first Preliminary to deliver up *Tekeli* into the hands of the Emperor. These Proposals were brought by an Aga as far as *Debrezza*, from whence he demanded a safe Conduct to proceed as far as *Esperies*. But to cut this Treaty short, the Emperor commanded Count *Caraffa* to let the Grand Vizier know, that he would be ready to make peace with the *Ottoman* Port, upon a Grant or Concession of Three Articles only. First, That the Grand Signior should pay to him Six Millions of Gold in satisfaction of the Ruin and Spoils, which his Troops had committed in *Austria*, and other his Hereditary Provinces. 2dly, That all the Towns and Places, which the *Turks* possessed in *Hungary* should be delivered up to the Emperor, and the *Turkish* Forces withdrawn from that Kingdom. 3dly, That in all other matters they should give equal satisfaction to the Allies. But as to *Tekeli*, he being a Subject and a Rebel, the surrender of him into the hands of Justice, seemed not a Motive sufficient, nor any prevailing Argument, whereon to ground the Foundation of a Peace. These Propositions being sent to *Constantinople*, were considered as no other than as an absolute refusal to Treat or Harken to a Peace; which caused great Fear and Consternation at the Port; and which was greatly

H h 2 Augmented

1687. Augmented by the News, which came much about the same time with the former: That the *Moscovite* Ambassadors, who had concluded the Peace already at *Leopolis* between the Czars and the King of *Poland*, were arrived at *Vienna*, and had there also entered into the same League with the Emperor against the *Turks*.

These Ambassadors arrived at *Vienna* on the 18th of *March*, and on the 24th were conducted to their Audience with these following Ceremonies and Solemnity. In the first place, some Companies of the City Trained-Bands, and Garrison of *Vienna* marched before, and were followed by Forty *Moscovites* clothed in Velvet, and Silk Habits of divers Colours; they were armed with Scymeters adorned and beset with Diamonds, and other precious Stones, but without Bows, or Quivers which they wore on the Day when they made their Entrance; they were stately Mounted on fine Horses, with Saddles and Housles Embroidered with Gold and Pearl, every one having a Footman waiting on him at the side of his Horse: These were followed by Sixteen Coaches, with Six Horses a-piece, belonging to the Chief Officers of the Court to carry the Train, and Attendants of the Ambassadors, with Two *Russian* Priests habited after the manner of their Order: After these Coaches marched Sixty Citizens all clothed in Black Velvet, who carried the Prefents, which the Czars had sent to his Imperial Majesty, which consisted chiefly of Sables, and other rich Furs, the Teeth of Fifth, rich Quivers Embroidered with Gold and Silver, Pearls, and precious Stones, with Bows and Arrows suitable thereunto. After all these came a *Moscovite* alone, Mounted on a brave Horse, carrying the Czars Letter to the Emperor on his Head; and was followed by Two Coaches with Six Horses belonging to the Person of the Emperor, in one of which was the Great Chancellor of *Moscow*, with another of the Ambassadors; and in the second was he that was chief in the Commission of the Embassy, accompanied by Noblemen appointed by the Emperor to receive them; and in this Order were conducted to the Palace-Yard, where Three Companies were drawn up with their Arms presented: The first which alighted at the Gate of the Palace, were the *Moscovites* which rode on Horseback: Then the Secretary with the Letter, and the Ambassadors being descended into the inward Court, they were met at the foot of the Stairs by the Prince of *Swartzenberg*, and by the P. of *Dietrichstein*, High-Steward of the Emperor's Household in the Knight's Hall; who conducted them into the Lobby before the Chamber of Au-

dience, where leaving their Scymeters, and other Arms in the Charge and Keeping of the first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, they were admitted to the Presence of the Emperor, of whom they received a favourable Audience. After which they were conducted back again in the same order, having first been sumptuously treated at a Dinner in the Imperial Court. In short, after divers Conferences, an Alliance and League was concluded with them, on the same Foot and Articles, as had been the last Year agreed between the Czars, and King of *Poland*; and so on the 5th of April the Four Ambassadors received their Audience of April. 1687. *Congé*, and soon afterwards Three of them returned to their own Country: And one proceeded to *Venice*, where he was received with those Formalities which that Senate always uses towards Ambassadors of that Quality.

The Grand Vizier being well afflicted by all these Proceedings, that there was no further place of hope left for obtaining Peace, commanded the Inhabitants of all places in subjection to the Grand Seignior, to drive their Cattel under the Reach and Protection of those Towns, which were defended with Cannon; and to carry their Grain, and Forage, and Moveables into Fortified places, under Obedience of the Grand Seignior. They finished their Bridge of Boats at *Peter Waradin*, and with all the diligence imaginable they laboured to repair the Bridge of *Eseck*; which they having finished with admirable Expedition, caused several of their Troops to pass the same, and make their Excursions to the very Gates of *Quinque Ecclesia*, which giving some jealousy, that the *Turks* intended to Besiege that Place, Three hundred Hussars, and Two hundred Heiducks were sent therein to reinforce the Garrison.

At the same time the Count de *Tinghen* was ordered with a Detachment of Eight hundred Germans, and Four hundred Heiducks, with One hundred Horse belonging to *Siklos*, and some other Troops to take a View of the Passage over the *Drave*: And having passed that River on the 8th of June, where joining with some Troops under the Command of Baron *Orlick*, he drove away from the Pastures near *Walpo*, Two hundred Head of Cattel, and One hundred Horse, and set fire to about One hundred small Cottages, which had been raised since the late Desolation; and being in their Retreat Encountered by a Party of One hundred *Spahees*, and Three hundred Janisaries, they totally defeated them, Killing about Seventy on the place, and taking several Prisoners, with the loss only of a Lieutenant, and of Eight or Ten Common Soldiers Wounded. About the same time a De-

1687. tachment from the Garrison of *Zoluck*, consisting of Four hundred Hussars, met another strong Party of *Turks* belonging to *Agria*, which they charged with such Bravery, that after a very sharp Conflict, the *Turks* were forced to retire with the loss almost of Two hundred men; Seven and thirty Prisoners were taken, with many Horses, and a considerable part of their Baggage: Amongst which they found a Letter from the Pasha of *Agria* to the Vizier, setting forth the miserable scarcity of all Provisions in that place, as also of Ammunition; and that the Famine was so great, that they were forced to Eat Horse-Flesh, and Dogs; by reason of which many of the Garrison had deserted, and unless speedily relieved, they should be forced to surrender the Town. At length the Pasha of *Agria* being driven to desperate necessities, sent to a Village between *Buda* and *Agria*, forthwith to bring them Provisions upon pain of Military Execution; of which Baron *Beck* being advertised by the Inhabitants, immediately detached a Party of Five hundred men, to Attend and Watch this Motion of the *Turks*; in which Adventure, he had the Fortune to meet with them, killing many, and taking some Prisoners, and pursuing the rest to the Walls of *Agria*.

This was the beginning of the Campaign, and a Prelude to the happy Successes of the ensuing Year; when News came that the Grand Vizier was marching at the Head of a Numerous Army towards *Waradin*, the Number of which was Reported to amount unto Fifty thousand men, according to the account which some Spies pretended to have received from the Muster-Roll, taken the 27th of April, in the Plains of *Salankemen* near *Belgrade*; as followeth:

The Grand Vizier, Janisaries	7000
Pasha of <i>Bosna</i> , <i>Spahees</i>	4000
Pasha of <i>G. Waradin</i> , <i>Spahees</i>	1000
<i>Beglerbey</i> of <i>Romelia</i> , Janisaries	2400
Pasha of <i>Soria</i> , <i>Spahees</i>	4000
<i>Beglerbey</i> of <i>Sebastia</i> , <i>Spahees</i>	2500
Pasha of <i>Aleppo</i> , Janisaries	3000
Pasha of <i>Damascus</i> , Janisaries	4000
Pasha of <i>Nicopolis</i> , Janisaries	11400
Pasha of <i>Karabitar</i> , Volontiers	8000
Aga of the Artillery Granadiers.	1100
	48400

To this 600 Miners are to be added;
1400 Camels of Burden,
364 Oxen to draw the Artillery,
400 Waggons with Ammunition,
45 heavy Pieces of Cannon,
28 Lighter for the Field.

1687. All which belonged to the Army of the Grand Vizier, not accounting the *Tartars*, nor the *Hungarian* Army under *Tekeli*; nor Garrisons and Parties dispersed in divers parts. On the other side, on the 4th of June, the Duke of *Lorraine* arrived at *Buda*, where he was received with Three Salvoes of all the Cannon from the Town; and having taken an account of the Horses, and surveyed the Fortifications, and given Command for raising New Works, to which Employment Four thousand Soldiers and Peasants were appointed; he departed thence on the 7th, taking his march towards the *Drave* with a part of his Army; he designed to Encamp near the Bridge of *Eseck*, where Count *Cheffemberg* was to join him with Nine Regiments; And let us here take a Computation in like manner of the Imperial Army, as we have done of the *Turks*. Of Dragoons there were Nine Regiments.

Of Lodron
Strom
Castelli
Serau
Herbeville
Savoy
Thun
Magni
Kuffel.

The first of which Dragoons consisted of Eleven hundred men, all the others of Eight hundred each, making in all Seven thousand Five hundred men.

The Cavalry consisted of Nineteen Regiments.

Of Saxelauemburg

Caprara
Dunewald
Palf
Caraffa
Gondola
Taff
Newbourg
Montecuculi
Veterani
Piccolomini
Heuller
Commercy
Goitz
Hannover
Saint Croix
Furstenberg
Fax
Truchs

These Regiments amounting unto Eight hundred men each, completed the Number of Fifteen thousand Two hundred men. To these we are to add Seven and

1687. and twenty Regiments of Infantry, of which Five and twenty consisted of One thousand Five hundred men each, and *Keiserstein's*, and *Stadel's* Regiments of Two thousand men each, so that the whole Number of the Infantry amounted in all unto Forty one thousand Five hundred men; so the whole Army, according to this Computation; amounted to Sixty four thousand Two hundred men, besides Pioniers, Gunners, and Attendants on the Camp.

The Names of the Regiments of the Infantry were as followeth:

Of Count *Ernest of Staremburg*

Lefley

Keyserstein

Baden

De Croy

Mansfeld

Salms

Maximilian de Staremburg

Serint

Neubourg

Souches

Scherfemberg

Stadel

Diepenthal

Count *Guey de Staremburg*

Tinben

Meternich

Beck

Wallis

Aspremont

Nigrelli

Heufler

Aversperg

The Young Prince of *Lorraine*

Flourchin

Furftemberg

Straller

This being the State of the Christian Army, consisting of Sixty four thousand Men plentifully supplied with all sorts of Ammunition, and much superior to that of the *Turks* in Numbers, and much more for Discipline by Instruction of the Commanders, and Bravery of the Soldiers; The Duke of *Lorraine* on the Twelfth of *June* proceeded on his march to the River of *Sarawitz*, and in his way received Intelligence, that *Agria* was in such extreme want of Provisions, and that the Famine there was so great, that unless the Grand Vizier did by force of Arms succour the City with Victuals, and Ammunition, the Place would be constrained to surrender it self into the hands of the Enemy; to prevent which, and to relieve the Town, the Vizier appointed a Body of

June
1687.

Eight thousand *Turks*, and Four thousand *Tartars* immediately to pass the Bridge at *Peter-Waradin* to Convey the Waggon and Camels laden with Provisions, and force their way into *Agria*. Upon this Advice the Duke of *Lorraine* dispatched an Express to Count *Caraffa*, with Orders to draw out the Twelve Regiments Encamped between *Onoe*, and *Zolnock*, and therewith to interrupt and stop the passage of the Enemy; but such was the diligence of the *Turks*, that marching by secret Ways, they misled of *Caraffa*; and fell in with a weaker Body of Col. *Heufler*; who having killed about Sixty *Turks*, forced one part of them to retire back to *Peter-Waradin*, whilst others more bold and forward than the rest, each man carrying a Sack of Meal behind him on his Horse, got into *Agria*, which was sufficient to afford them a subsistence for a short time.

In the mean time the Forces began to gather near *Barchan*, which was the place appointed for the General Rendezvous: Thither came also the Troops of *Zolnock*, which were to be commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, who very seasonably arrived at the Camp to the great joy and encouragement of the whole Army: With him also came Prince *Lewis of Baden*, a Person of admirable Prudence and Courage; and of such experience and fortunate success, that the Elector reposed great confidence in his Conduct. The Army being put into a fit posture and condition to march, intelligence was brought that the Duke of *Lorraine* was far advanced on his way towards *Ofsek*; upon which no time was admitted to follow him; but the way being long, and the Ways deep and broken by the late Rains, the Army moved slowly, and could not unite so speedily with the Duke of *Lorraine* as was expected: But at length with Industry, Time, and Patience, the Armies joined, when News came that the Enemy in great Numbers were assembled near *Peter-Waradin*, and had formed a Bridge over the *Tibissus*, to equal the convenience of which, with that of the Enemy, and maintain a Correspondence with Forces on the other side, the Duke of *Lorraine* caused another to be built near *Tolna*, and *Foitan*, the better to facilitate a Conjunction with the Imperial Arms.

It was now made known, that the Campaign was to begin with the attack of the Town of *Essek*, that from thence a way might be opened to the Conquest of *Belgrade*; in order unto which, General *Dunewalt*, with some German Regiments, and Troops belonging to *Croatia*, and the adjacent Countries, was commanded to march towards *Verovitz*, and there to expect farther

1687.

Succour
brought to
Agria.

The Elector
of Bavaria
comes to
the Camp.

Essek to
be first
attacked.

1687. farther Orders from the Duke of *Lorraine*.

The Troops of *Croatia*, Commanded by Count *Philip de la Torre* in the place of *Dunewalt*, (who was Sick at *Vienna*) marched in a strong Body with very good order, and a large Train of Artillery, provided by the Chamber of *Stiria*, and happily joined with *Dunewalt*. The Duke of *Lorraine* having left a strong Party to defend the Bridge, which he had made over the *Danube*, moved his Camp from *Mohatz*, and without any opposition in the least, pitched again near to *Darda* on the 24th of *June*, which is a Fortrefs that covers one end of the Bridge at *Ofsek*.

The next day the Imperialists discovered from their Camp a certain number of *Turks*, who had lodged themselves in the Marsh, which began to be dry, that they might take a survey of the Christian Camp; against which a small Party being sent, they immediately retired to give advice unto the Town of *Ofsek*, of the near approach of the Enemy: Against this Party of *Turks* many more than those appointed, were out of Curiosity carried to the Skirmish, to see who those were who called so frankly to them in the *French* Language. The News being brought to *Ofsek*, or *Essek*, Expresses were dispatched one after the other to the Vizier, (who was then Encamped with the Ottoman Army near to *Peter-Waradin*) earnestly desiring him to march immediately to their Succour.

In the mean time the Duke of *Lorraine* having disposed his Army in an exact military posture, he went himself in person with a Body of about Six hundred Horse to take a view of the Neighbouring Passes; and next Morning being the 25th of *June*, he Decamped with the whole Army, and commanded the Count of *Scherfemberg*, Major-General of the Infantry, to see whether the Bridges were repaired; and having advanced at a good distance before, without any discovery; it was resolved to march with the whole Army as far as *Uttana*, where Orders had been given to provide all Materials for making a Bridge to pass the *Drave*. But before this Design was put in Execution, *Souches* received Orders, with a Party of One thousand Three hundred Musketeers, together with Count *Guido de Staremburg*, to march along the Banks of the *Drave*, upon a discovery which was so lucky, that he soon perceived certain little Bridges, railed on each side, strong, and covered with Earth very artificially made; not far from which, there was a Fort with some Guns, and a Garrison of about Four hundred Soldiers, that were *Janissaries*. As the Imperialists approached, the *Turks* received them with such a Volley of shot, as at first

put them into some disorder; but being animated by the Bravery of *Souches* and *Staremburg*, they immediately invested the Fort with such courage, as forced the *Turks* to abandon the place with the loss of Two hundred men, and the remainder to fly to *Essek*, to the Walls of which the Imperialists so nearly pursued them, that they had almost entered with them into the Gates; however they took possession of the Fort, and burnt that part of the long Bridge, for about the space of Five hundred Paces in length, which the *Turks* had lately repaired with Rails, and covered with Earth.

The Garrison of *Essek* being in great fear at the near approach of the Christian Army, dispatched Messenger after Messenger, to advise the Vizier of their danger, and that they were endeavouring to pass the *Drave* with Bridges; upon which Intelligence the Vizier caused the greatest part of his Forces to march, remaining himself behind, in expectation of the *Asiatick* Troops, who moved with less diligence, than the present preasure of Affairs did require.

Thó the Duke of *Lorraine* was not ignorant that the greatest part of the *Turkish* Army lay Encamped near *Essek*; yet being very desirous to Engage the Enemy, notwithstanding their Entrenchments, he endeavoured to pass the River at *Uttana*, being a small Redoubt, or Fortrefs, which *P. Lewis* of *Baden* had raised the year before, being a very convenient Pass for the Forces; for that falling down from thence with the Stream, they might conveniently be Landed at *Valpo*, about Four Leagues distant from *Ofsek*. To this End the Infantry was commanded to advance towards *Siclos*, with the Cavalry of *Montecuculi*, *Ladron*, and *Hanover*; the rest of the Army was commanded to keep their Station near *Darda*. In the mean time whilst the Bridges were preparing, such great Floods of Snow-waters fell from the Mountains of *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*, that the *Drave* swelled beyond its Banks, with a most rapid Stream, and the Marshes or Morasses were filled in such manner, that it was very difficult to lay the Bridges, or raise Ways over the Marshes, which were afterwards made firm and passable, by vast quantities of Brush and Faggots, which the Soldiers had cut and laid: And that no time might be lost, whilst the Waters were abating, Orders were dispatched unto General *Dunewalt*, who was in *Croatia* with several Thousands of the Inhabitants of that Country, to secure the passage of those Boats, which were appointed to carry Provisions and Ammunition to the Army from *Stiria*. *Dunewalt* having observed these Orders, the Duke of *Lorraine* Detached a small Party to view and discover the face and posture

1687.

The Vizier
breaks his
Army to
pieces.

These
break the
Bridges.

7. Mar.
The report
is false.

1687. posture of the Enemy; and to espy and take an account of what Troops lay in the way to oppose their Passage. This Party being returned with intelligence that the Way was clear and open; the Imperialists without any opposition posted themselves on a high Ground near Walpo, over-against *Utona*; where the Duke of *Lorraine* in Person passed the River, to lay out the Ground, and open the Trenches for better Security to the Army in their Passage.

In the mean time the *Heyducks* had the Fortune to take Six *Turks* near to *Esseck*, who declared upon Oath that the Grand Vizier was still at *Peter Waradin*, and that *Staus*, Palha of *Aleppo* was come into *Esseck* with Two thousand men, where they had raised a Trench of about Two thousand Paces in length.

Howsoever the Duke resolving to pass the *Drave*, Ferried over in Boats a considerable Number of Dragoons, and German Foot, to labour in digging the Trenches, which were intended to secure the Passage of the whole Army, which was a most immense Labour, and such (as we may say) had not been performed in many preceding Ages, for that Thirty thousand Faggots were not sufficient for settling the Marthes, which by reason of the abundant Rains were scarce passable; besides the raising of Five and twenty Bridges in divers places, all which was performed with unexpressible industry in the space of Four days; the Duke of *Lorraine* himself in person encouraging and lending a helpful hand unto the Work: Howsoever this Work was not done without some loss and damage in the Transportation of the Horſe, Baggage, and Cannon.

Some part of the Imperial Infantry having passed the *Drave* in Boats, and followed by the Croats of *Dunewalt's* Regiment; the Duke of *Lorraine*, in the next place, caused all the remaining Infantry to pass as fast, and in as full Bodies, as the Bridges would allow; so that they might be able to make a resistance against any Force, which they expected might be sent from *Esseck* to interrupt their Passage; but the *Turks* moved not, but remained still in their Trenches, all the time that the Army, Cannon, and Baggage were with Boats and Bridges Transporting from one side of the River unto the other: Before which was finished, they were forced to withdraw their main Bridge, by reason of the fall of great Trees, which the *Turks* above about the parts of *Kaniffa* had purposely cut down, and launched out into the Torrent; that being carried down with a mighty Rapid Stream, increased by an abundance of Rains, served very much to break and over-

throw their Bridges: Howsoever in a short time the Bridge was repaired, and then the Thirteen Regiments of Horſe, which were left to cover the Bridge, passed over to the rest of the Army.

The Imperial Forces under the Duke of *Lorraine* being thus passed, General *Caprara* with his Horſe was commanded to do the like at *Utona*, which was performed the 12th of July; and also the Elector of *Bavaria* passed his Forces on the 13th, together with Nineteen Imperial Regiments near *Siklos*. Thus the whole Army being joyned on the other side of the *Drave*, on the 15th the Generals Dined together, and in the Afternoon made a short march towards *Walpo*, where the day following they Encamped near to the Castle, which was defended by a good Garrison. The same day General *Heusler* joyned the Army, as did also Count *Bargazzi* with Two thousand *Hungarians*.

The 17th very early in the Morning, the Quarter-Master-General was commanded to advance, as were also those who had the care of the Forage committed to them; and *Heusler* with a Party of Four hundred Croats was ordered to seek out, and take a view of the Enemies Camp; in his way unto which, he fell in with some Thousands of them, which he charged so bravely, that he obliged them to Retreat, and pursued them to a narrow Pass, where he thought fit to stop, fearing some Ambuscade, or private design to enſnare him: And having posted his Soldiers in good order, he intended to repose a while, and take a little Breath; and having called for a Glass of Wine, whilst he was drinking a Musquet-shot fired from a Neighbouring Wood, passed his Left-Leg from one side to the other; and having granted a little on the Boan, it was thought that it might require some time to Cure; so he reposed that Night near *Caraxizza*, by which ran a small Stream, sending his Spies abroad to prevent surprisal.

On the 18th the whole Army marched, and pitched that Night about Two English Miles distant from *Esseck*, where some Parties of the *Turks* being abroad, retired to their main Camp. The next Morning by Break of Day, the Duke of *Lorraine* commanded the whole Army to advance in order of Batel: And because the Ways were narrow, the Woods and Bushes thick, Commanders were given to the Pioniers, and Labourers to cut down the Trees, and Under-Woods, and so to open the Ways, that the Army might march in Two Lines; which was done with such expedition and industry, that the Troops marched in that admirable order, as evidenced the Conduct of one of the greatest Captains in the World; and in this manner they appeared in sight of the Enemy.

1687.

July.

The Army passed the Drave.

Marches forward.

Heusler wounded.

July.

The Army marches in Battalia.

The

1687.

The Pl. were strongly encamped.

Are assisted by the French.

The Turks keep within in their Camp.

Some Croats cut off.

The manner of the Turkish Camp.

The Grand Vizier with a Numerous Army, and a well-ordered Camp, lodged under *Esseck*, fortified with a deep and regular Trench, and guarded with a good number of Cannon, in an open Plain, about a Musquet-shot from a Wood. The Christians were much surprized to find the *Turks* thus regularly Encamped, which was an Art unknown to them till now; being therein instructed by some French Enginiers, and Captains, with Soldiers of the same Nation, under the Command of the Marquis of *Perſan*, a person well esteemed by the Grand Seigneur, and in favour with the Vizier: For now it was, that the French Nation began not only to enter into an interest and confidence with the *Turks*, by the assistance they gave them of Officers and Enginiers; but farther obliged the whole City of *Constantinople*, with Provisions of Rice and Wheat brought from *Alexandria* on 14 Sail of French Ships, when the City was labouring under great want, and Famine almost of all necessaries for Life.

The Christian Army being now come in sight of the Turkish Camp; it was expected that the Grand Vizier would have marched out, and given them Battle, which the Christian Generals bravely offered, and the Soldiers desired with a Courage answerable to their former Successes: But the *Turks* finding it their advantage to remain within their Trenches, made use of their Cannon against the Imperial Camp; which lying open, and undefended without Works or Trenches, did great execution both against the Horſe and Men; and amongst other Officers Count *Francis Palffy*, who was Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment, which belonged to the General of that name, was shot in the Head by a Cannon Bullet. During the time that the Armies lay in this posture several Skirmishes hapned with various Successes; and particularly one proved not very fortunate to a party of Croats, who being on Foot, and ill armed, were unskillfully engaged, and too far advanced by the rashness of their Commanders; and they firing all their Musquets at one volley, were left open to the Enemy; and not being seconded by other Troops, above one half of them were killed upon the place, the rest retiring to the main Body. In this manner did the *Turks* make frequent Sallies on the Christian Camp, endeavouring to draw them into Ambuscades, but not to an equal and fair Battle, which the Vizier was not willing to adventure, but rather to watch advantages within his Camp, which was strongly fortified with Trenches, Palisades and Cannon, having a Line drawn from the River *Drave* to a Wood, which

with a Morafs, and the River *Valkowar* to the left, Flanked with the Town of *Oſeck*, and covered behind with the Castle *Valkowar*, and the *Danube*, by which all Provisions were carried in great abundance; which rendered the Camp impregnable, and not to be forced either by Arms or Famine: whilst it was impossible for the Christian Army to continue long in that posture, both because they lay exposed to One hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon of the *Turks*, which plaid continually upon them, till returned with like Damage again from those of the Christians: And also, because they began in that place to want both Forage and Provisions, so that there seemed a necessity for the Army to retire.

Whereupon the Duke of *Lorraine* observing that after he had for the space of 46 hours bid defiance to the Turkish Army, and that he could on no Terms provoke them to a Battle: He assembled a Council of War, where many things being alledged, in reference to the strong Encampment of the *Turks*, their Resolution of keeping within their Trenches, which were not to be forced without danger of losing the whole Christian Army; and the want of Forage and Provisions in their own Camp, which were not to be supplied in those places; it was resolved to make a Retreat, and re-pass the *Drave*.

Such an Action as this was now become difficult, and the Army not to be secured, but by the skill and bravery of such Generals: For the *Turks* observing the Retreat of their Enemies, and believing it to be a kind of Flight, either out of weakness in Strength, or want of Courage, made many Assaults and Attacks on the Rear, which the Generals with such admirable Art, Martial conduct, and Discipline defended, that in all the attempts they made, they were repulsed: Five Regiments under the Command of *Picconelli* were commanded to March before to *Siklos*, and the rest of the Army towards *Walpo*, drawn into two Lines, often facing the *Turks* to the Van, to the Rear, and on each side; in such manner, that it was almost impossible to break in upon them. The *Turks*, who had not for some years seen the backs of their Enemies, and seldom a Retreat made by them, full of vain Glory, and hopes of gaining a Victory pressed very hard on the Rear, which being defended by the Valour, and excellent Conduct of that magnanimous, and generous Prince the Elector of *Bavaria*, with the assistance of Prince *Lewis of Baden*, whose Arms and Conduct were dreaded by the *Turks*. There was little, or no advantage obtained that day by the Enemy, the Camp being that night pitched near *Walpo*.

I 1

1687. The day following they proceeded in their March without any considerable opposition from the Enemy, and encamped near the *Drave*, between *Walpo* and *Uffona*; only the Foragers thinking themselves so secure were attacked by the Enemy with the loss of many Men and Horses. The Elector of *Bavaria* having that day the command of his own Wing which was the Van-guard, caused almost all his Baggage to pass the *Drave*, which much disappointed the design of the Enemy: And the Duke of *Lorraine* gave order, that all the Baggage, as well that belonging to the Soldiers, as to the Commanders, which could be transported that night, should be passed over: And the next day the Cavalry of the right Wing, after them the left Wing, then the Baggage of the Infantry; and the day following all the Infantry it self were passed over; all which being performed with most admirable order and conduct, the Bridges were broken, and the Boats burnt and sunk. As the Christian Leaders shewed themselves great and valiant Captains; so the *Turks* gave no less proofs of their Cowardice, who might have made use of this advantage to the total destruction of the Christian Army, had not the Divine Hand preserved them for more signal Victories, and for the more severe punishment of the *Turks*; howsoever the Grand Vizier fancying this Retreat to be an entire Victory, dispatched Carriers with the News thereof to *Constantinople*, and to all parts of the Empire, glorying that he had now recover'd the lost Honour of the *Ottoman* power, not doubting but in a short time to regain *Buda*, and all the conquer'd places, and to restore peace, and quietness once more with Honour to the *Musselmin* Dominions. This Opinion was celebrated in the Turkish Camp with Joy and Triumph, and at the Port, and remote parts of the Empire with divers days of Festival, all believing that the tide of Fortune was now turned under the auspicious Conduct of this Vizier, from whom great things, and almost Miracles were expected: In pursuance of this fancy and belief, so soon as the Imperialists had withdrawn from *Esseck*, the *Turks* detached a Body of Four thousand Horses towards *Darda*, with Orders to proceed thence to *Mohatz*, where they designed, if possible to burn all the Boats laden with Ammunition and Provision belonging to the Christian Army: But this design was prevented by the March of *Piccolomini*, with some Regiments of *Hussars* and *Croats*, and of Count *Cohari*, who with Two thousand *Hungarians* was commanded to pass that way, and thence to proceed to join with the Marquis *Doria*, and reinforce him in the Blockade of *Agria*: Howsoever,

the expedition of the Four thousand Turkish Horses was not altogether unsuccessful; for it was their fortune to meet with One hundred and fifty Waggon belonging to the *Bavarian* Troops, under the Convoy only of Five hundred *Croats*, commanded by that brave Soldier Count *Orlick*; who notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, sustained the Shock, and at last orderly retreated by the help of a *Morass*, with the loss of One hundred Men, which the *Turks* at their return to the Camp, reported for a signal Victory.

The main Body of the Christian Army continuing their March, on the 28th pitched their Camp, about a League distant from *Mohatz*, before which place all the Boats laden with Ammunition and Provisions for sustenance of the Army were then Riding in the River; and here it was that Five thousand Foot, and One thousand Horse from the Circles of *Suabia*, and *Francia* joined with the Army under the command of the Marquis *Charles Gustavus of Baden Durlach*; all choice and select Men, veteran Soldiers, and so well armed and clothed, that in their March towards the Camp, the Emperor took delight to see them pass through the Streets of *Vienna*: With these came also Count *Rabatz*, Commissary General, bringing Money with him for the Subsistence and Payment of the Army; in which Office he so well acquitted himself for three or four years past, that much of the health, and convenient subsistence of the Army, may well be attributed to his Industry and Management, by which all things were provided in such plenty, that there was little need of sending Foragers abroad with hazard and danger, for relief of the Camp. And indeed by the Successes of this year, it plainly appeared how great a Service such good Management was; for want of which the Imperialists had not of late suffered in any thing a greater loss than in their Foragers, who wandering abroad without care, or due circumspection, were often surprized by the Enemy with the loss of their Horses, and many of their Lives.

The Grand Vizier finding that the Christian Army had repass'd the *Drave*, did believe that they would not fit idle, but undertake some Enterprize or other, either by the Siege of *Sigber*, or some other place of importance; to prevent which by giving encouragement to the several Garrisons, the Vizier dispatched Expresses to all parts, to let them know that in case of a Siege, they should manfully resist, assuring them that in a short time, he would bring them Relief, and such Succour as they should desire.

On

1687. On the other side the Duke of *Lorraine* seriously considering what Course the Enemy might in probability follow, and effect; he imagined, that their Design might be by a strong Convoy of Horses to Relieve *Agria* with Provisions; of which (as we have said) there had been a long want; and such a scarcity as might reasonably be termed a Famine: To intercept this Relief Count *Ziachi* with Two thousand *Hungarians*, and Count *Peterani* with five Regiments of Horses, were commanded to pass the *Danube*, and draw towards *Agria*. It was resolved also to fortify *Mohatz*, and put a Garrison into it of Four thousand Men; but upon News brought to the Generals, that the *Turks* on the 29th of July had begun to pass the *Drave* near *Esseck*, all the Councils and Measures were changed; the Detachments, were recalled back to the main Body, the Bridges broken, the Boats laden with Provisions order'd to a certain Island, there to remain for better security; and in fine all things were disposed for a Field Battle, which the Christian Soldiers had long desired, and to see their Enemy in the open Plain, rather than fortified in the Trenches of a Camp, or within the Walls of a City.

The *Turks* having passed the River, advanced towards *Darda*, and entrenched themselves very strongly between certain Morasses, or Marshes in that Country near *Baranwar*, about a League from the Imperial Camp, where they much troubled and infested the Foragers belonging to the Christian Army.

The Duke of *Lorraine* being very desirous to intice the *Turks* to a Battle, retreated towards *Mohatz*, which the Vizier interpreting as a kind of Flight, caused many Thousands of *Turks* and *Tartars* to advance; which being discover'd by the *German* Out-guards gave an Allarm to the whole Army, and put them all into form of Battle; but nothing thereupon happened, but only a Skirmish between the Christian Volunteers and the advanced Body, the first of which being supported by some Regiments of Horses, that party of the Enemy was forced to Retire, and pass the Bridge.

About this time, *Ferdinand Charles*, the third Duke of *Mantua*, being desirous to see, and learn the Art of War managed by the first and bravest Captains of the World, left the Air, and pleasant Places and Gardens of *Italy*, to observe the Martial exploits acted in the more gross Air of *Hungary*; and being attended with an Equipage agreeable, he enter'd the Christian Camp about the beginning of the Month of August, where he was received by the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the

other Generals with all the marks and demonstrations of Respect, and Honour due to a Prince of such Sublime Birth and Dignity.

As the Christian Army retreated, the *Turks* advanced, supposing that the Retreat was an assured evidence of their weakness. The Duke of *Lorraine* was amazed, and glad to observe this confidence in the *Turks*, whom he had for a long time endeavour'd to allure, and decoy into a Battle; of which there was a kind of a necessity at present, for the gross Air of that Season became very pernicious to Bodies not accustomed to that Climate, so that the Army began to grow Sickly, and wanting Force which was necessary to be supplied, it was procured with a daily loss of Men taken, or killed by the Enemy, by which an Army worthy of higher Enterprizes was in danger of being destroyed without Fighting or Action. It was therefore concluded necessary to Fight, of which there appear'd great hopes from the forwardness of the Enemy, who animated with the March of the Christian Army, pursued after them. The Duke of *Lorraine* intending to draw the Enemy after him, carried away all the Provisions in Boats up the Stream to *Sertio*, and set Fire to the Town of *Mohatz*, destroying all the subsistence round the Country; and intending to do the like by *Siklos* and *Quing*; *Ecclesias*, Letters were dispatched by a certain Captain to the Governors of those places to convey away all the Provision, and Ammunition they were able from those parts, and afterward to consume the Towns, and remaining Goods with Fire: But by the Providence and direction of God Almighty, it so happened, that this Captain being taken, and his Letters intercepted; he was brought to be examined before the Grand Vizier, and his Papers being read and considered at a Council of War call'd for that purpose; it was unanimously concluded, that this Resolution to burn those Towns was a certain evidence of the weakness of the Christian Army; and therefore that not to omit, and pass by so favourable an opportunity of gaining an entire Victory, it was resolved to come to a Battle with the Christians; and to that end the whole Turkish Army marched towards *Siklos*, and pitched in an open Country not far distant from the Town through which the Imperial Army was of necessity to pass, and there they opened some new Trenches, and raised Works of some considerable defence.

After that *Mohatz* was burnt; the Imperialists in order of Battle took their March towards *Siklos*, not without some loss sustained by the Foragers, who wander'd at too far a distance, without due caution, or regard

1687.

A necessity to Fight.

The Turks refuse to Fight.

1687. gard had to the near encampment of the Enemy: The Imperialists likewise continued their March. The day following Count *Stirum* advanced before with his Guards, and Scouts, as did all the Quarter-masters and Foragers, between whom and some Troops of *Tartars* a furious Skirmish happened within Trees and Boisage, which continued a long time with mutual loss on both sides, which fell most feverly on the Regiment of *Lodron*. The Duke of *Lorraine* finding himself to draw near to the Enemy, caused the right Wing, commanded by himself, to make a Halt under the Mount of *Arfchan*, and the left Wing commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria* to make a stand on a rising Ground near *Baraniovvar*, not more than an hour's March from the Enemy, where Six thousand of the Enemies Horse made an attack on some of the Imperial Troops, as others of them did on the Rear-guard commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, which Skirmishes took up some hours time: The same day the Prince of *Comery* with Twelve hundred Horse, was commanded out to cover the Foragers; but he was not far advanced before he returned with advice, that the Enemy with the grofs of their Army both of Horse and Foot had raised their Camp, and had posted themselves in a nearer and more advantageous place: This News was confirmed by a *Greacian* youth of *Retimo* taken Captive by the *Angust*. *Turks* in *Candia*, who having made his escape reported, That the Turkish Army consisted of Eighty thousand fighting Men, of which there were Twenty five thousand *Janisaries*, and with the Attendants and Servants, they might make up in all the Number of One hundred and twenty thousand persons: And accordingly that Evening, three Encampments appeared, consisting of three very great Bodies.

A Battle began at Hatzschin.

The next day being the 12th of *August*, the Duke of *Lorain* having disposed his Affairs in a Military posture, against all accidents and contingences from the Enemy whatsoever, began his March towards *Siklos* with the right Wing, being then about an hour's March distant from *Siklos*. Scarce had he opened the Plain, when the Elector of *Bavaria* with his left Wing was attacked by Eight thousand of the Enemies Horse, slain by Six thousand *Janisaries*, who had the night before intrenched themselves on the side of a Hill, from whence they fired many Volleys of Shot on the three Regiments of Cavalry, viz. *Arco*, *Magui* and *Soyer*.

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* having observed, that there was a very advantageous place on the side of the Hill near to the *Janisaries*, which, if possessed, might very much

1687. annoy the *Turks*; immediately advertised the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Bavaria* thereof, who having in the first place reinforced the Rear-guards with four Regiments under the conduct of *Piccolomini*, gave it in charge to Prince *Lewis*, to take the Post he had denoted on the side of the Hill; which accordingly he performed with admirable Success; for the *Janisaries* having fired three Volleys, and the *Spahies* having furiously charged the Rear-guard as often; the Elector encouraging his Men felted them firm and steady against the frequent and forcible Shocks and Charges of the Enemy; who not being able to endure the Fire, and the unshaken order of the Christians, betook themselves to a disorderly and precipitate Flight, in which the Turkish Horse broke in upon their Foot, and trampling down the *Janisaries* under foot, drove them back into their Trenches, into which entering at the same time with the Enemy, they put the whole Army to the Rout, and to a shameful Flight, leaving their Camp, Tents and all their Baggage for a Prey to the Christians.

On this memorable day, which is to be celebrated to all Posterity, the two Dukes, who were Generals, signalized themselves by their admirable Conduct, and undaunted Bravery, to all the World. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* in like manner, with his Sword in his Hand, applying himself at all places to direct, and encourage the Soldiery by his Presence and Voice, demonstrated and evidenced himself to be a great Captain and Champion; in imitation of whom, and of all other the Commanders, the inferior Officers and Soldiers gave marks to the World of their bravery and zeal in the Successes of that glorious day.

The Prince *Eugenie* of *Savoy* was the first, who with the Regiments of his Brigade entered the Trenches of the Enemy; and for that reason had the honour to be the first Messenger of this happy News unto the Emperor. Count *Sinzendorf*, a Cavalier of great Courage, and Hope, adventuring his Person amidst the thickest of his Enemies, had Two Horses killed under him that day, and Two wounded, together with his Page, who fought on his Left-hand; and by a great Shot had his Leg broke: Howsoever he pursued the Enemy beyond their Trenches for the space of an hour, as did the rest of the Army, until the Close of the Evening, when it was thought fit to desist from the pursuit, and return to the Camp, that they might give Refreshment both to Man, and Horse, who had for two days greatly suffered for want both of Victuals, and Forage. The Prince of *Comery*, who Commanded the Troops of Volontiers, deferred also his due Praise, being

1687. being one of the most forward to attack the Enemy, of which he gave undeniable Proofs, the Sargeant Major of his Regiment, and One hundred and Sixty of his Soldiers being slain at the beginning of the Battle. The whole Number killed and wounded on the Christian side, were not much above One thousand, Three Captains, Twelve subaltern Officers, and Four Trumpeters; which indeed was very strange, and almost miraculous, if we consider the great loss which the *Turks* sustained; for there were Eight thousand *Janisaries* with their *Aga*, or General, killed on the place, all choice and select Soldiers, Two thousand were made Prisoners, and about Three thousand Drowned, and the whole Army scattered and dispersed in the Woods, Marhes, and Bogs of that Country.

Strange and wonderful indeed was the Success of this day, and ought wholly to be ascribed to the Almighty Hand of the God of Hosts: For the Turkish Army was much more numerous than the Christian, consisting in all of One hundred and twenty thousand, of which Eighty thousand were Fighting men, encouraged by late Successes, and grown proud, and confident of their Strength, by the Retreat which the Christians made. But what is still more strange, is that this formidable Army was Defeated, and put to Flight by Ten thousand men only of the Left-wing of the Rear-Guard, Commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*; for the Right-wing under the Duke of *Lorraine*, and Led by Count *Caprara*, had not time to come up, before the *Turks* were put to a Rout, and a Hasty Flight, which had they delayed and stood until the other Forces had come up, it might, in all probability, have proved too bloody a loss to the *Turks*, as could never more have been recovered, and which might have proved the total Ruin and Downfall of the Ottoman Empire.

Thus since it was the Fortune of the Elector of *Bavaria* to fight that day with Victorious Success, the Magnificent Tent of the Grand Vizier, like *opima spolia*, were by Lot the just Reward of his Labour, and Valour. It is said, That that Tent was the most sumptuous and rich of any, that had, during this whole War, been brought by any preceding General into the Field; therein was taken all the Cash, or Ready-Money brought for the Use of the Army, all the Books and Accounts belonging to the Militia, the Horse-tails or Tugh carried before the Vizier; besides Fifty thousand Crowns, which some principal Officers, as is said, appropriated to their own Use.

Besides this lately Tent, there were great Numbers of other Tents taken, in which the *Turks* show most of their Grandeur, ma-

1687. king more Ostentation by their Tents, in the Camp, than they do by their Houses, and Edifices in the City. Moreover there were taken Sixty seven Pieces of Canon, Four of which were of an extraordinary bigness; of Powder there was a Thousand Kintals, of March Four hundred, about Eight thousand Cannon-Bullets, Three thousand Bombs and Carcasses, Ten thousand Granadoes, Arms of all sorts in great Numbers, Two thousand Oxen, Five hundred Horses, Mules, Asses, and Camels about Two hundred, Buffaloes Four hundred, which were appointed and fitted to the Yoke, for drawing Carriages, and Cannon; Sheep, and other Cattle innumerable.

Besides all this, there were found great quantities of Coffee, Chocolate, Sugar, Sherbet, and Honey, with Carpets, and Beds of Wool, and Cotton: All Oats, Rice, Barley, Flower, Oyl, Bread, and Salt; in short, all things necessary and convenient for Man and Beast; with which the Christian Soldiers refreshed themselves after a long Battle, tedious and tirefome Marches, in great Want, and Scarcity of all Necessaries for Support and sustenance of an Army. After which great and signal Victory, *August*. *Te Deum* was on the 13th of *August* Sung in 1687. the Tent of the Grand Vizier; and Triumphs made by expoling the Horse-tails, and great Numbers of Banners and Ensigns before the Door of the Tent, with Volleys of small Shot, and Discharge of Four hundred Pieces of Cannon, giving Thanks to God for this so remarkable a Success, which was the more observable, because this Victory was obtained in that very Ground, where *Lodowick*, the last of the *Hungarian* Kings was Slain, and his Army Routed by *Sultan Soliman* the Magnificent, who in Memory thereof, caused a Mofch of Wood to be Erected, and Endowed it with Eight hundred Crowns Yearly Rent, that *Dervises*, who are a sort of Turkish Friars, might solemnize their daily Devotions and Prayers in that place.

The Turkish Army being thus totally Routed, and Dispersed, some in the Woods, and others in the Marhes, where many of them dyed of their Wounds, or fainted for want of Food, or Refreshments; others of them, or as many, as could, Travelling a Day and a Night, came at length faint and weary to lodge themselves under the Walls and Cannon of *Eseck*, without Provision to comfort them, or Tents to cover them; where being sad and disconsolate, had the Mortification to hear the Triumphs which the Christians were making in their Camp for their Victorious Successes.

This News affected the Inhabitants of *Agria* to the last extremity of Despair: They had lived for a long time in hope of Re-
Agria surrenders.
lief;

Several Skirmishes.

The Turkish Army appears.

The Turks routed.

The valor of the Christian Commanders.

The Vizier's Tent allotted to the Elector of Bavaria.

The spoils taken.

1687. lief; and feeding on that, and on Horfe-Flesh, and Dogs, and Herbs growing under the Walls, and by making sometimes Excursions near hand to gain a little sustenance; but now by this last blow being put beyond all hopes, the People had thoughts privately to abandon the Town, and fly to other Quarters; but the Town being closely blocked up by Marquess *Doria*, was forced soon afterwards to surrender at discretion, without any farther Effusion of Blood.

Fear: at Vienna.

The Success of this Battle, near *Harsham*, happened very seasonable to the Christian Cause, and of great Comfort and Joy to the Court of *Vienna*, where they had lately received no very good News in reference to the State of their Army, which, as Reported, was very much weakened by late Skirmishes, Sickneffes, and want of Provisions, and much harafed by long Marches, bad Weather, and dirty deep Ways: Of which the Enemy being sensible, was grown bold and daring, and often pressed them to a Battle: The Emperor being informed hereof, was very doubtful and anxious for the Success; and Prayers, Supplications and Penance were ordered to be made in all Churches to implore the Divine Assistance and Blessing; when the Prince *Eugene of Savoy* arrived at *Vienna* with the News of the Battle, and the Particulars of the Victory, which filled all the Court and City with Joy and Triumph. To render which the more compleat and full, Advices were come the Night before from the Senate of *Venice*, to give an Account to his Imperial Majesty of the Defeat which the Arms of *St. Mark* had given the *Turks* in the *Mores*; which had produced such a Terror and Confimation amongst them, that in little more than Four and twenty Hours time, Four places had surrendered to the *Venetians*. With these happy Advices, Expresses being dispatched to all Courts of Christian Princes, were the Cause and Subject of common Joy and Jubilee, in the Courts of all, the most Christian Kings only excepted.

Joy at the News of Victory.

The Grand Vizier with his scattered Troops rallied near *Esseck*; where taking an account of the Numbers lost, he found his Army diminished about Twenty thousand men; for besides those which were killed, taken, and drown'd, many had deserted, and withdrawn from the Field. The Face of the whole Camp was sad and disconsolate; and tho' the Vizier did all he could to comfort and cheer them; yet they being not only melancholy, but angry, and ashamed of their dishonourable Flight, began to blame and cast the fault on each other. The *Janisaries* with good reason upbraided the *Spahes*, as the Authors of their Rout; for that they cowardly retiring, broke in upon their Ranks, and put them

Disunion among the Turkish Militia.

into disorder; which the Enemy observing, 1687. pressed so hard upon them, that they were forced to give way, and with them the whole Army was laid open, and exposed to the Enemy. The Dispute grew to hot between the Two Ranks, and Orders of Soldiers, who were always emulous of each other, that at length they came to Blows, and to a Civil War, in which about Seven hundred were killed upon the place.

The Grand Vizier, and Officers, had no sooner with much pain and labour parted the Fray, but the tumultuous Soldiery joyed together to accuse the Vizier himself, and to cry out, that the loss of the day was to be charged on him, and the Myrmidons about him, who were the most forward to show an Example to the Soldiery of a base and fearful Flight; the which Clamour caused such a Murmure in the Camp, as had put the Life of the Vizier, and many great Officers into extreme danger, had not the Vizier with Money and fair words mollified their Anger. But this accommodation continued not long, before the Grand Vizier was forced to give way to the irresistible fury and sedition of the Soldiery, as we shall presently have occasion to declare.

Appeal with Murmure.

In the mean time the Duke of *Lorraine*, not to lose the benefit and advantage of so glorious a Victory, designed a farther Conquest, and to conclude the Campaign, with some other memorable Enterprize. It was the common Talk at *Vienna* amongst the Courtiers, at the Emperor's Palaces, and amongst the Religious men in their Convents and Monasteries; that the Duke of *Lorraine* was to prosecute his Victory without delay as far as *Belgrade*, and thence to pass to *Adrianople*, and make that City his Head Quarters for this Winter; but these men, who had reposited themselves quietly at home, had not the Thoughts, nor Consideration of the great Generals, to know the Sufferings and Hardship which the Cavalry had sustained this Summer in passing Boggs and Marshes, by want of Forage, and long Marches; nor the difficulty of passing the River of *Drave*, defended by the strong Forts of *Esseck*, nor the Season of the Year too far spent to undertake any great Enterprize: All which being considered by the Two great Captains, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*; they resolved only to send a detachment of Ten thousand men, under Command of General *Dunewalt*, to pass the *Drave* at *Turanowitz*, and there to undertake such designs, as should be thought most facile and feasible, without over-much hazard to be put in Execution.

Forces sent under Dunewalt.

Dunewalt accordingly began his March on the 17th towards *Siklos*, where he was furnished with 18 Pieces of heavy Cannon, and

Four

1687. Four Mortars taken lately from the Enemy, of which he was to make use in case of a Siege, or other occasion; and was there reinforced with a considerable Body of Croats, under Command of their *Bano*. The Duke of *Lorraine* in the mean time took his march with the remainder of his Army towards *Mohatz*, with design to pass the *Danube*, and on that side to refresh his Army, and allot out to them Quarters for the Winter in *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, obliging those Hospodars, or Princes to yield Obedience to his Imperial Majesty, and pay Contributions, by which means not only the Hereditary Countries of the Emperor, but the wasted and consumed Provinces of *Hungary* would be eased, and relieved of their long burdens and distresses. Some Leagues above *Mohatz*, the Duke of *Lorraine* passed the *Danube* with all his Baggage, and Train of Artillery, at a place, where he had the advantage of an Island in the midst of the River, to lay more easily their Bridges. The Army having passed the Water with all their Artillery and Baggage, it was expected by some, and so made the common Discourse, that a farther Enterprize would be undertaken, and that the Army would march towards *Peter-Waradin*, and thence proceed to the Siege of *Esseck*; but this design after mature consultation, appeared too difficult in this present Season: For that great Floods of Rain had fallen, and so filled the Rivers that the Waters could not be contained within their Channel, but overflowed all the Fields and Meadows bordering on the River; and afterwards when the Water abated, they had yet covered the Grounds with so much Mire and Sand, that it was impossible to march near to the Brink of the River, so as to have the benefit or use of their Boats for Carriage of their Forage and Provisions: Wherefore it was resolved to Lade the Provisions and Baggage on Carts, and take their march with the whole Army towards *Segedin*: The Boats being emptied and discharged, were all burnt, as needless and cumbersome; and the greater Barges on which the Cannon and Ammunition were laden, were drawn up the River by Horses and Oxen, attended with a Convoy of three Regiments of Horse and Dragons: And in this manner *Lorraine* took his March towards the *Tibiscus*; but the Elector of *Bavaria* judging that the Campaign was so far spent, that no great Enterprize was more to be achieved, having committed his Troops to the care and conduct of the Duke of *Lorraine*, he together with Prince *Lewis of Baden* took his way towards the City of *Vienna*.

The Duke of Lorraine passes the Danube.

Provisions laden on Carts.

the Ways and Fields by the continual Rains were so deep and rotten, and full of Water, that the Army instead of being relieved, and eased of their late Fatigues and Sufferings, seemed to be engaged and engrossed in greater; for their March was in Mire and Dirt to the Mid-leg, the Weather very Raw and Cold, without Wood or other Fuel to dry and warm them at the end of their day's March; and without any other Sustenance, than dry Bisket softened with bad Water, such as was found in the Ditches and the Ways; so that it was not strange that the Army should grow Sickly, and weakened with so many and so long sufferings. Some Troops of the *Turks*, who had fled to *Peter Waradin* having notice hereof, ordered a Detachment of some Forces belonging to *Tekeli*, joined to a strong party of *Turks* and *Tartars*, to fall in upon the Rear of the Imperialists, which often-times hapned to the great loss and hurt of the sickly and infirm, who were miserably cut to pieces, and slain by the Enemy. Nor was the Cavalry in a much better Condition, for travelling over Marshes and Wet-grounds, their Horses died for want of Forage.

1687. The difficulty of marching.

Sickly and infirm attacked by the Turks.

The Duke of *Lorraine* with his principal Commanders considering hereof, ordered that all Officers having Carts should apply them to the use of the sickly and weak Infantry; and to give a good Example herein to others, he was the first to proffer his own Waggon, which all other Officers observing, generously afforded their Carriages to the use of the Foot, by which the Army was wonderfully relieved, and after many hardships were brought near to the Quarters of *Segedin*, where the Air and Waters being more wholesome, and the Forage and Provisions more plentiful, the Sick began to recover, and after some few days of rest and refreshment, the whole Army was in a great measure restored to perfect Health and strong Condition: After which they marched to *Zolnock*, where they found plenty of all Provisions and Forage, provided and gathered by the abundant care, and industry of Count *Caraffa* chief Governour of the upper *Hungary*: And thence they marched to *Debresin*, from whence the Duke of *Lorraine* detached the Regiment of *Catracris* commanded by Count *Falk*, with the Regiment of Foot belonging to Count *Starenberg*, with Orders to march unto *Possanum* or *Presburg*, there to assist at the Coronation of the Arch-Duke *Joseph*, Son of the Emperor, then created King of the *Romans*.

The Sick recover at Segedin.

And Zolnock.

But this March proved much more difficult than was imagined or expected; for

Grand

1687. Grand Vizier retired from *Effect to Peter Waradin*, where he intended to muster up his Forces, and to recount his loss, and make the best stand he could against the further Progress of the Christian Arms; but the Turkish Troops instead of yielding obedience to their Commanders, publicly arose against the Vizier, boldly demanding of him five Months pay, and the surrender of Mahomet's Colours or Standard: Upon which Intolerance the Grand Vizier fled to *Belgrade*, sending before him Fourteen Mules laden with Money; at which the Militia being more enraged, proposed to Elect *Osman Pasha*, *Ogli* or *Sciaus Pasha* for their Leader: For with both these the Vizier had a Quarrel before the Battle, and after it up on his Complaints made against them to the Grand Seigneur, for not having done their Duty in the Fight, had obtained a *Hafseheriff*, or a Royal command to Strangle or Banish them, as he judged most for Service of the Sultan; but *Soliman* the Vizier being averse to Blood, laid the Command by him, without Execution of it, which coming to the knowledge of these two turbulent Men, they raised the Militia against him; who offered to acknowledge *Osman Pasha* for their General, provided he would undertake to kill the Vizier; which Enterprize he readily accepted, and enter'd the Vizier's Tents, where he killed several of his Servants and Pages; as he did also the Vizier's *Kahya* or Deputy, who sent to appease the Mutiny; but the Vizier himself escaped in a Boat down the *Danube*, accompanied with the *Tefterdar* or Lord Treasurer, and *Reis Effendi* or Secretary of State, upon notice of which the Soldiery elected *Sciaus Pasha* for their General, laying *Osman Pasha* aside, notwithstanding his late Service, having been a Rebel and Robber in *Affa*.

Thus the Sedition being begun, a great Revolution followed in the Empire; which was not so much caufed by the defeat of the Turkish Army, as by the natural Temper of the Vizier, and the Poverty of the Treasury which could not furnish Money sufficient for payment of the Soldiery. For tho' *Soliman* was a Man of dexterity in Negotiations, and well qualified for a Court; yet being of a mild Nature was not so proper to command a Camp, wanting that Vigour, and Martial Spirit which should make him severe, so as to be feared and respected: Besides, having little experience in War, and of an open and free Humour, lent his Ear to every Adverser, so that amongst diversity of Opinions he became confus'd and unresolv'd, and instead of governing was governed, and sometimes made to act against his own Judgment. This true,

the Vizier had by his care and industry gathered a powerful Army and good Troops for this Campaign; for he had summoned all the *Oteracks*, or Soldiers who had formerly been freed and exempted from the War, and had long lived at ease, and with convenience at their own Houses, to return again to the Camp, and to the severities of Martial Discipline; many of which had been Spectators or Actors in the Munities, during the Minority of Sultan *Mahomet*, and wanting now pay, and their accustomed ease, were soon incited to Sedition on the first occasion, which now happen'd upon these Misfortunes, and the Flight of the Vizier.

The Sedition being thus begun, we will leave the Mutiniers for a while and return to the Exploits of General *Dunewalt*, and then relate at large the great Revolution which after this ensued at the Port. *Dunewalt* had continued his March for several days from *Siklos*, and at length without any considerable Encounter, he came to *Turnovitz*, where he laid a Bridge and pass'd the *Drave*; and being there relieved with Provisions, he proceeded to the attack of *Wuchin*, a Castle well fortified, and the Garrison lately reinforced with a Thousand *Tartars*: And tho' the Ways were deep and bad, and the Weather rainy and wet, yet nothing was impossible for a victorious Army, which march'd along the side of some Hills, where the Ways were more hard and dry. Count *Lodron* with his Regiment, and Count *Budiani* with some hundreds of *Hussars*, and a Sargent Major with Two hundred Dragoons, were commanded to advance before to Invest *Wuchin*, and to hinder all Succours which might be sent for its Relief, until the Mortars and Cannon, and the rest of the Army could come up. At length the Bombs, and Train of Artillery being with much labour and difficulty arriv'd; Batteries were rais'd, and the place summon'd to Surrender; to which at first a haughty and an obstinate Answer was return'd, but the Cannon being mounted and fired, in the space of one day had made such a Breach, that the *Turks* considering the Resolution of the Christians, and the impossibility of being relieved, display'd a white Flag, and desired to Capitulate. At first they demand'd liberty to March out like Soldiers with Arms and Baggage, but that being denied them, with all other Conditions, excepting only to yield at Discretion, they were forced to submit to the Will of the Conquerour, and lose their Freedom and Estates, to save their Lives. In the Garrison were about Three hundred Soldiers, besides more than One hundred Women and Children: The principal Prisoners of note,

1687. note, were shared amongst the Generals, and chief Officers of Horle, and the others equally divided amongst the Regiments of Foot.

After taking this Castle, which is Situate on a Rock, and in a pleasant and plentiful Country, abounding with Trees and Fruit, and well planted with Vine-yards; and after refreshment given to the Army for some few days, it was resolv'd to March to *Walpo*, and there to remain in expectation of further Orders from the Imperial Court: During which time certain Advice was brought, that the Grand Vizier with all his Army and Equipage, was retired from *Effect to Peter Waradin*, and thence to *Belgrade*, with intention totally to abandon the Fortrefs of *Effect*. Upon this News *Dunewalt* having refresh'd his Army near *Walpo* for some days, after a tedious March through a wast'd and desolate Country full of Boggs and Marthes, he order'd a party of Five hundred Horle, under command of Count *Hofkirchen*, Lieutenant Colonel of that Regiment, to make an Excursion as far as *Effect*, and learn the State of that Garrison, and the Forces of the Enemy thereabouts. *Hofkirchen* had been out two days, without any Discovery, or giving advice of any thing to the General, whom he found encamp'd under *Walpo*, a place defended by Five hundred *Turks*, who at first Summons seem'd very resolute to defend themselves, or at least, not to yield until they had first heard that *Effect* had submitted. Hercupon Batteries were mounted, which with frequent firing at the Castle gave an Alarm to the Country roundabout; but whilst these Matters were in agitation, intelligence was brought to the Camp by a Country Fellow, that whilst *Hofkirchen* remained in the Woods to make Discovery of the Enemy's Motion, the Garrison taking it to be the Van-guard of the Army, were struck with such a fear, that they immediately resolv'd to abandon the place; and having laden the best of their Moveables and Goods on Boats, the Garrison and all the Inhabitants forsook the place, and fled to *Peter Waradin*.

General *Dunewalt* taking this Relation from the Country-man to be true, commanded the three Regiments of *Lodron*, Count *Kifel* and *Hofkirchen* to March upon *Effect*, and take possession of the place, in case it were abandoned, as before reported. Accordingly these Forces being come near *Effect*; the day following they were met by a *Turk*, and a Renegado *Croat*, who, having made humble instances for their Lives, which were granted them; they confirm'd the intelligence of the *Turks* having abandoned *Effect*, to be true, and likewise informed them, that the *Turks* before they left the place, had form'd five Mines under the Walls, which they would discover to them; and accordingly *Lodron* having appointed Thirty of his Men with some *Rafians* to uncharge the Mines, he march'd with his whole Body and took possession of that considerable and important place of *Effect* without any opposition, before which (as we have related) two great Armies lately encamp'd. With this advice Count *Lodron* immediately dispatch'd an Express to *Dunewalt*, giving him an account that he had taken possession of *Effect*, and had found therein Fifty five Pieces of Cannon, two Mortar Pieces, two Petards, with a great quantity of Ammunition and Provision of all sorts; the Garrison of *Walpo* being also assur'd hereof, lost their Courage, and surrender'd forthwith at Discretion, submitting themselves, their Wives and Children to Slavery. After which, things being well secur'd and order'd at *Walpo*, *Dunewalt* march'd towards *Effect*, and encamp'd his Army on the 2d of October in the same place, where the Grand Vizier had lately intrench'd: Where having sung *Te Deum*, and returned Thanks to Almighty God for so many and great Successes, a Council of War was call'd to consider what was the next great Enterprize which was to be undertaken.

The Season of the Year being advanced towards Winter; it might well be judg'd a convenient time to draw the Soldiers into Quarters, and give the Troops rest and repose after many Fatigues and Hardships sustain'd; but God still favouring the Designs of the Christians against the *Turks*, who were in all places possess'd with fear and consternation; it was thought fit by the Commanders to follow the Foot-steps of Fortune, and not to give over the Game with a lucky Hand; wherefore Count *Apprent* being left in the Government of *Effect*, with a Garrison of Eighteen Companies of Foot, and Sixteen Troops of Horle, the General resolv'd to attack *Passega*, the Metropolis of all *Sclavonia*; and in his March thither he summon'd the Castle of *Orovitzza*, Situate on a high Hill, on the Foot of which is a Palancha, or small Redoubt; the Ground is covered with Chestnut-Trees, and planted with Fruit Trees; the Garrison at first return'd an angry and resolute Answer, but afterwards thinking better of themselves, they pack'd up the best of their Goods and Baggage, and in the night by secret and By-ways through the Woods and Mountains privately stole away, every one shifing for himself in the best manner he was able: So that in the morning the Christians enter'd the Town and Castle without any opposition; being a place very

K k Com-

1687. Commodious, to which several Villages paid Contribution, and which was necessary first to be taken, in order to the more easy and safe attack of *Poffega*. The very intelligence was brought him, that the *Turks* were possessed with such great Fear and Consternation at *Poffega*, that there was no doubt to be made, but that the place would Surrender at his first appearance before it; which accordingly happened; for no sooner were the Christian Forces descended into the Plains, but they espied a considerable body of *Turks*, that ranged themselves under the Cannon of *Poffega*. The Forces of *Dunewalt* being come up, several Skirmishes passed between the Parties, but the *Turks* finding themselves unable to engage with such an unequal Force, they betook themselves to flight into the Mountains, abandoning the City and Castle to the possession of the Christians: Five Companies pursued them into the Mountains, but without any effect, for having neither knowledge of the Ways, nor Sustainance in that desolate Country, being also wearied and tired with long Marches, were forced to return, and repose themselves in *Poffega*.

Fortune thus favouring the Progress of the Christian Arms, *Dunewalt* resolved to make use of this prosperous Gale; and having in order thereunto held a Council of War, it was resolved to follow the Enemy to the River *Save*, where at a place called *Kobas* they were Transporting themselves and Baggage to the other side: In order unto which, and for better security of *Poffega*, a Garrison of Sixteen hundred *Germans* were left in the place, and orders given to Count *Lodron*, that being come thither with the Infantry and Baggage, he should repose and refresh his Men there until the return of *Dunewalt*; who losing no time came to opportunity to the *Save*, as to surprize some Carts laden with Corn and Provisions, which the Enemy had left there, not having time to Transport them to the other side; and in the mean time Count *Leonada*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiments of *Lodron*, a brisk and daring Gentleman, pursued a party of the Enemy's Horse, and skirmished with them for the space of three hours, and put them to flight, returning back to the Camp over against *Kobas*, with a Booty of Two hundred Head of Cattle. At this place *Dunewalt* continued for the space of three days, endeavouring to pass the River with design to burn and demolish that Castle; and thõ on the other side there appeared a Body of Eight hundred *Turks*, Horse and Foot; yet some *Germans* endeavoured to pass in small Boats, and to take a Post, or place of Defence; but before they could be

seconded by other Forces, they were attacked by Two hundred *Turks*, and after a valorous defence were most of them cut in pieces, or droven into the River.

Dunewalt finding it very difficult to pass the River without the help of great Boats, returned to *Poffega*, where finding the Cannon and Infantry arrived, he proceeded to *Zerneck*, about two *Hungarian* Leagues distant from *Poffega*, which the *Turks* having quitted, the *Germans* without opposition made their entrance into it: The day following Count *Hofkirchen* was detached from this place, with a party of Five hundred *Croats*, to take a view of the Enemies State and Condition about *Gradiska*; on his March whereunto, he was encountered by a strong party of *Turks*, with whom entering into an Engagement, *Hofkirchen* was wounded by a Musquet Bullet in his Arm, and Count *Harimbeg* in the right Hand with a Lance; two Common Soldiers were killed, and some few others wounded: Howsoever *Hofkirchen* missed not of the intelligence he designed; bringing an account at his return, that the City of *Gradiska* was strong, garrisoned by Ten thousand Soldiers, covered by Five thousand Horse which were quartered in parts adjacent; and that in the Way to the City, the Passages were very Straight, besides many Woods, and three Bridges which lay in the Road thither. Upon this Advice the design against *Gradiska* was deferred; and a great part of the Militia was employed to fortify *Zerneck*, and the Towns lately conquered; and to provide them with good Garrisons, as also *Valkova*: After which the Season being far spent, and Provisions and Forage beginning to want in the Camp, the remainder of the Army were lodged and laid up in their Winter-quarters in *Croatia*. Notwithstanding all which Successes, there were not such wanting, who blamed these proceedings, and confidently affirmed, that in case *Dunewalt* had been enforced with some Regiments, and had laid all other Designs aside, he might in that great consternation of the *Turks* have passed the *Save*, and made himself Master of *Belgrade* without much difficulty, and therewith have reduced all *Bosnia* to the devotion of the Emperor. But this being an Over-sight, and matters succeeding as before related; let us return to the mutinous Army of the *Turks*, whom we lately left raging against the Grand Vizier, the Grand Seigneur and all the Government.

The Grand Vizier, as we have said, having quitted the Army, to give way to the Fury of the Soldiers, took a Boat at *Belgrade* and rowed down the *Danube*, accompanied with the *Testefard* or Lord Treasurer, and the *Reis Effendi* or Secretary of State

1687. State; the Soldiers in the mean time chose (as is aforesaid) *Sciaus* for their General; and immediately dispatched away *Orta Chindus*, an Officer of the *Janisaries*, to acquaint the Grand Seigneur with what the Army had done. It was now no time to expostulate with the Soldiers, or disapprove their Actions; but on the contrary *Orta* was kindly received, and cared by the *Chimac* at *Constantinople* called *Regeb Pasha*: And the Grand Seigneur himself without any Hesitancy confirming the Choice which the Army had made, dispatched *Orta Chindus* immediately back with the Signals of Honour, which are a Sword, and a Vest of Sables, declaring him General, and ordering him to take care of the Frontiers. The Vizier having got out of the reach of the Army, took Post and came to *Adrianople*, where he staid, and gave time for his Friends to work in his behalf with the Grand Seigneur; who of himself was well enough inclined to *Solyman*; and therefore after the Rout, and Noise was a while appeased, *Regeb* the *Chimac* obtained his Pardon, and Permission for him to come to *Constantinople*, and *Mamout Aga* his Friend, and a rich Man was sent for the Messenger to invite him thither. But before *Solyman* arrived the Scene was much changed by the coming of four Officers from the Army, with *Arz* and *Max-Arz*, which is a Petition, and Certificate signed by the principal Commanders in the Army, attesting that *Solyman* was a Person of no Conduct, a Coward and a Lier, and one who took no care to pay the Army, and in short that he was not fit for that Sublime Office of Grand Vizier, concluding their Petition with a Prayer, that another might be placed in that Government: *Solyman* having News hereof, as he was on the Road to *Constantinople*, and thinking thereupon that, that place would be too hot for him at present; sent the Seal and the Standard of the Prophet to the Sultan, committing them to the care of the *Testefard* the Treasurer, and *Reis Effendi* the Secretary, his Friends and fellow Travellers, to be delivered by them, conveying himself privately within the Walls of *Constantinople*; upon which, without delay the Grand Seigneur dispatched away the Seal and the Standard to *Sciaus*, declaring him Grand Vizier in the place of *Solyman*. *Regeb* would have dissuaded the Grand Seigneur from sending the Standard, which is the Colours of their Prophet *Mahomet*; and towards which the People bear a superstitious Devotion, alleging that thereby he weakened himself, and armed a Company of Muriniers with the Charm of that holy Relic: Howsoever the *Kuzlier Aga*, who is the chief Eunuch of the Women, was of

a different Opinion, being of a nature timorous like that of the Grand Seigneur: His Council prevailed, and the Standard was sent by the Hand of the *Selissar* or Sword-bearer, that the Soldiery might not have cause to believe, that the Sultan treated them with reserves, or with the least manner of diffidence. But all this served not to appease, or mollify the madnes of the Soldiery, who now talked of nothing but marching to *Constantinople*, and there to Depose the Grand Seigneur, and reform the Government, setting up his Brother Sultan *Solyman*, under whose Reign they hoped for the like Auspicious Successes, as they had found in the fortunate Reigns of those Sultans, who had formed the Ottoman Empire; and especially they had a singular Reverence for the Name of Sultan *Solyman*, who, they hoped would prove as great and fortunate as *Solyman* the Magnificent. *Sciaus Pasha*, who was in his Heart a cordial Friend to the late Vizier *Solyman*, found now that he had conjured up a Devil he could not lay, would gladly have dissuaded the Soldiery from their designed March to the Port, and rather advised them to guard their Frontiers, and oppose the Enemy: But this Council had cost him his Life, had he not touched the Proposal very gently, and at the same time assured them of his readiness to joyn with them in any Design they should contrive: And accordingly marching away in a kind of a tumultuous, and disorderly manner towards the River *Save*, great Numbers of them were actually passing the Bridge near *Belgrade*, when the *Chimac* or Governor General of the *Janisaries* of that place, apprehending that they came to Plunder the Town, refused them Passage, causing several Pieces of Cannon to be fired upon them; with which several being killed they returned back: Howsoever perishing still in their Resolution, the most wild and obstinate party of them passed the River in Boats at some distance from the Town, leaving *Sciaus Pasha* with the rest of the Militia on the other side, a good days March behind them; by this slow Motion of *Sciaus*, the Soldiery guessing at his backwardness to engage with them, like enraged Mad-men they returned to him and treated him with Menaces, vowing to kill him, in case he refused to be their General and Leader in this good Cause of reforming the Government.

Whilst the Army was in this Commotion, great were the Confusions, Plots, Stratagems and Contrivances at *Constantinople*, which *Regeb* the *Chimac* suspecting, that the Friends of the late Vizier *Ibrahim* exiled to *Rhodes*, did foment, and also, that the *Musli* who was last year Banished to *Prasfa*

1687. Janisaries. As the Army approached, so the Fears and Apprehensions of the great Men at Constantinople increased. *Muliapha Kupriogli*, as we have said, being made *Chimacem*, he appeared publicly in the *Divan*, and gave out the Pay to the Soldiers; and then went to the Grand Seigneur, whom he found at a *Kiosk*, or House of Pleasure by the Water side, and presently a Consultation was held, at which were present the two *Kadileskers*, or chief Justices, the *Nakib Effendi*, who is chief of the *Green-heads* of the Prophet (or Mahomet's Kindred) four *Sheghs* or Preachers, the *Stambol Effendi*, or Mayor of the City, as also the *Nizangi Pasha*, who sets the Firm of the Grand Seigneur to Commissions; these after a Consultation and Debate of about two hours time, resolved on several Points, not then divulged to the World but by the execution of them; for they all went together to the *Chimacem's* House, from whence in half an hours time afterwards, the Chiefs of the *Chiausfes*, which Thirty of his Men were sent to the Prison where *Solyman* the late Vizier was confined; so soon as *Solyman* saw the *Chiausbashee*, he said, I know for what you come, God's will be done; the *Chiausbashee* who had been his Creature, and raised by him, with Tears in his Eyes delivered unto him the Command for his Head. *Solyman* taking it from him, kissed it and said, I have washed, but not as yet said my *Kindi*, or Afternoon Prayers, (for it was about that time) let me perform those my last Prayers, and then in the name of God execute your Office. *Solyman* having finished his Prayers, called the *Chiausbashee* into an Inner Room, and said, Execute your Orders; but first let me recommend two things to you. One is, That you declare and be a Witness to the World; That I have given Freedom to all my Slaves both Males and Females. And 2^d, That they do not torment my People to find out my Money, for I never had any thing considerable; the little I had was with me in the Camp, where it was lost, and made a Prey to the Enemy. In my House at *Scutari* there is some Furniture, and some few Galantries, which if the Grand Seigneur will present to my Son it is well, but if not he is Lord and Master of them: And if you, said he, to the *Chiausbashee*, shall not declare this to the Grand Seigneur, my Hands shall be upon you at the Day of Judgment; And having said thus much he kneeled, and turning his Face to the Wall, the Executioners performed their Duty. So was *Solyman* strangled, a Person deserving to live in better times, and worthy of a better Death; his Head was cut off and carried to the *Chimacem*, where it was fled and

stuffed with Cotton, and being put into a Box was sent to the Grand Seigneur; but his Body was consigned to his Friends, and buried at *Scutari*. His Son a young Man of about 24 years of Age was sent for from *Adrianople*, and imprisoned to discover his Father's Estate; but that being known to be very little, the *Chimacem* by his own Authority for him at liberty. The Wife of *Solyman* amidst her Fears, sent two Trunks filled with Sables, and rich Habits, and Vellments to the House of a certain Friend to be there secured, and were accordingly covered under a Pile of Wood: This matter being observed by a crew of Rogues, they came that Night, pretending an Order from the *Chimacem* to seize those Goods, naming the place where they were concealed; at which the People of the House being affrighted, immediately delivered the Trunks to the Hands of the Rogues: The next day the Wife of *Solyman*, full of sorrow and anguish of Mind, came to the *Chimacem* to make complaint of this hard Usage, declaring the Goods to be her own, and not her Husband's. The *Chimacem* disavowing the matter, and denying to have given any such Orders, the Robbery appeared, and Search being made after the Thieves, four of them were taken and most of the Goods restored.

The next day *Solyman's* Head was sent for a Present to the Army, by two Officers belonging to the New Vizier, with a Letter from the *Chimacem*, accompanying an Imperial Command or Signature from the Sultan, declaring, that if the Army would stay and Winter at *Adrianople*, he would give them all full satisfaction in sending the Heads of all those they should demand, not sparing his own Sons or Brother, and would send them the Fifteen Months Pay that they were in Arrear, with the same Donative as should have been given, in case a new Grand Seigneur had been created. But they would hearken to no Conditions, for they had cast the Bridle out of their Mouths, and taken the Power into their Hands; and nothing could now make them safe but a total Subversion of the Government, and a Change of the Grand Seigneur.

But first, The way thereunto was to be made by the Death of many of the great Men: *Regeb Pasha*, the late *Chimacem*, was about this time taken at a place called *Visa* near *Chattalgee* in *Asia*, his Horse tired, and he almost famished with Hunger; and being brought to *Constantinople* he was committed Prisoner to the same Chamber, in which his Master *Solyman* had been lately executed; and was in a few days afterwards Strangled, as we shall see hereafter.

The

1687. The same night that *Regeb* was imprisoned, the *Kapugibashee*, who was sent to Conduct the *Mufti* from *Prusa* to *Rhodes*, returned with the Head of *Ibrahim Pasha*, who had been Vizier before *Solyman*; being put to Death by the contrivance of *Regeb*, as before mentioned. The manner whereof was this: The Bey or Captain of the Gallies, which carried the *Mufti* to *Rhodes* being a Friend to *Ibrahim Pasha*, endeavoured during the Voyage to pump the *Capugibashee* to know of him, whether he had any other Orders to perform at *Rhodes*, besides that of conducting the *Mufti*; but he could discover nothing, so that so soon as he was arrived, he went directly to *Ibrahim Pasha* to put him out of pain, by assuring him, that there were no Orders come in relation unto him, and that their business was only to bring the *Mufti*. Whilst they were thus discoursing, a noise was heard in the Street and *Ibrahim* looking out of the Window, saw a multitude of People gathering about the Door, which the Bey said, might be out of curiosity to see the *Mufti* their new Guest. In a few minutes afterwards, in came the *Capugibashee*; and killing *Ibrahim's* Vell fate down by him, and being asked what News, he said, all is well; and then discoursing of general things, he drank his Coffee, and having smoked his Pipe, he put his Hand into his Breast, and drew out a Paper, which he gave to his Hand; whilst he was reading of it, he shewed some alteration in his Countenance, for he soon found that it concerned his Life: He had a little Child at that time playing upon his Knee, he kissed it with Tears in his Eyes, and bid his Servants take it away: And then said, *What have I done? They have seized all my Estate, and not being contented therewith, they have sent for my Life. Oh traitorous World!* Whilst he was saying thus much, the *Capugibashee's* Servants threw down the Cord on the Floor, which *Ibrahim* observing to be thick, and rugged, he took it up, saying, This is a Cord one would not strangle a Dog with, and bid his Man fetch him a Bow-string, which he soaped with the Soap, he intended to use at his walling before Prayers, and made a Knot to himself: his Prayers being ended he was strangled; and his Head with his Women and Children were brought to *Constantinople*. The *Chimacem* had no mind to see it, for he had been his Friend, and had no Hand in his Blood, which lay wholly at *Regeb's* Door, who was now in a fair way of incurring the same Fate himself: The Money found about him was no more than Nine thousand Dollars.

It was now the Festival of their little *Byram*, when the Grand Seigneur according

to the usual Custom received the Salutes of the *Chimacem* and all the great Men, sitting in his *Kiosk*, or House of pleasure by the Sea-side, with Musick and firing of the Guns which lay at the point of the *Seraglio*.

And now the Fate of the Grand Seigneur seemed to approach; for the Army drew near, and had rejected all the fair Terms, and Propositions which the Sultan had offered them, and yet he still continued to make such Sacrifices to them as he thought might sweeten and appease them. But *Turks* were never used to be overcome by gentle Terms and soft Promises, but by the *Topuz* or Club, or by violent Remedies. For when the Head of *Solyman* late Vizier was brought, they said, it was not that which they looked for, but rather to have had him alive under Examination, to know how he had disposed of the Money, which was given the last year to defray the Charges of the War: Howsoever, the Grand Seigneur still resolved to try them yet farther by such Methods, which he thought might please them, and that was to Imprison, or put to Death all Men indifferently, that were in Office and Power, whether they had deserved well or evil: Accordingly the *Kuzlir Aga* (chief of the black Eunuchs) and *Bostangbashee* were imprisoned in the *Seraglio*, and others put into their places; and these two with *Mahomet Effendi*, Treasurer and Steward to the Emperors, the *Moxur Aga* to *Regeb Pasha*, who was Grandson to the famous *Beitas*, who was *Janisar Aga* when the *Kiosse Valide* was cut off, *Vanni Effendi* *Teskeragee* or Giver of the Writs, *Kapau Chelcheli*, who belonged to the *Arsenal*; *Omar* the Steward of *Regeb* late *Chimacem*, and *Shafan Aga*, who had been tormented to discover his Money, were all sent to the Army to receive such Sentence and Doom, as they should appoint for them: But as these were not demanded by the Soldiery, so some of them were rather preferred than punished by them. For the *Moxur Aga* was sent to command the *Janisaries* in *Candia*, the *Bostangbashee* and *Segmenbashee*, were set at liberty, and the former sent *Pasha* to *Mytilene*, and the other to Command the Forces in the *Morea* against the *Venetians*; the others were held under Examination, being obliged to render an Account of the publick Monies, which had passed through their Hands; but none of them was acquitted without paying a Ranom. The *Kuzlir Aga* was fined at Three hundred Purfes, besides his Goods and Furniture, which were very rich, he having Two hundred Sable Vests, which were never made up, all which were seized, and he banished to Grand *Cairo*, the *Afylum* or Receptacle of unfor-

1687. unfortunate *Eunuchs*. The Grand Seignior, finding himself now strip of all his faithful and old Friends, which he had imprudently destroyed or faintly delivered up into the Hands of his Enemies; began to grow desperate; and as such, resolved to play the last Game of Cowardize and Cruelty, which was by the assistance of his Pages and Servants near his Person, to cut off his Sons and two Brothers; that so none remaining alive of the *Ottoman* Line, the Soldiers would be obliged to suffer him to Reign, and Propagate more of the Royal Race. To execute this design with greater ease and security, He sent to the *Eunuchs* who kept his Brothers, telling them that he knowing his Condition to be such, that he could Reign no longer, he desired he might come and see them, and recommend himself and Children to them, for that as he had been merciful to them, and not touched their Lives, so that they would prove kind and compassionate to him and his. This design could not be executed without entrusting it first to the Pages, who were to be Actors in the Tragedy; and they not being all faithful alike, some, or one of them made it known to the *Chimacm*, who immediately charged the New *Kuzlir Aga*, and *Bostangibashee* to set Guards at the Doors of the Brother's Apartments; between whom and the Pages there hapned

some Scuffle: The new *Janisar Aga* had also received Orders to attend with his *Janisaries* before the Gate of the *Seraglio*; and matters being in this manner secured, the *Chimacm* went himself to the Grand Seignior, and admonished him not to precipitate, and engage himself in such a rash and odious Attempt, which the *Janisaries*, who were attending at the Gate would most certainly Revenge without any Regard, or Reverence to his Person. The Grand Seignior had been a little Rough before with the *Chimacm*; but the armed Force being near, so affrightened him, that he began to Treat the *Chimacm* with milder Terms. Howsoever his Children were removed from the *Seraglio*, and the Guards doubled, which were set upon his Brothers. From that time the Grand Seignior lost all his Authority; for the *Chimacm* came no more near him, and order'd the *Bostangibashee* not to suffer him to stir out of the *Seraglio*, so that all the Liberty and Divertisement he had, was to pass his time in a *Kiosk*, or House or Pleasure near the Sea. Howsoever, the Grand Seignior to make Trial of his Authority sent a *Hattetheriff*, or Royal Command to displace the *Segmenbashee*; but it proved of little effect, for the *Chimacm* received it, and said *tis* very well, but laid it by him, and that was all.

The Grand
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The Grand
Seignior
loses his
Authority.

THE REIGN OF SOLYMAN,

The Fourteenth Emperor of the *Turks*.



1687. **B**Y this time the Army was come near to the City, the Vizier in Perfon as far as *Ponte Grande*, which is about Twenty English Miles distant from *Constantinople*: And 1687. about ten a Clock that Night, the *Janissaries* entered the City, with ten Chambers of *Janissaries*. And now did the hour fatal to *Sultan Mahomet* approach; for about two a Clock in the Morning of the 29th of October, the *Bostangebas*, and the *Kuclir Aga* by Order of the Army came to Sequester and confine him to his Chamber. He asked why, and what Hurt he had done: They told him, That he had Reigned Forty years, which was the Life of a Man, and might content himself with that, for that few of his Ancestors had ruled so long. Then did the *Chimacem*, the *Mufti Effendi*, who is principal of the *Green-heads*, or *Mahomet's* Kindred, with the Chief Men of the Law meet together, and held a Council before Day at *St. Sophia*. This *Nakib Effendi* had been a *Kadesteker*, but a few Days before; for the former *Nakib* died of a Fright, taken at the appearance of some *Janissaries* before his Door, which he apprehended came to seize him. After they had ended their morning Prayer about break of Day, they went together from the *Musib* to the *Seraglio*, and entering in, they asked for *Sultan Solyman*, who was brought out to them; and then the *Nakib Effendi*, whose Office it was, as being the Head of the Race of the Prophet, placed him in the Throne, and prayed that he might be prosperous, and increase the Honour of the Empire, and kissed his Hand, as did also the *Mufti*, the *Chimacem* and the others. The Sultan laying his Hand on his Breast bowed and thanked them; after which Ceremony they all retired, and afterwards about nine a Clock Proclamation was made in the Streets, That *Sultan Mahomet* being deposed for his ill Government, *Sultan Solyman* is made Emperour in his place.

The next Day being the last Day of 1687. October, the *Chimacem*, the *Chiausbashee*, and other great Men went to meet the Grand Vizier at *Daout Passa*, a place distant about two English Miles from *Constantinople*; but the *Chiausbashee* was arrested, not that the Soldiers had any thing against him, but only that they might make room for him, who officiated in that charge in the Army.

The first of November the Grand Vizier made his Entrance into the City with a Solemn Cavalcade, accompanied by all the great Men of the Empire both Civil and Military: The *Mufti* tiding on his Left-hand, he went to the *Seraglio*, where he alighted, and taking the Standard of the Prophet, he went with it to the Grand Seigneur, who arising from his Throne went three Steps to meet it, and took it from the Vizier, and gave it to the *Selisslar*; then the Vizier gave him up the Seal also, which being with his Brother's Name, he kept, and returned him a new one, with his own Name. The Solemnity being over, the Vizier went to a great Palace lately *Ibrahim Pasha's*, near the *Janissaries* Chamber, which was provided for him; and the *Chimacem Kaprighi* remained in that where his Brother and other Viziers had formerly resided.

And now it might have been thought, that all Seditions and Mutinies amongst the Soldiery would have ended at this Period. But it seems the Storm was not half over; for

Sultan Solyman made Emperour.

*St. Sophia
Grand Vizier makes his Entry and Salutes the Grand Seigneur.*

1687. for it remained, that the Authours of these Troubles who had been guilty of so much Blood, and death of their Officers, should at length turn their Fury against each other; and so it happened: For the *Spahees* meeting at *Atmeidan* or the *Hypodromo*, and the *Janisaries* at *Etmeidan*, demanded their Pay, and that *Regeb Pasha*, should be delivered to their Hands. The next Day being the 4th of November, *Regeb Pasha* was strangled, and his Body expoled before the *Seraglio* in the Square of *Santa Sophia*, and laid on an old Matt for three Days: It is believed, that tho the demand of his Life proceeded from the Soldiery, yet that it was a contrivance of the Vizier, not only in Revenge for procuring the Command sent to the late *Solymán* for his Head; but out of fear of his Person, who was known to be a Subtle, and a stout Man. The same Day *Cochuck* or little *Mahomet*, a Pestilent Fellow, and chief Head of the Mutinous *Spahees*, with seven other Ringleaders in all the Seditions, was lodged in the great Palace of the *Hypodromo*; and when he went abroad was always attended with a numerous armed Guard, whether out of State, or Fear, is not well known; having a confidence in himself, and his Merits and good Services he had done for the Soldiery, adventured to perfwade them to a quiet, and an orderly behaviour, and to content themselves for the present with three Pays, and to have a little patience for the rest, and for their Donative, until Money could be raised: This admonition founding not well in the Ears of some Soldiers, they presently intilled into the Minds of their Comrades, that this *Mahomet* had been taken off with Money, and was brought into the Association with those, whose business it was to defraud them of their just Demands: Such a sinister Report as this, was enough at that time to have destroyed half their Officers; as it quickly did his business; for immediately they ran to his Palace to look for him there, but missing him, they afterwards met him in the Streets, and pulled him from his Horse, saying, You that brought us hither, and should Speak for us, now look to your self; you Lie in a Palace, Eat High, and are clad in Sables, whilst we poor Fellows are Ragged, and Lie in the Yards of the *Moschs*, and Corners of the Streets; and with that they rushed upon him, and with Clubs and Knives killed him, and Toat his Body in Pieces. This was the buffest Man of any, feared by all, tho an ordinary *Spahee*; he was presented and courted by all the great Men in Town; for no Man was secure of his Head, if he would have infligated, and moved the Soldiers to call for it: Having thus dispatched him, they

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ran to his Palace, and plunder'd all he had there. The *Kuzilr-Aga*, who had escaped, was purified and taken at *Nice*, and brought back and committed Prisoner to the seven Towers; then was *Mahomet Effendi Tefterdar* or Treasurer, *Shaban Aga*, *Omar Kiak*, *Capan Chelebi*, and several others, were sent to the Common Prison: But *Kupriogli* was declared *Moslyp*, or Favourite of the Grand Seignior.

All the care was now to pacify the Soldiers, which was only to be done with Money; and the Art was, how to separate and divide the *Spahees*; as a means whereunto they began to give pay to the *Janisaries*, and to serve them first: This had likely to have begotten ill Blood; but the *Spahees* put them in mind of the solemn Oath, they had made to stand by each other; and the *Janisaries* refused their Pay, without the increase both of their Pay and Donative; but there being not as yet a sufficient Fund for all, the Tumults still continued. This Artifice which was contrived for a Separation, tied the Knot of Union more closely between the *Janisaries* and *Spahees*, so that many *Spahees* came as Guests to the *Janisaries* Chambers, and lodged with them, declaring that they would not touch an Asper of their Pay, until the *Janisaries* were fully satisfied. This Friendship being made between these two Military Orders; the *Spahees* as the more polite and ingenious Men took all the Government into their own Hands, holding their Councils at *Atmeidan*, and what was there resolved, was reported to the Vizier by four of their own Members, and the Vizier being forced to assent unto all their Demands, gave them a Writing to approve of all that they should do, and liberty to use such Methods for raising Money, as they should judge most convenient in this exigence, both to satisfy the Donative, and the Arrears and Increase of Pay.

Notwithstanding all these Condescensions, and tho the means were put into their Hands to pay themselves what they demanded, yet the Troubles and Embroils still continued: For the *Janisaries* suspecting that their *Aga* or Commander in Chief was not cordial to them, nor approving their Actions (for every one was thought to, who did not run to the same height of Madnets with them) they turned him out of his Office, and would have none of their own Body to command them, but one, as in former times, taken out of the *Seraglio*; and such an one they pitched upon, called *Mustapha Aga*, a Chirurgion by profession, who had been Twenty five years in the *Seraglio*, of which he had been eight *Talbengece* or Turbant-folde-
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The Spa-
hees and
Janisaries
unite.

The Vizier
yields to
all their
demands.

The Jani-
saries chuse
a new
Aga.

1687. the late Grand Seignior, and Selictar to the present Sultan; the true cause of this change was, that they would have a raw unpurified Fellow over them, and one whom they could govern, and not one, who knew how to govern them.

The Tumults still continued, and must so until Money could be found, which the Soldiers were now themselves to raise; every Man that had Money must now bleed his Coffers, and redeem his Life with his Riches. The Favourites of the *Seraglio* must pay their Shares, being taxed at vast Sums, the particulars of which were not exactly known; but it was reported, That the *Selictar Aga* to the late Grand Seignior, now made *Palha* of Grand *Cairo*, paid Six hundred Purfes; the *Chiohadar*, or he who is Master of the *Wardrobe*, Two hundred; the *Palha* of *Balsora*, Two hundred; besides many others, who all paid their Assessments, as the Soldiers were pleased to Rate and Tax them.

Then the Chief of the *Spahees* called before them several of the Rich men of the City, and Taxed them each according to what they believed them worth; and sent an Officer, with a certain Number of Soldiers, to go with them to their respective Houses, and stay with them until the Money was paid, and then they carried it to the Treasurer, taking his Receipt for the same. The *Stambol Agasce*, or Mayor of *Constantinople*, was Fined Five hundred Purfes, the *Shahir Emin*, or City Customer Forty, *Sari Ofman Aga* Thirty, besides Ninety which the Exchequer owed him, which he was to remit. Likewise the Grand Signior's chief Physicians, Astrologers and Goldsmiths, and great Numbers more of all sorts and conditions, were all Taxed, and most of them to the full of what they were worth. Thus were vast Sums raised by Military Execution, with which the Grand Vizier was well enough pleased; for the Soldiers had done his business for him, without drawing an *Odium* upon himself; for there being a scarcity, and yet an absolute necessity for Money, it could not be raised by more compendious Methods, than by armed Force. And yet for all this the Tumults continued; for the *Janisaries* not knowing what they would have, assaulted their Officers at Evening Prayer, in a *Mosch* near their Chambers; saying, That they were not there in Council against them, with design to inflill bad Principles into their new *Janisfar Aga*; but no hurt was more done than a few Blows, and an abundance of bad Words.

Nov. 1687. And now about the middle of this Month, after many Complements and Courtships made to the *Janisaries*, they condescended at length to take their Pay and Donative,

The manner of raising Money.

Rich Men taxed.

The Janisaries assault their Officers.

Nov. 1687. They march safe to take their pay.

1687. which were so kindly offered; and those, who had been imprisoned upon paying their Ranfom were set at Liberty. *Mahomet Effendi*, who had been Treasurer, paid One hundred and twenty Purfes; *Shaban Aga* One hundred and fifty, besides Four hundred which had formerly been racked from him by Torments; *Capan Chelebi* Sixty, *Omar Kiak* Thirty five, besides what had been taken from him before: *Mustapha Aga* the *Chiausabhee* Forty, and *Uziel* a Jew was made to pay eight Purfes; and thus sufficient Money being found for payment of all, and the same daily issuing, all things grew calm and quiet; so that on the 17th about eight a Clock in the Morning, the new Grand Seignior went by Boat from the *Seraglio* to *Eiub*, where the *Nakib Effendi*, or Chief of *Mahomet's* Kindred Girt him with the Sword, which is a Ceremony answering to our Coronation; and having said Noon-Prayers at that place, and all the Ceremonies ended, he rode from the *Mosch* in a Solemn Cavalcade through the City back to the *Seraglio*, but not with such Splendor and Magnificence, as had been done in the time of the Grand Seigniors his Predecessors: All People crowded (as we may believe) to see the Features and Fashion of their new Sultan, of whose Person and Abilities Reports had created already a high Expectation. He was of a long, lean, pale Viage, but not of an ungrateful Aspect; his Eyes were full and black, and his Beard was black, but somewhat grizzly, what his Qualifications of Mind were, will be more evidently discovered hereafter, and come then more properly to be described in their due place. But in the mean time we may reflect, that the change of the person of the Prince, could not be of much advantage to the Publick: For what the other did out of a remiss and voluptuous Humour, attending only to his Diversions, and leaving the Care and Management of all his Affairs to the Contrivance and Conduct of his Ministers; this Grand Seignior must now do out of necessity, being wholly unexperienced in the World, having all his Life been kept up in a Chamber, without other Conversation, than that of a few Eunuchs, some old Women, and two or three *Hogiaes*, or Masters to assist him in his Studies. As Books were his Entertainment in his confined Life, so he seemed to have had an affection for them, in the choice he made of *Kupriogli* for his Favourite, who was esteemed in that Country a learned Man, and to have had the best Library of any in that whole Empire. It was said, That he had promised his deposed Brother all security of his Life, and that he should be kept in the same manner, as he was; and that he might

1687. allow him what comfort he could in that manner of Life, he suffered his Children to be with him for some Days; but they were afterwards by the Councils of others taken from him and lodged apart. His other Brother *Achmet*, the Companion with him in his Imprisonment, he visited, and promised to be kind to him; but he was not perfect Master of his Senses; of which we shall speak more when we come to see him on the Throne after the Death of *Sultan Solyman*. The *Hazaki Sultana*, or Empress of the deposed *Sultan*, was sent to the old *Seraglio* there to remain until Death, or some other Revolution of Fortune shall release her: In the place of her, the Mother of the present Grand Seignior, who for some years was reported to be dead, appeared alive, and removed from the old *Seraglio* to her Son, but she was a little Maddish.

Thus were all things turned up-side down; all the great Officers of the Empire, except the Captain *Palha* or Admiral, being changed: Which when a Man seriously considered, and that these Revolutions were carried on by common Soldiers, one would admire that they should pass with so little Confusion, or Bloodshed: For except those six which were killed in the Army, and *Cuchuck Mahomet* at *Constantinople* in a Military Fury, there was only *Solyman* and *Regel* cut off; for the Death of *Ibrahim* at *Rhodes*, did not proceed from them, but from *Regel*. As to the daily Insolences in the Streets, they were not committed by the *Spahes*, but by poor Drunken *Tanissaries*, who had neither Money nor Cloths, and therewith would be supplied from *Christians*, and *Jews*, and *Turks* too. But this was no new thing, but what had been formerly practised by the baser sort of the Soldiers, as often as they came from the War, or were shortly going thither. And now since things were thus changed, some Reformation was expected, and that was to begin in the *Seraglio*; where the first and most plausible thing was the Retrenchment of the Expenses, which during the time of the late *Sultan* had been excessive, the very Baily for the Horses costing One thousand five hundred Dollars, or Three hundred pounds Sterling a Day; the number of the Hawks and Dogs, with the People who attended them was vast, all which were ordered to be reduced; for the present *Sultan* took so little delight in these Diversions, than he was to learn how to Ride; and the Stables were to be reduced to a Hundred Horses, one Hundred and fifty of the Pages were to be made *Spahes*, and the rest were to be changed, and new ones put into their places. The same was to be performed in the Courts and Chambers of the Women;

so that the Retrenchments made were calculated to amount unto Eight thousand Purfes of Money a year, every Purfe being Five hundred Dollars, and may be accounted to be almost a Million of pounds Sterling: The Greyhounds and Dogs, of which there were many Hundreds kept in the *Seraglio* for the use of the late *Sultan*, were all let loose and suffered to run about the Streets of *Constantinople*, where they might have starved, had not the godly Men, whose Religion consists much in feeding Dogs and Cats, taken Compassion on them, and fed them daily with Bread from the Bakers Shops.

These Retrenchments of expence in the *Seraglio* pleased the Soldiers wonderfully, hoping that thereby the more Money would be coming to them; and so they continued very observant and quiet, during all the time that the Money was paying out; but so soon as that began to fail and fall short, they became as troublesome as ever, assembling with great Intolerance at the Vizier's House, threw Stones at his Windows, storming and raging like Mad-men, until such time as with fair words, and promises of Money within a few Days they were for a while appeased.

Thus far had the Soldiery found the ways to raise Money; but now they being at a stand, it was the Vizier's turn to set on foot some new invention, or conjuration for more: But so empty and drained were all the great Banks, that no other way could be thought on, but only to go over the rich Men once more, and to squeeze them to the last Dreggs of all their Estates; to perform which they began with the old *Kulir Aga*, who obtained his Liberty upon payment of Nine hundred Purfes, in all, besides his Furniture, and Curiosities which were taken from him to a great value; and after that he had the favour to be Banished to *Grand Cairo*: The *Hafnadur Aga*, who (as we have said) succeeded him, was displaced, and paid Two hundred Purfes; and the *Aga* of the old *Seraglio* was made *Kulir Aga*; which Promotion was according to the ancient Methods, that every one should rise and succeed gradually, and favoured something of a Reformation. But because this new Tax would not reach the entire Sum required for the Soldiers Pay and Donative; they were forced to Coin out of Plate, and Silver and Gold taken off from the Horses Furniture, belonging to the *Seraglio*: Two hundred Purfes in Gold, and Sixty in Silver; with which every one being satisfied, all was quiet and calm again; and the *Spahes* returned to their own Homes, leaving six of the Chief Mutiniers to remain behind at *Constantinople*. That is to say, one Chief, with

1687. with two Assistants for the white Colours, and the like for the red; and Four hundred Captains called *Boluchabees*, Two hundred for each Colour or Ensign; and these were appointed to hold the power in their Hands, which their Mutinies, and late Rebellions had gained for them.

About this time, the *Turks* proposed at the instigation of the *French* Ambassador; to send a *Chiaus* into *France*, *England* and *Holland*, to acquaint those Princes with the advancement of *Sultan Solyman* to the Throne of the *Ottoman* Emperors. The which Embassy, tho' little desired by the other Ministers, being a Complement insignificant in it self, and which would only cost Money and Trouble, was yet much pressed by the *French*, who were then contriving to do something extraordinary to engage the *Turk* in a strict Alliance with them, being at that time resolved to disoblige, and enter into a War against the Emperor, and all the Princes of *Germany*. But by Troubles afterwards amongst the *Turks* themselves, and by the revived Spirits of Mutiny amongst the Soldiery, their thoughts were to taken up with their Seditions, Foreign Enemies and other Misfortunes, that they thought it not so seasonable to send such triumphant Messages in the declaration of their Affairs, as might have been in more happy and prosperous times. Howsoever the *French* Ambassador and Merchants at *Constantinople*, to evidence their good Affection to the Port, freely supplied the late *Selidur Aga*, now appointed *Palha* of *Grand Cairo*, with two Ships to Transport him and his Equipage to *Alexandria*; and farther to oblige him, lent him in Money and Goods to the value of One hundred and fifty Purfes; for security of which, Pawns were given to remain aboard, until the Debt was satisfied.

And now the Grand Vizier began to appear in publick with the usual Pomp and Equipage; he made his Visit with great State to the *Muski*; and daily held the *Divans* in the *Seraglio*, besides those at his own House.

The new *Sultan* had been so little a while in the Government, that he could not as yet give many Indications of his Temper; but as to what appeared of him at first, he seemed very devout, a strict observer of his Law, and much addicted to reading, so that he could not shake off his habitual retiredness, nor enjoy the pleasures of a Court, and of such a Throne as anciently cast off all the Cares of it, on the Vizier and other Ministers; for he neither conversed with Women, nor took any publick Diversion. In the mean time his deposed Brother *Sultan Mahomet*, who had always used much Exercise,

1687. began by an unaccustomed Confinement to be tainted with the Scurvy; his Legs swelled, and gave Symptoms of the Dropsy. Wherefore he sent to his Brother the present *Sultan*, desiring that some Physicians might be permitted to come to him for his Cure. But grave *Solyman* returned him answer, That in case he should allow that, and he miscarry, the World would say, that he was an occasion of his Death; so that in lieu of the Physicians he would pray for God for him, and he who sent the Sicknes could give him a Cure.

These civil Commotions and Mutinies amongst the Soldiers were more dangerous to the *Ottoman* State, than all the Ruins, Defeats and Losses they had received from the Enemy; and gave the Imperialists an opportunity to act, and succeed in all their Enterprizes in *Hungary*, and march and rove with their Parties through the whole Country without opposition or controule: But the Season of the year being too much advanced, it was thought time to draw the *Christian Army* drawn into Winter-quarters. The Count *Dunawalt* after he had fortified and secured the Castles, and Places which he had taken, quartered his Army at *Poffega*, *Valkovar*, and other places bordering upon *Croatia*. Likewise the two Regiments of *Palfy* and *Staremburg*, which had lately been detached from the Duke of *Lorraine's* Army, to attend the Emperor's service at *Poffurium*, on occasion of the Coronation of *Joseph*, King of the *Romans*, joyined with some other *Hungarian* Troops near *Buda*, attacked in their way thither the Fortresses of *Cinca* and *Palotta*, and took them; by which the Garrison of *Alba Regalis* was much strengthened, and disabled from making Incursions so far as the *Danube*.

The Duke of *Lorraine* marching (as we have said) towards *Transylvania*, resolved to take Quarters for his Army in that fruitful Principality, as yet not much wasted with the War; and the better to prepare them, dispatched away the Baron *Hunfchin* with full Commission to Prince *Apafi* to Treat about the places, which might be assigned with most convenience for the Soldiery, and ease to the People. *Hunfchin* speedily returned with advice, that he had been favourably received by *Apafi*, who having assembled several of his *Boyers*, or Noblemen together, had resolved to send Deputies to the Duke of *Lorraine*, giving him to understand, the great joy and satisfaction they had received by the happy Successes of the Imperial Arms, by which they flattered themselves so far, as to believe that they should now be freed from the Tyranny and oppression of the *Ottoman* Yoke, and that

He writes his Brother Achmet.

Referrals to the charge.

Reformation in the Government.

The French desire to engage the Turks to them.

New Commotions.

Money wanted, but is found.

The Vizier appears in publick.

The Christian of the new Grand Seignior.

The Spahes return home.

Apafi is the Duke of Lorraine.

1687. as a Testimony thereof, they had readily consented to afford all the succour and subsistence they were able to the maintenance of the Christian Troops, during the whole Winter season. But as to assign them places for Quarters within the Principality of Transylvania, they instantly desired to be acquiesced; in regard that such a Concession would greatly offend the Porte, and lay them open to the Incursions, and to the Fire and Sword both of the *Turks* and *Tartars*. To this Message the Duke of *Lorraine* made Answer in obliging, but yet in general Terms; and in the mean time the Army still advanced without farther Treaty, it being well known that neither the *Turkish* Troops, nor those of the Country were in a capacity to dispute their Passage; so that on the 11th of October, the Army arrived at *Salone*, the first Town of *Transylvania*, where after having without many questions or complements, put a Garrison of about a Hundred Men into the place, they marched forward towards *Clau-ferbourg*: But on their way thither, the Duke of *Lorraine* was met by three Deputies from the Prince and States, who repeated the same Offers, which had been related by Baron *Huntschin* touching the Ammunition and Provisions, with which they would furnish the Troops; to which they added also an offer of some Money; but as to assigning places for Winter-quarters, it was a matter impossible, and of the most dangerous consequence to them in the World; since that their Country lying open, and without defence, would thereby be exposed to all the Hostilities, which the most barbarous and cruel Enemy in the World could execute. The Duke of *Lorraine* finding that the Commission of these Deputies extended no farther, than what they had declared; returned them back again with Count *Scherf-ferberg* and Baron *Falkenheim*, who were ordered to let Prince *Apafi* know, that since he had refused to assign him Winter-quarters on fair Terms, he himself should be constrained to point them out unto his Troops, and continue his March into the Bowels of his Country. The States of the Principality perceiving the Duke of *Lorraine* to be in earnest, and resolved to obtain his Demands; were contented to grant him Quarters for a certain number, but that not sufficing, he continued his March towards *Clau-ferbourg* or *Claudopolis*, the chief City of that Country, and the place where the States of *Transylvania* did usually Assemble. It is situate in a very fruitful Plain upon the little River of *Samos*; it is encompassed with very thick Walls, and the Houses are very well Built; it is defended by an ancient Fortrefs; the Suburbs are so large and well peopled, that it seems to be another Town;

1687.

Offers made.

A Message from Lorraine.

Clausopolis.

the Inhabitants are both *Hungarians* and *Saxons*, who live in so good unity and correspondence together, that both are equally capable of Offices and Places of Trust in the Government. The Duke of *Lorraine* so soon as he appeared before the Place, sent to the Governour to provide Quarters in the Town for some of his Troops; but he excusing it, and saying, that he could not do it without Orders from Prince *Apafi*, immediately Count *Coprara* was sent to let him know, that his Answer was not satisfactory, and that Orders were given to the Infantry to prepare all things necessary for making an Attack on the Town. Whereupon the Governour considering better of the matter, entered into a Treaty with the Duke of *Lorraine*, who consented to grant unto the Inhabitants these following Conditions.

That the Inhabitants should enjoy a free Exercise of their Religion.

That the Magistrates and Citizens should be maintained in their Liberties and Privileges, and not be forced to pay any extraordinary Contributions.

That every Officer or Magistrate of the City, should be exempt from giving Quarters to any Soldier in his own House.

That what Forage and Subsistence should be necessary for the Soldiers should be furnished in Specie, and no Money exacted in lieu of the same: And that the Soldiers be forbidden under severe Penalties to commit any Disorders, or Abuse the People.

That those Citizens who were unwilling to continue their Abode in the City, but were desirous to depart, might have Liberty so to do, and carry with them all their Goods and Moveables.

According to these Conditions the Garrison of *Apafi*, marched out at one Gate, whilst Three thousand of the Imperialists entered in at the other with Drums beating and Colours flying; and the Command of the Town was given to Count *Guy de Starremberg*, which a strict Countey to punish most severely all Intolerances of the Soldiers; the which was carefully observed; not only in that City, but also in all parts of *Transylvania* since their entrance into it.

The Duke of *Lorraine* having for one day refreshed the rest of his Army in places without the Town, marched towards *Turtenbourg*, which is another important Place in that Country, in which having left a Garrison, he proceeded to *Weissenbourg*, otherwise called *Alba Julia*, to named from the Empress *Julia*, Mother of *Marcus Aurelius*; and entered into it without any resistance. The place is situate on the side of a Hill, whence

1687.

The Conditions with Claudopolis.

1687. whence a vast Plain discovers it self; it is reported to have been the ultimate Limit of the Roman Conquests on that side. Prince *Ragotzki* erected an University there, which was very flourishing and famous, considering the Country.

Hermanstadt, alias *Zeben*, followed the Example of the aforesaid places: It is the Metropolis of the whole Province of *Savoy*, situate in a Plain full of Boggs and Marshes, and no Hills near to command it; the Walls are very thick, and flanked with very great Bastions.

Beltrissa, and all the other considerable Towns opened in like manner their Gates; so that now the whole Army being conveniently Quartered, the Duke of *Lorraine* entered into a Treaty with Prince *Apafi*, and the States of *Transylvania*, and concluded on these following Articles.

I. That the Prince of *Transylvania*, his Children, and all persons of his Household, as also, all the Nobles, and in General, all the People of *Transylvania* may have liberty according to their Will and Pleasure to go out of *Hermanstadt*, or any other City or Town, and return again, as shall be most agreeable and expedient so or for their Affairs.

II. That the Prince, and Michael *Apafi*, his Eldest Son, who is declared Successor to his Father, shall both retain the same Power and Dignity with which the Sultan had invested them, and that the Principality should be governed by them, and the Estates according to the known Laws and Customs of that Country.

III. That the Four Religions allowed in *Transylvania*, that is to say, the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and the Unitarians, or Socinians, shall be permitted to exercise the Rites of their respective Religions, and to have Liberty of Conscience equally indulged to them.

IV. That it shall not be permitted, on any pretence whatsoever, to molest the Priests, or the Ministers of any of the aforesaid Religions in the due exercise of their respective Rites and Ceremonies, nor disturb their Schools, or Colleges, the which with all freedom and liberty shall be allowed, and permitted, and defended by the Authority and Power of the Emperor.

V. That the *Transilvanians* shall be supported, and maintained in their Civil Privileges, and Franchises.

VI. In case any Foreign Power shall invade, and attack the Country of *Transylvania*, the

Imperialists shall use all their power to drive them thence and defend the Country: And the *Transilvanians* shall to that end enter into a defensive alliance with them; the which shall by both Parties be confirmed upon Oath.

VII. The Imperial Troops which have their Winter-Quarters in Cities, Towns, or Villages, shall remain no longer therein, than until the Spring; when they shall be obliged to draw out of those Quarters into the Field, that so they may be no longer a charge unto the several Cities and Countries.

VIII. That in case the Weather and Season should be such, or some other cause intervene, that the Imperialists cannot conveniently draw out into the Field at the beginning of the Spring; there shall be an Article expressly formed for this case; that so an amicable understanding may be continued between the Emperor and Prince *Apafi*.

IX. That a General Act of Amnesty, or Oblivion shall pass of all Outrages and Hostilities which have been committed on one side or the other, wherein all Strangers and Deserters shall be included.

X. That the Burgers and Citizens shall be continued in their Privileges of guarding the Gates, and the Keys of the City shall be committed to the hands of the Saxon Consuls; the which Gates notwithstanding are to be shut and opened at all times when the Imperial Governour shall command.

These Articles being agreed, and concluded between the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Prince and Estates of *Transylvania*, and afterwards ratified by the Emperor, the Troops marched into their Winter-Quarters; and it was hoped, that *Moldavia*, and *Wallachia* being Neighbouring Provinces, would follow the Example of the more powerful Principality.

This Year's Campaign being thus gloriously ended, to the great and lasting Honour of the Emperor, and to the Welfare and Safety of the Empire, and of all Germany, and as we may justly say of all Christendom; The Emperor, the Empress, the Arch-Duke, and the Arch-Duchess *Elizabeth* his Sister on the 26th of October left Vienna, attended only with their ordinary Guards and Ministers, and Officers of their Court, and began their Journey towards *Pessinum*, at which place against this time, circular Letters had been sent to convene a General Diet of the Nobles and States of *Hungary*.

This August Family were met on their way near that City by Two thousand of the *Hun-*

The Imperial Court gave to Pessinum.

1687. Hungarian Nobility, all well mounted, with a splendid Equipage in the Plains of *Chitza*, not far from *Poffonium*; as also by two Imperial Regiments, which attended their Majesties to the Gates of the City, where the Recorder met them; and having Complimented their Majesties with a most florid Oration, offered the Keys of the City to the Emperor, in the Name of the People, who with loud Acclamations, and firing all the Cannon on the Walls, testified the Joy they conceived for the appearance of the most August and Illustrious Family.

The day following, after the Maf was Celebrated, the Assembly of the States of Hungary were convened, where after divers Points were debated, all Difficulties were overcome, and agreed to the common satisfaction, and with the general consent, That the Hereditary Succession of that Kingdom should descend to the Eldest Son of his *Cesarean* Majesty, and from him to all those who shall spring, or be derived from him; and for default of Issue, in case that Line should come to fail, (which God forbid) then the Crown should descend unto the Family of the King of Spain.

The day appointed for the Coronation being come, the Emperor and Empress, attending with a Noble and an Illustrious Train came to the Temple of St. Martin, where the Ceremony was to be performed, and at the Gate thereof were met by the Archbishop of *Strigunium*, Primate of that Kingdom, assisted by all the Bishops, who were Twelve in Number, besides Fourteen Priors, and Abbots, clothed in their Pontifical and Canonical Habits, who with the Sound of all sorts of Musical Instruments, conducted their Imperial Majesties, habited in their sacred Garments, wearing their Crowns, attended with a most pompous Train, and with all the Signals of Empire unto the Altar, and there seated them on their Thrones.

After which the Bishops and other Prelates returned to receive the new King; before whom first marched the Heralds of the Kingdom of Hungary in their Coats: After them followed the Guards, next went the Lacques and Pages, all clothed in new Liveries; these were followed by the Bishops and Chief Officers of that Kingdom, with Ten Hungarian Knights, each carrying a Standard in his hand, representing the Ten Kingdoms anciently appertaining to the vast Dominion of Hungary.

After all which came the King clothed in the Hungarian Habit accompanied with Prince *Elterhazy* the Palatine, and the Counts *Stephen Csaky*, Lord Chief Justice *Nicholas Erdedy* Ban or Prince of the Kingdom of Croatia, *John Drafcovic*, Steward of the

Royal Household, and *Adam Zrini*, Marshal of the Kingdom; the King himself being between Two Bishops, was conducted to the Throne prepared for him, not far from the High Altar, at which Maf was Celebrated by the Archbishop of *Strigunium*, Lord Primate of Hungary; the which being ended, all the Nobility did Homage to the King; who having made profession of his Faith before the Altar, he was Blessed and Consecrated by the Archbishop, and Anointed in the Palm of his Right-hand, on his Arm, and Shoulders; and then the Palatine holding up the Crown in his hand, asked them with a loud Voice, saying, *Coronabimur Josephum Archiducem Austriae in Regem Hungariae*; which is, Shall we Crown *Joseph* Arch-Duke of Austria King of the Romans; which being done Three times, and answer made as often *Coronetur*, or let him be Crowned; the Crown was delivered by the Palatine to the Archbishop, who set it on his Head, and was clothed by him with the Royal Mantle of St. Stephen: Then was the Sword delivered to one Hand, and the Scepter to the other; and thus being adorned with all the Ensigns of Majesty, he was Proclaimed King with the sound of Drums, Trumpets, Acclamations of the People, and all sorts of Musick, the Cannon being at the same time fired round the Walls, and in the Fortresses. Then was the King conducted again to his Throne, and *Te Deum* sung: In the mean time the Maf was continued by the Archbishop, who being come to the Gospel, the Emperor himself arose, and taking the Scepter in his Right Hand, and the Globe in his Left, he held the same in that manner, until the Gospel was ended, and then the Young King received the Sacrament.

All the Ceremonies being ended, the King descended from his Throne, and walked in Procession, habited in his Royal Garments, the Bishops, and all the Orders of State marching before him, to the Church of the *Franciscans* discaled, all the Streets being hung with White, and Red, and Green Cloth, and crowded with an infinite Number of Spectators. Being come into the Monastery several Ceremonies were performed, and the King having conferred the Honour of Knighthood on divers Gentlemen, he was entertained with a Dinner, and some Refreshments, after the Solemnities of Four hours, in the Refectory of the Convent. After which the King mounted on Horse-back, and being attended with a Noble Cavalcade of most of the Nobility of the Kingdom, and always accompanied by the Prince of *Salm*, his Tutor, under Title of Lord High Steward of his Household, he was conducted through the Gate of St. Michael, to a Theatre erected against the Monastery called the Brothers

1687. of Mercy, on which the King ascended; and being seated under a Canopy, all the Guns from the Walls of the City and Fortresses were fired; and then the King in the face of all the People, took an Oath to conserve all the Privileges of that Kingdom, as lately agreed by the Estates in several particulars. After which the Palatine turning to the People, cried with a loud Voice, *Vivat Rex Hungariae*. Then the King defended, and went in like manner as before, to another Theatre raised on a little Hill near the Fifth-gate; where unheathing his Sword, he therewith made Four Crosses towards the Four Quarters of the World, as a Signal that therewith he would fight against all the Enemies of that Kingdom, and of the most August House of Austria. After which the King defended, followed by the Lord High Chamberlain of the Mountain Cities; and Baron *Viechetei*, of the Emperor's Privy-Council, who scattered Money amongst the People; and being entered within the Castle, all the Canon were fired; and the King dismounting from his Horse, was attended to the Emperor's Apartments with a splendid Train of the Nobility and Gentry; and being thence conducted to the Imperial Hall, he was entertained there with incomparable Musick both Vocal and Instrumental, and with a Sumptuous and Royal Banquet; where also all the Prelates, Grandees, and Strangers were treated at Eighty several Magnificent Tables: After which, the Solemnities and Triumphs of the day were ended with great Joy, Honour, and Satisfaction. And now in this place it is worthy our Observation, that whilst the Germans were employed in the Exaltation of *Joseph*, the Arch-Duke, to the Throne of the Kingdom of Hungary; the Turks were on the other side busy in pulling down, and deposing *Mahomet* their Sultan, and in his place, raising and setting up his Brother *Solymán* to be their Lord and Emperor.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the Blockade of *Agria* continued, and the place greatly straitened by *Marques* *Doria*. And the Duke of *Lorraine* having agreed all things with the Prince and Estates of *Transylvania*, and settled and secured his Army in their Winter-Quarters, found a vacancy to absent himself from the Camp, and ease his mind after the troubles of a long and hazardous Campaign: Accordingly the Duke in company with the *Marques* of *Baden Durlach*, took his Journey towards the Imperial Court, and in his way visited *Marques* *Doria*; and taking a survey of the Blockade of *Agria*, gave such Orders therein, as were most convenient to force a speedy surrender of the place; and thence proceeding to *Poffonium*, he was there received by

his Imperial Majesty, with such Honours and gracious Expressions, as befit the Worth and Merit of so brave and fortunate a General. And having remained some few days at this place, he took his leave of the Emperor, and his Journey to *Insprug*, being all the way honoured with the Praises, Acclamations, and Blessings of the People.

In the mean time *Agria* being miserably straitened for want of Victuals, many died, and others to avoid Famine, abandoned the Town, and fled privately to other places: Those which remained within, grew desperate of all relief: For *Tekely* had promised them Succours, and in pursuance thereof intended to pass the *Tibiscus*; but meeting there with some Forces under Count *Sarau*, was forced to retire, leaving *Agria* to its own Fate: Of which the People having Information, they all arose, and with one consent laying before the Palha their miseries, in which they must (if not prevented) in a short time inevitably perish, they constrained him to propose a Treaty, and send Two Hostages to the Imperial Camp; which being accordingly done, the *Marques* of *Doria* accepted them, and in exchange thereof sent Two others to the City. The Articles were easily agreed, but not so soon executed; for the Palha out of an unnecessary caution, required that the Capitulations should be confirmed by the Hand of the Emperor; in compliance with which demand, *Marques* *Doria* dispatched Count *Anthony of Lamberg*, a *Carinthian* Gentleman, with an Aga, to make tender of the Articles to the Emperor; the which having been examined, were Approved, Confirmed, and Signed by his Imperial Majesty.

The Articles being returned with their Confirmation, and the Writings of Treaty exchanged, Count *Marquis* with a Commissary of the Artillery, was sent into the Town, that with his usual Zeal, and dexterous Management of Affairs, which he had evidenced in several occasions in the Emperor's Service, he might take notice of the state of the place, and the Provisions belonging to it. The Count being entered into the Gates, was received kindly by the People; and with much faithfulness was shewed all the Magazines, Stores, and Ammunition of the place. We must not expect to receive any account of Victuals, for those were long since consumed; but as to Ammunition, there were Twenty thousand Cannon-Bullets remaining, of which Four Thousand were for Whole Cannon; One Thousand hundred Weight of Powder, Twenty thousand Hand-Granadoes, besides great quantities of Bombs and Carcasses, many thousands of Match, One hundred and Ten Pieces of Cannon, five Mortar Pieces,

1687. and nine Mines and Countermines; notwithstanding all which, Famine being a stronger Enemy within, than all the Troops and Forces were without; on the 16th of December the City was surrendered, and according to the Capitulations, Cars were provided, and the Soldiers and Inhabitants with their Women and Children, and with their Goods and Baggage were permitted to March out; and then *Ruffian* the *Pasha* delivered up the Keys of the City, Cattle and Magazines, to the Hand of General *Caraffa*, who at the Head of the Imperial Troops ranged in good order, stood ready to receive them. Then the General conducted the *Pasha* to his Tent, and there treated him with a very sumptuous Dinner; after which he presented him with several fine Horses, and two Carts laden with Refreshments. Various discourses having passed between them, at length *Ruffian* *Pasha* taking his leave, said these words, *Into your Hands, as Commissioner for the Emperor of the Romans I surrender this City without Blood; for having endured a Famine of seven Months without Bread, I could hold it out no longer, but am forced to give up a place, which one of my Emperors took with his own Hands; wherefore you give God thanks; for this and all other Successes are from the appointment, and disposition of the most High.*

All the Garrison, with Men, Women and Children, which marched out, were Three thousand five hundred; about Six hundred remained in the place and submitted to the Imperial Sovereignty. It was sad to hear the Miseries of those People recounted, who had for several Months lived on nothing but boyled Herbs; and if a piece of Horse-flesh could have been purchased with Gold, to dress and put in the Pot with them, it would have been a Feast for several Days. The constancy of this People in their sufferings cannot be sufficiently expressed; so that as the Blockade it self was the most famous of any in our Age, so the Surrender of the place was of high importance; for Thirteen Counties depended thereon, and the Emperor thereby became absolute Master of all that Country, which lies between the *Danube* and the *Tibiscus*; and laid *Mongatz* open and exposed to greater danger, which was already blocked up by Forces quarter'd round the place. Thus having finished the relation of this year's Wars in *Hungary*, it will be pertinent to our History to pass over into the *Morea*, and there take a Survey of that Country, and recount the Exploits and Achievements, performed there this year by the *Venetian* Arms.

1687. At the beginning of this Year, the Senate ordained three days of solemn Devotion to implore the Divine Blessing on the Arms of

that Republick, which was performed with many Processions, expence of Lamps and Wax; and with many Vows and Prayers of the People. So soon as the Season became Ripe and fit for Action, it was resolved by the Captain General, the Cavalier *Francis Morosini*, with the Universal consent of all the Commanders at a Council of War held the 21st of July, to enter the River of *Patras*, and accordingly the whole Fleet, with the Vessels which transported the Land Forces, Provisions and Ammunition looted from *Glimino* on the 20th of July, and made a glorious appearance in those Seas, being composed of Twenty six Gallies, six Galeasses, besides Eighty seven Vessels of other sorts; that is to say, Ships, Pinks, Petaches and such like, who were all Commanded by the Governour *Zaguri*. This Fleet Sailing all that Night with a prosperous Gale, on the 21st in the Morning came in sight of the Castles and Forts of *Patras*; at appearance of which the *Turks* being much alarmed came down in great numbers, and pitched their Tents, some on the Top of a Hill, and others on the side of the main Castle. The better to discover the State and Condition of the Turkish Camp, the lighter Vessels were Commanded to Coast along the Shoar, by which and by some Spies it was known, and advised in what manner their whole Camp was disposed; a Detachment of which under shelter of a Trench, which they had thrown up, fired many Volleys of Small-shot against the Vessels which coasted along the Shoar; but proceeded no farther to annoy their Enemies than unto the end of their Line; which when the Captain General observed, and the difficulty of Landing near those places, he enter'd into the River of *Rumelia*, which in like manner he found to be guarded by great numbers of *Turks*, and a Trench like the former cast up near the Castle. The General *Konismark* (of whom with due Honour we have made mention in the Transactions of the last year, was embarked on the Admiral Gally with the Captain General, to have the better convenience to consult and confer together) was of Opinion, that notwithstanding all the Preparations the *Turks* had made near the Castle, and that the Seraskier of the *Morea* was encamped near the Town of *Patras*, and two other *Pathas* not far distant from thence, and the Banks along Guarded by Parapets or Breast-works; yet, that the most fit and commodious place to Land, was in the River of *Patras* it self; which being agreed, the Troops were disposed in an extraordinary manner of Military Discipline, and order'd speedily to Land, which was done with great Resolution: The first to the Foot on the Shoar were the *Germans*, who were

1687.

Trayers as
Venice for
Secrets.

The Venetian
Army made Sail
to Patras.

The Turks
Trenches.

1687. followed by all the other Troops, without any hindrance, or obstruction from the Enemy at their Landing; because the place being in some manner guarded and defended by a Morass, or Wet-ground, the *Turks* thought themselves on some kind of disadvantage, in case of an Attack.

The Troops being landed, and drawn up in Battalia, the *Germans* led the Van, and marching with great bravery to the Right, were charged by a strong Detachment of the *Turks*; whom they received with such Vigour, that they caused them to Retreat, and afterwards betake themselves to a shameful Flight. This first step being thus fortunately begun, gave Courage to the Christians, and Resolution to the Captain General *Morosini*, to fall on the Seraskier in his Camp before he was reinforced by more Troops, which daily joyned with him. At first landing all the *Venetian* Army consisted of no more than Nine thousand Foot, and Thirteen hundred Horse; those Forces having been much diminished by the Fatigues of the last year, and the Sickness of their Winter-Quarters, but now being recruited by great numbers of *Levents* and *Greeks*, who as Volunteers came over from *Zant* and *Cefalonia*, the Army became numerous and capable to undertake any Enterprize. But to facilitate the Designs; it was adjudged necessary to cut off all Communication between the Castles; the which was no sooner ordered than put in Execution, by the entrance of divers Gallies, which by favour of the Night adventured to pass the *Dardanelles*, or narrow Passages into the bottom of the Gulf, without any other hurt or loss, than of four or five Men at the Oars by a Cannon-shot; the which Gallies were followed by a Galliot and three Felucas, Commanded by *Magnar*, a Knight of *Malta*. This unexpected appearance of the *Venetian* Colours within the *Dardanelles*, as it struck a great Terror and Amazement to the *Turks*, being a Streight which they thought impossible to be passed by any Vessel whatsoever; so it gave the Christians a Resolution to Attack the Seraskier, who according to a Report of certain Prisoners taken in a Boat passing from the *Morea* to *Rumelia* side, lay not far off encamped with an Army of 10,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse; and that a Reserve of 5000 Foot more, and 1000 Horse lay quartered about five Italian Miles from thence. The Gallies within the Gulf made great Triumph with their Flags and Streamers; and made themselves Masters of Fourteen Gallies or Brigantines, which had long served for Capers or Picaroons, to Rob and Plunder in those Seas. This Success enlivening the Spirits of the Christians, it was resolved at a Council of War, to March by the side

The Turks
Retreat.

Some Gallies
passing
the Castles.

of the Hill to attempt the Seraskier's Camp, as a way the least incommoded by the Enemy's Cannon; and where was place sufficient to draw up the Battalions in good order. In pursuance of this Resolution on the 24th of July by break of day, General *Konismark* drew up the Army, and disposed them in order of Battle, and advanced boldly on the Enemy, who consisted of Ten thousand Foot and Four thousand Horse: And in the meantime the Captain General with some light Vessels directed the Galeasses, to destroy a Battery of the Enemy erected near the Sea-side; and to drive out of a Trench two Troops of Turkish Horse, a Marine Regiment was landed under Command of Captain *Negro*, who in a short time made themselves Masters of the Battery, on which were divers Pieces of Cannon, two where- of were of Brass.

The Seraskier enraged at the loss of these places, and seeing the Enemies Troops advance upon him, feared to be assaulted in the Rear, or surprized in their Trenches; to prevent which, he made a Detachment of some of his best Troops to meet the Enemy and Skirmish with them; in which Action tho' the *Turks* seemingly shewed Resolution; yet they did it in that loose manner, running at first as it were on the Face of the Enemy, and then turning their Backs, as if they designed thereby to disturb the good Order of the Christians; who still maintained and kept their Ranks with a Regular Steadiness, and still advanced forward to come unto their desired Engagement. At length about three a Clock in the After-noon the *Turks* began to Skirmish with a Battalion

Commanded by Colonel *Cecilia*, who so well behaved themselves, that they put the Enemy to Flight: Which when the Seraskier observed, he gave out the Signal for the whole Army to Engage, and to Charge the Christians both in the Front and in the Flank, trusting to his Troops, which were much Superiour in number to their Enemies. Their first attack was with the usual Cry of *Alah, Alah*, accompanied with the Volleys of all their Small-shot, after which they fell furiously on with their Scymeters in their Hands. The first Fire was received and sustained by the *Germans*, flanked by the *Croatian* Cavalry of the left Wing, without moving the least Step backwards, and particularly by the old *Veterane* Regiments of *Brunswick*, who according to their usual Bravery, repulsed the Enemy with continued Volleys of Shot; and the Cavalry under Command of that renowned Captain the Marquis of *Carbon*, so vigorously seconded the Foot, that the *Turks* began to give Way and Retreat, and soon afterwards to betake themselves to a shameful Flight. The

1687.

Konismark
draws up
the Army.

A Fight.

M m 2 Christi-

1687. The Turks
defeated.

Christians were very eager to pursue the flying Enemy, but the General Konijmark suspecting some treacherous Ambuscade, gave a stop to the Valiant Heat of his Army.

At the same time, the Captain General took this opportunity to Command Captain Negro with his Battalions to advance to the bottom of the Gulf of Lepanto, from whence all the Forces both of the Fleet, and the Land Soldiers giving a loud Shout, put the Turks into such a Confonation, that they abandoned all their Works raised at the bottom of the Gulf; and giving Fire first to their Magazine of Powder and Ammunition, they followed the Example of their flying Seraskier or General.

In this manner by the Blessing of the Divine Providence, this strong Fortrefs of Patras fell into the Hands of the Venetians, which in former times had withstood numerous Armies of the Turks. In ancient days Emanuel Emperor of the Greeks, finding himself not in a Condition to defend this place against the prosperous, and the then successful Arms of the Turks, resigned it into the Hands of the Venetians to be defended by them, who so well fortified the place with such Works and Cannon, that the Turks laying Siege thereto in the year 1465, were able to avail nothing; but afterwards returning with a more powerful and invincible Army in the year 1496, and laying Siege to the place; after a long and valorous defence was forced to yield it self to the power of the Turk, in whose Hands it hath ever remained, until this year of 1687, when it yielded it self to the Victorious Arms of the Evangelist St. Mark.

So soon as the News hereof came to the knowledge of the Captain General, he immediately weighed Anchor, and by break of Day in the Morning, Sailed with his whole Fleet under the Castle of Rumelia, where he found Mahomet Pasha Encamped with Six thousand Men. This Surprise was so sudden, that the Turks having no time to consult, or send for other Succours or Auxiliaries, with great Precipitation betook themselves to a shameful Flight, giving Fire in the first place to all their Magazine of Powder, the force of which shook down a great part of that Wall which looks towards the Sea. Upon these Successes, the Captain General following the Air of his good Fortune, Commanded all the Fleet to bring their Chace-guns on the Head of their Ships and Gallies, to bear on the Fortrefs of Lepanto, which was a most admirable Structure, and so strong, that in ancient times it had ruined those Armies and Fleets, which had made Attacks upon it: But now the Fortune of the Turks being changed; and therewith their Spirits sunk and grown low,

they were not able to sustain the flot of the Venetians; but taking whatsoever with them, that they could carry on their Backs and Shoulders, they abandoned the place, leaving a free access and entrance thereto at the pleasure and will of their Enemies: Thus did the Venetians in less than Twenty four hours time, erect their Flag on four several strong Fortresses, with little damage on their side, but with considerable slaughter of the Turks, and loss of the greatest part of the Baggage, Ammunition and Tents in their Camp; from whence the Seraskier marched with great fear and haste to Corinth. In these four places the Venetians took Sixty Pieces of Cannon, most of them of Brass, with eight Pieces in the Camp of the Seraskier, and other six from the Camp of Mufapha Pasha, with great Stores of Provisions of all sorts. The News of this happy Success was dispatched to Venice with all diligence by Sergeant Major Nicolo Ross, who embarked on a Feluca belonging to the State, and happily arrived at that City on a Sunday, whilst the Grand Council of ten were actually sitting; The Letters from the Captain General being opened and Read, giving a distinct Account of the Blessings of Heaven on the Venetian Arms, it pleased the Senate to give immediate Order, that solemn Thanks should be rendered to God Almighty in all places of publick Devotion, for his Benedictions and gracious Deliverances: And accordingly his Serene Highness the Doge, assisted by all the Ambassadors and Senators, and Magistrates in their purple Robes, descended into the Ducal Chapel of St. Mark, where Te Deum was solemnly Sung with most excellent Harmony, and Musick of all sorts of Instruments, with firing the Guns, ringing of Bells, and several other Expressions of Joy and Triumph; the which Festival of Joy continued for the space of three Days.

These Demonstrations of publick Joy being concluded, the Senate which hath been always munificent in their Gifts and Honours unto those, who have rendered Services to their Republick, were pleased in the High Council of the Pregadi, to ordain, that to the eternal Memory of the glorious Triumphs of the Captain General Francesco Morosini, that the Horse-tails and Standards, which are the Opima Spolia, or Royal Spoils, taken from the Seraskier or Turkish General in the Field, should be placed in the Senatorian Chamber: And that a Statue of Brats representing the Person of Morosini should be erected, with such an Inscription as might conserve the Glory of his Name to all Ages. The term of time in which Count Konijmark was to exercise the Office of General, was enlarged for seven years,

1687.

The Seraskier flies to Corinth.

Rejoysing at Venice.

Rewards given to the Generals.

1687. years, beyond the time specified in his Patent, with an Augmentation of Six thousand Ducats to his ordinary Stipend, so that for the seven years to come, he was to receive Twenty four thousand Ducats a year; To the Prince of Brunswick a Jewel was ordained of Four thousand Ducats; To the Prince of Savoy a Sword was appointed, with a Hilt set with precious Stones, to the value of Twenty four hundred Ducats; To Marquis Carhon Eight hundred Ducats a year were allotted, as an Addition to his former Salary: All, or most of the other General Officers were gratified with Presents, agreeable to their quality; and such as were Venetians were promoted to Offices, and places of Trust in the State, and some to the Patrician Dignity.

Thus whilst all things were Triumphant at Venice, the Morea was filled with Slaughter and Contemnation of the Turks, who terrified with the entire Defeat and Flight of the Seraskier, and the Surrender of Lepanto, Patras, and two other Castles of considerable Force, resolved to give way to Fortune, and to quit and abandon the Kingdom of Morea. For indeed, the loss which the Turks had sustained, was far greater than it was computed at first; for besides those which were Slain in the Field of Battle, above Two thousand were found dead in the High-ways, in Ditches and under Rocks: And divers Soldiers Adventurers, who to get many Slaves, were so bold as to Roave about in the Country, reported, that in the Fields and Villages, every where they met with dead Bodies and wounded Men. To pursue this Victory, and follow the Foot-steps of Fortune, which so fairly presented it self, the Captain General leaving the great Vessels of his Fleet at the two Castles of Rumelia and Lepanto, entered farther into the Gulf of Lepanto with his lighter Gallies, and coasting along by the Land-side, he so affrighted the Turks, that carrying away with them what Goods were portable, they followed the Foot-steps of their flying Army. And being mad and enraged to leave their native Soil, they carried away with them whole Families of Christians into Slavery: But the Peasants or Country People alarmed hereat, and encouraged by the Successes of the Christians, arose in Arms against them, and recovered back the greatest part of their Wives and Children, as they were leading them into Captivity, killing and taking many of the Fugitives. The Noise hereof served still to amaze and confound the Turks; so that Mufapha Pasha fled with all Precipitation without so much as being purified by the Enemy, taking his March towards Salona, not far from which place he encountered with Ishmael Pasha, who had with

him a Thousand Soldiers, which he brought from Salonica, alias Theffalonia. These two Commanders with fear, and uncertainty what to do, remained some days at Salona; for considering that in case they should remain there, they should lie exposed to the Attack of the Enemy; and then in case they should march and joyn with the Seraskier at Corinth, they were in danger of being strangled by him, for having been so tardy in their March, and so backward in coming to his assistance, wherefore they took a Resolution to become a Convoy to those Families of Turks, who in great numbers with Women and Children had quitted the Morea, and were going to plant themselves in the upper parts of Greece.

In the mean time the Captain General Sailing with Victorious Arms, and a prosperous Gale by the Shoar of the Gulf of Lepanto, came in a short time to take a full view and prospect of the ancient City of Corinth; in the Road of which they came to an Anchor with all their Fleet of Gallies and Galeots: But because that Gulf is commonly subject to bad and tempestuous Weather, and the Navigation in those Seas very dangerous, there being no Port on the Morea side within a Hundred Miles; and on the other, no shelter besides a small Nook or Creek, which is narrow and not capable to receive many Vessels, and the Water shallow; therefore the Captain General proceeding with due caution according to Military discipline, dispeeced some of his lighter Vessels to Fathom the depth of the Waters, and to take a survey of the State, and Condition of the Enemies Camp.

The affrighted Turks seeing the Venetian Fleet in the Road of Corinth, did of their own accord set Fire to all the Villages and Houses round about, and also to the Town it self, blowing up all the Ammunition, and destroying the Provisions which they could not carry with them; and so quitted and abandoned that anciently famous City, leaving it a Prey to their Enemies at a cheap rate, without the least drop of Blood; and thence possessed with a Panick fear marched away to Thebes, there to make their place of Rendezvous for their scattered Troops to unite.

The Captain General being informed that the Turks had deserted the City, or Village rather (as it now remains) and reduced as much as they could of it unto Athens, returned with all speed imaginable to the Castles of Rumelia and Morea, where he had left the most considerable part of his Forces encamped, as also some Gallies and Vessels belonging to his Fleet: And there taking aboard the greatest part of the Infantry, whilst the Cavalry marched by Land, with some Regiments of Foot under the Command

1687.

The Venetian Fleet before Corinth.

The Turks leave and abandon Corinth.

Mufapha Pasha flies to Salona.

Mahomet Pasha put to flight.

The Fort of Lepanto captured.

1687. mand of Count *Konismark*, they all came to joy near the Town of *Corinth*; and thence in order of Battle took possession of the place, where they scarce found a House, or Lodging wherein to cover or shelter themselves; such havoc and destruction had the *Turks* made of every thing besides the Walls: The Gates also of the Fortresses were found open, and an easy entrance therinto; which being possessed by the Companies of Colonel *Bonetti*, and Count *Vertova*, the Standard of St. Mark was displayed on the Walls. The City of *Corinth* was anciently the Metropolis of all *Achaia*; and therefore called by *Lucius Florus Achaia Caput, & Graecia Decus*: After it had fallen under the Government of the *Roman* Commonwealth, many Battles were fought near the Walls of that City, under the Command of several Generals, such as *Critolus*, *Metellus* and *Mummus*. The *Corinthian* Bricks is famous over all the World, for the admirable mixture of it with divers other Mortars, amongst which there was some proportion of Gold which enter'd into the Composition. The Art of making this Bricks is now entirely lost, and the quantity thereof not much at present in the World; for all the ancient Statues of famous Men of *Greece*, erected at *Corinth* of this sort of Bricks, were by Wars and Alterations in the State melted down and carried to *Rome*, which afterwards being worked into Plates, served to cover the Roof of the *Pantheon*, now called the *Rotondo* at *Rome*; and thence by order of the *Barberini* were ripped off, and an Altar made thereof consecrated to St. Peter and St. Paul, in the great Basilicon of St. Peter; the Over-plus of which was turned into a Cannon, and placed in the Castle of St. Angelo; which gave occasion to that saying, *Quod non fecerunt Babari, fecerunt Barberini*.

A description of Corinth.

The Situation of *Corinth* is in a rich and fertile Country, and in a sweet Air, and so near the Sea, that it enjoyed the benefit and use of all the Elements, rendering it a place of Plenty and Luxury, which gave occasion to that saying, *Non curvis homini contingit adire Corinthum*. Near this place is the Mount *Parnassus*, and the Fountain of *Helicon*. From the *Romans* *Corinth* defended to the *Grecian* Emperors, one of which called *Emanuel*, over-threw *Roger* King of *Naples*, who invaded the Countries near *Corinth*. Nor long afterwards the Despots of *Greece* yielded it up to the Republick of *Venice*, who defended it for some years, until overpowered with the force and numbers of *Mahomet* the Second, were at length compelled to give it up to his Tyranny: Since which time it hath ever remained in the Hands of the *Turks*, until this year of 1687, when God favouring the Christian Arms in

this, as well, as in other parts, was pleased to restore this City to the *Venetians*, the ancient Lords and Possessors of it.

The *Albanians* encouraged with these Successes, and the Flight of the *Turks*, pursued after them, and falling on their Rear seized on their Baggage, and all their Beasts of Burden, such as Horses, Camels, Mules and Ases; carrying away Men, Women and Children Captives, with great Dröves of Cattle to the City of *Megara*.

These happy events were followed by the Surrender of Castle *Tornese*, at the first Summons made by Captain *Negro*, upon no other Conditions than that they should save their Lives, and have License to carry away all their Goods and Baggage, which was freely granted to them, with Vessels to Transport them to *Smyrna*. But before their departure, about an Hundred and fifty *Turks*, Inhabitants of that Castle, voluntarily declared themselves Christians, and were desirous of being Baptized; amongst these were many Families of the *Gastuni*, who having a Territory of their own, containing some Hundred of Houses and Cottages, desired all to be received into the Bosom of the Christian Church; all which were in a Solemn manner Baptized together; to the great Confusion and Displeasure of the *Mahometan* Professors.

The Report of these Successes, with the appearance of so great a Fleet at *Corinth*, struck all the Inhabitants of the *Morea* with such Terror and Confonation, that they voluntarily submitted themselves to the *Venetian* Government; as namely *Mistira*, *Sarritena*, *Idrapolica*, all which places were abandoned by the *Turks*: Only *Salona*, a rich Town well peopled, and Situate in a rich Soyl, which lies within a small Gulf so called, sent two *Turks* to the Captain General to offer a Tribute to him, provided they might live under their own Laws and Government; but this seeming a ridiculous Proposition under their present Circumstances, it was absolutely rejected: Whereupon the rich and ruling *Turks* of the City, with fear and precipitation removed their Goods and Families and Fled; and the City yielded it self to the power, and under the subjection of the Conquerour: And so successfully had all things proceeded through the course of this Campaign, that besides the Cities gained with very little Blood, as before related, Three hundred Pieces of Cannon, most of Bricks were added to the publick Stock; besides Thousands of Slaves, Ammunition and Provisions. All things thus falling at the Feet of the *Venetians*, the Land Army both of Horse and Foot encamped near *Corinth*, under Command of Count *Konismark*, whilst the Captain General with the

1687.

The Albanians fall on the Turks.

Castle Tornese surrenders.

1687.

Several Salona.

At Salona.

1687. the greatest part of the Armado coasted round the *Morea*, to visit, and strengthen the places newly reduced, and especially those parts which are bordering on the Gulf of *Egea*. In the mean time many Families of *Greece*, which had for a long time been oppressed by the Tyranny of the *Turkish* Government, made their Petition to the Captain General, that they might be transported to some Country under the *Venetian* Dominion, where they might enjoy Freedom and Security, both in their Religion and Estates. *Morofini* considering well that the multitude of People is the Riches and strength of a Country; and that the *Morea* being almost emptied of People, and desolate by the Flight and Desertion of the *Turks*, easily condescended to their request, and accordingly dispatched the Provost *Pisani* with four Gallies, and some other Transport Vessels to carry away the People, of which many Thousands with their Baggage and Cattle were Embarked, and Landed in divers parts of the *Morea*, where those Families are at present settled. The Successes of the *Venetian* Arms had now gained such Reputation in all parts, that *Mistra*, a strong and considerable place submitted, and followed the Fortune of other places; for the *Turks* therein, at the first appearance only of *Polani* the Provost of *Sarnata*, with some Marine Forces displaying their white Flag, entered into a Treaty and gave Hostages for performance of Articles; the which was soon performed, and the place yielded to the Conquerour. The Surrender of this City produced many other happy consequences, one of which, was, that thereby *Napoli di Malvasia* became greatly frightened, and all hopes of Relief and Succour cut off when on any occasion it should happen to be distressed: And now to terrify and amuse that Garrison, and the Inhabitants, who by the numbers therein, and the Situation of the place were very strong, and able to make a considerable resistance, Captain *Venier* (who was newly returned from blocking up the *Turkish* Fleet at *Rhodes*, many of which Ships were come from *Egypt* laden with Rice, and other Provisions for *Constantinople*) was ordered to appear before the Town with his Squadron of Ships, and some Corsairs, whom he had accidentally met with in the Seas; to which the Capt. General joining some of the lighter Gallies, caused such an appearance to be made, something terrible to the People of *Malvasia*, as might give them an Alarm, and prepare and dispose them to a Surrender.

Several Greek Families transported to the Morea.

Mistra surrenders.

1687.

Malvasia alarmed.

ancient City of *Athens*, in order to which design (tho the Season of the year was far spent) yet the Captain General leaving a strong detachment at *Corinth*, gave Orders to the remainder of his Fleet to Sail to the other side of the *Isthmus*, which is the full compass and circle of the *Morea*; and in his way coming before the Walls of *Malvasia*, he sent a Summons to the *Turks*, who maintained the *Peninsula* of that strong Fortress; but they returning a proud Answer, and shewing a resolution to defend themselves, the Captain General was pleased to bestow certain Bombs and Cannon upon them, which ruined a part of the Town, and did some damage to the Castle; but having a design upon *Athens*, he thought not fit to Land his Men, but to proceed forward to Port *Leon*, where being arrived on the 11 of Sept. both Horse and Foot were immediately Landed, and took their March in an orderly manner to the Walls of *Athens*. Port *Leon* is so called from the Image of a *Lion*, erected on a Pedestal at the bottom of the Port, and may be about six or seven English Miles distant from *Athens*. So soon as the *Turks* of that place had the News of the descent, or landing of the *Venetian* Troops, they abandoned the City and Houses thereabouts, and full of fear and amazement fled into the Castle: Which according to the usual Custom being summoned to Surrender, on fair and gentle Terms, an Answer was returned with proud expressions, evidencing a resolution to defend the place to the utmost extremity. Whereupon General *Konismark* entrenched round the Town, raised a Battery of six Pieces of Cannon and four Mortar-pieces, with which he began to batter the Castle, which was Situate on a high Rock, that on three sides of it was inaccessible; and because that part which lay open was all Rock, without Earth to cover the Men, it was very difficult to make nearer Approaches; so that for the space of eight days, all that could be done, was to shoot fiery Bullets and Bombs into the place, which had to good effect, that one falling into their Magazine of Powder, blew up a great part of the Castle into the Air, burying most of the People in the Ruins.

The Seraskier having gathered some of his dispersed Troops into a Body, took his March towards *Athens*, as if he had intended to relieve the place: Upon advice of which General *Konismark* drew off a strong party both of Horse and Foot, and marched away to meet the Seraskier; whose Spirit being cowed by the late ill Successes in the *Morea*, durst not stand the Shock, or try his Fortune in another Battle, but retreated, and fled with his Forces to strong Holds in the Mountains.

1687.

And is demolished.

1687. A design upon Athens.

Which is Summons'd.

The Castle battered.

The Seraskier draws off.

1687. This shameful Flight of the Seraskier, gave sufficient evidence and proof to the Belieged of the weak and low Condition of the Seraskier, the which being joynd to the late unhappy Accident of blowing up the Magazine of Ammunition, so dispirited the Defendants, that finding themselves without all probable hopes of Relief, they displayed a white Flag, to shew their desires to Capitulate; and accordingly a Treaty was enter'd into and concluded in few Articles.

The Castle of Athens surrendered.

The details of the treaty.

That the Soldiers should march forth without Arms, and with no more Goods than what they could at one time carry on their Shoulders. And 2^{dly}, That in the space of Five days they should quit the place; which was accordingly performed at the expiration thereof; about Three thousand Souls in all going out, of which not above Six hundred men were capable to bear Arms: To which, Licence was given to take so much Provision with them, as might serve to sustain them as far as *Smyrna*, or any other place, to which they were desirous to be Transported. But many of the Greeks being not willing to leave their Dwellings and their Native Soyl, remained still in the City; and amongst the *Turks* about Three hundred professing the Christian Faith, were received to Baptism, of which we find very few Examples amongst the *Turks* in other places, who are as firm and constant to their *Mahometan* Principles, as any Sect in the World are to theirs. Only I observe that the *Turks* in *Greece* are more easily persuaded to embrace the Christian Faith, than they are in other Countries; perhaps because they are for the most part sprung from Christian Parents, and are married to Christian Wives, and have most of their Conversation with them; so that it is no wonder if the Rites and Services of the Christian Religion, which are become familiar to them, should be more easily embraced by these than other *Turks* who are Educated with a detestation and abhorrence to Christianity.

The description of Athens.

In the Castle were found Eighteen Pieces of Cannon of divers sorts and metals; the City it self remained entire with little damage, tho' ruined, and grievously destroyed by other Wars. It was anciently the capital City of all *Attica*, the Walls of which are about Three miles in compass; within which are the Ruins of many stately Edifices, which by Time and Wars have lost their Names and Memory of what they were. There is one Magnificent Palace supported by Pillars of Marble, upon one of which is Engraven in Greek Characters, *This is Athens, the Ancient Seat of Theſeus*: There is also the *Pantheon*, on the Walls of which are Engraven the Figures of the Grecian

Champions; there are also Two Horses to be seen cut in Stone, which are said to be the Workmanship of *Praxiteles*: Moreover there are many other Antiquities there to be seen, which are not the Subject of this History. Only it is observable, That in this place is the best Air of the World, which served to quicken the Wits, and clear the Understandings of Young Students, who were sent to that University to have their Education. This City being thus fallen into the hands of the *Venetians*, the Government thereof was committed to the charge of *Daniel Delfin*, a Nobleman of *Venice*.

Megara burnt.

The News of the taking of *Athens* flying into all the Towns and Countries round about, so terrified the People of *Megara*, that not attending the Assault or Approach of the Enemy, they with fearful Consternation abandoned the place, and carrying with them what in such a precipitate haste was portable, they left the rest to the disposal of the *Venetians*; who considering it as a place rather troublesome than useful, delivered it up to the Mercy of the Flames.

As the *Venetian* Arms were prosperous in the *Morea*, and other parts of *Greece*, under the wife and happy Conduct of the Captain-General *Francesco Morosini*; so were they not less successful in *Dalmatia*, and *Albania*, under the Valorous Guidance of that worthy General *Gerolesmo Cornaro* Procurator of St. Mark.

On the First of September a Squadron of the *Venetian Armado* (distinct from that which was commanded by General *Morosini*) consisting of some Gallies, Galley Ships, and other Transport Vessels, appearing before the Town of *Castel Nuovo*, greatly alarm'd the Garrison, and People therein; of which they conceived the greater Dread and Apprehensions; because they had observed that the Auxiliary Gallies, which had long been hovering about the Coast of *Dalmatia* were come in, and had joyned the *Armado*, attended with great Numbers of Vessels laden with Ammunition and Provisions; and re-inforced by certain Veteran Troops belonging to the G. Duke of *Toscany*.

On the Second of September, *Girolamo Cornaro* Provveditor-General of the *Venetian* Septem. Forces in *Dalmatia* and *Albania*, endeavour'd to Land the Militia, with all necessary Appurtenances of War at a place called *Combari*, which was a Port environed round with Hills and Rocks, and had been a place very proper for Landing, had not the *Turks* prepossessed the important Passes of it, and encompassed it about with a strong Trench; howsoever the *Venetians* resolving to make a descent at that place, drove the *Turks* out of their Trenches, and landed all their Men, and Train of Artillery, with their Provisions and Instruments for War.

The

1687. The first thing there to be done was to discover the face of the Enemy, which *Calbo*, the Provveditor Extraordinary, undertook, and with a Detached Party brought News, that the Garrison of *Castel Nuovo* had lately been reinforced by the Neighbouring places, which the *Turks* were fortifying round about with Trenches, and Redoubts. In consideration of which, it was resolved by common consent that another Descent should be made at a place called *Zelenica*; and accordingly that was performed by the Auxiliaries, assisted by Two Battalions, under the Command of that undaunted General St. Paul, who began a Fight with the Enemy; in which after Five hours time, the *Venetians* became Masters of the first Trenches, and soon afterwards drove the *Turks* out of the second, and proceeded to gain the Hill called *Santa Veneranda*, which commands the place: Where having raised a small Platform, and fortified it with Two small Guns, with which they shot red-hot Bullets into the Town, they soon made it too hot for the Inhabitants to abide, or the Soldiers in their Trenches to maintain: And tho' the *Pasha* of *Bosna* came with all his Forces to their assistance, yet Two thousand Soldiers being seasonably landed by the Auxiliary Gallies on the East part of the Town towards the side of *Ragusa*, gave such an effectual Repulse to the Troops of that *Pasha*, that they betaking themselves to a most shameful Flight, left the Belieged in great Terror and Consternation. In the mean time the *Morlachs*, who are Thieves and Robbers by Nature, and Profession, entered the Town, and fell on the Plunder, which occasioned some Disorder, until the Provveditor General by his Troops, and the Authority of his Person quieted the Tumult arisen about the Booty. After which the Militia of *Malta* advanced according to agreement, with so much courage to the very Muzzle of the Enemy's Muskets, and the false Bray of the Upper-Castle, that Four Cavaliers of *Malta*, and many of their Soldiers lost their Lives in this Action: Howsoever the Post was maintained with so much resolution against the Ottoman Fury, that Marquis *Borro* Sergeant-Major, flanked with some other Troops, coming timely to their assistance, the Enemy was forced to a Retreat, and shelter themselves under the Cannon of the lower Fortresses, leaving slain on the place, the Captain of the Castle, Two Agas, with several principal Officers, and a great Number of the common Soldiers. Thus the *Turks* being driven from all their Posts, and Outworks, which encompassed the Fortresses; and the same possessed by the *Venetian* Arms, the Siege became totally formed on all parts; every principal Commander

A Fight begun.

The Pasha of Bosnia endeavour'd to relieve the Turks.

Castel Nuovo attack'd.

And immediately.

having his respective Post allotted unto him to guard and defend.

The *Turks* observing themselves to be environed on all sides by a well-formed and close Siege, made a vigorous Sally with a Detachment of their bravest and best Selected Soldiers; but were as courageously received, and forced to retreat. Whilst things remained in this posture, Intelligence being brought to the Leaguer, that the *Pasha* of *Herzegovina* was on his march for to succour and relieve the Town, a Detachment was immediately formed out of the *Morlachs* and *Perattine* Troops to oppose him. This *Pasha* having lately served in *Hungary* under one *Atlee-gick* (which is as much as to say the little Horseman) was upon his Death promoted to the Government of *Bosna*, in the place of the other *Pasha* lately defeated; and with that Preference being a little elevated with Pride, marched forward with confidence of Victory, and Contempt of the Christian Camp; and being on the top of that Hill, which was called *Joggee* (or the Gunner) he furiously made a descent on the Quarter of *Perini*, who upon the first Charge received a wound, in his own person; but the Body of his men flood firm and immovable, whilst the Battalion of Sergeant *Major Galli* was pur to the Rout, and fled without looking behind them to the Sea-Coast: To remedy this disorder, Major-General *Grimini*, and the Provveditor-General, with the General of *Malta*, and all the chief Officers of the Army came in to their assistance, and caused the Run-aways to make a stand, and rally again, and make Head upon the Enemy. And then the Colonel of the General's Guards, with several other Captains coming up, with a Body of Granadiers, they mingled themselves with the *Turks*, fighting with their Swords amidst the thickest of them, gave them such a repulse, that at first they began to give way, and afterwards to betake themselves to a shameful Flight, leaving the Field with the Glory of the day to the Arms of the victorious Christians.

In this Conflict Seven hundred of the *Turks* lay dead on the Ground; of which the principal men were *Zambez*, a famous and stout Commander, with many Agas, Bulluckba-shees, and one Cadi or Judge; whose Heads being cut off from their Bodies to the Number of Three hundred, were fixed on Half-pikes, and ranged in order, before the Walls of the Town to be a Spectacle to the Belieged of Terror, and an Evidence of the Victory. Likewise Twelve Colours were taken, together with much Spoil and Booty, which was given as a Reward to the conquering Soldiers.

N n

Upon

1687.

Summons sent to the Town.

The Turks march to relieve the Town.

The Turks march to relieve the Town.

An Assault refused.

The Assaults forced to retreat.

Upon this Success another Summons was sent to the Town, inviting them to a Surrender, upon consideration that the Forces being defeated, which came to their assistance, there remained no other hope of safety than only by yielding themselves on such Articles as should be offered on reasonable terms. The Besieged in Answer thereunto, having returned a plain and flat refusal of coming to any Conditions, all acts of Hostility were renewed, and the Cannon began continually to play, which beat down one of the Towers, and made a large Breach on the Curtain, so that (notwithstanding the bad weather which gave some hindrance) great Advancement was made, to the damage of the Besieged: In like manner another Battery of Four Guns continually plyed the City, and such valorous Attempts were made by the *Venetians*, that in despite of all the Enemy's Fire, and frequent Salles, they made themselves Masters of the Countercarp; amidst all which Action the *Florentine* Troops came seasonably to their assistance.

Whilst these things were in agitation, Advice were brought that Two *Pashas* were on their march with numerous Troops for relief of the Town: And that the *Pasha* of *Albania* being come as far as *Podgoriza*, was hastening with all expedition possible to join the other Troops, for the same intent of giving succour to the languishing City. Upon this Advice the Provéditeur-General *Cornaro*, finding that the Breach made was of Six and thirty Paces in Breadth, and that by the fall of a Bomb into the great Tower towards the Sea-side, directed by the skillful Art of a *Florentine* Engineer, their great Magazine of Powder was blown up, by which many Families were buried in the Ruins, together with divers Officers and Soldiers to the Number of Three hundred Persons: On this advantage, I say, the Provéditeur resolved to make a speedy Assault, before the *Pashas* with their Forces could come to their assistance.

Accordingly the Marquess *Barro*, with such Bravery began the Assault, that in despite of the resistance made by the Defendants, he mounted the Breach, and made himself Master of one of the Redoubts, and thereby opened a free passage to many Troops to enter the Town; in which place also they found an obstinate resistance; for the Men fired out of the Windows, and the Women threw Stones from the Tops of the Houses; and all the Streets were barricadoed up by Carts and Timber laid in the way, which together with bad and rainy Weather, damaged the Assaults in such manner, that they were forced to retreat, and give way to their Adverser's Fortune. In this Conflict a Cavalier of *Malta*, a Lieutenant-Colonel called *Julio*, a *Florentine* Captain, with ma-

ny brave Soldiers of divers Nations were slain, and in all to the Number of Five hundred were killed and wounded. However in despite of Misfortune, those who had possessed the Redoubt, and Breach on the Curtain, maintained their Post, having under obscurity of the Night, covered themselves with Faggots, and Sacks of Wool.

The next Morning being the Nine and twentieth of September, the *Morlachs* resolving to give some proofs of their Valour, prepared themselves to give a fresh Assault, which they performed with such vigour, that notwithstanding the stout defence of the Besieged, and by continual Thundrings of the Bombs and Cannon, they made themselves Masters of a fortified House at the Foot of the Wall, and soon after on the Thirtieth of September, Forty *Seymen*, or Foot-Soldiers, who were placed for Guard of a Tower towards the Sea, and had the defence of a long part of the Wall, came to Capitulations, and offered to deliver the same up into the hands of the Christians, provided they might have liberty to depart with their Families, and necessary Baggage, and might be Transported into *Albania*.

The General consenting hereto, the Tower and Wall were surrendered, and the People civilly treated, according to the Convention: The Defendants of the middle Castle, seeing the lower Fortification in the hands of the Enemy, despaired of all means longer to defend themselves; and so entering into Capitulations, desired Six days time, that in case the Succours came not to them within that Term, that then they would yield unto the Conditions of the Conqueror. But that being denied, and nothing but a sudden Surrender satisfying, the Defendants yielded on the same Conditions as the lower Fortresses had done, marching out only with a single Burden on the Shoulders of each person.

There remained now nothing to be subdued after these Two lower Fortresses, besides the higher Castle of all, the Garrison of which finding themselves dejected of their Two main Bulwarks, resolved also upon a Surrender, the Articles of which were soon agreed upon the basis or foot of those Conditions, which had been granted unto the Two other Fortresses. Accordingly the People of the Castle marched out, to the Number of about Two thousand Two hundred Souls, of which Seven hundred only were capable to bear Arms; the Place was found to have been well provided of all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions, with Seventy two Pieces of Cannon, besides a good Booty for the Soldiers. There were also Six light Frigates seized in the Port, which had been *Corfairs* or *Capers*; having formerly done great

1687. great mischief at Sea, by their Piracies and Robberies.

Thus did *Castel Nuovo* fall into the hands of the *Venetians*, being the more remarkable, because it happened at a time, when Three *Pashas*, with very numerous Troops, were in the Neighbourhood, and as we may say, in sight of the place, with intention to succour and relieve it by force of Arms.

Nor was this Noble Provéditeur-General the Cavalier *Girolamo Cornaro*, less successful, and renowned in taking the considerable Fortresses of *Castel Nuovo*, than he was in relieving and raising the Siege which the *Turks* had formed against *Singh*; the which place this same *Cornaro* had in the Year 1676, taken from the *Turks*, being the first of his Government of *Dalmatia* and *Albania*, and had now in this Year of 1687, the good fortune to preserve and maintain it from returning into the hands of its late barbarous Masters. In which Action this Noble person deserves as much Honour, as he purchased in the Conquest of it: It being no less a Virtue to defend and conserve, than to gain or win; according to that old saying, *Non minor est virtus, quam quære, parva tueri*. It being a great eye-force to the *Turks* to see *Singh*, their own Native Habitation, in the hands of the Christians, they were moved with indignation, and with a passionate desire to recover it again into their own possession. In pursuance whereof *Atlegick* lately made *Pasha* of *Bosna*, drew out his Army in sight of *Singh*, and encamped in the Plan of *Clivino*, where he pitched many Tents; and his Army being increased by great Numbers of *Albanians*, and the choicest Soldiery of the Provinces round about, and provided with all sorts of Ammunition and Victuals both for Man and Horse, and with a considerable Train of Artillery, they thought upon their first appearance to affright the Garrison of *Singh* into a surrender. But the place having before been well provided with all things necessary, and defended by a valorous Garrison, they contemned the Summons of their Enemies, resolving to maintain the place to the last extremity.

Whereupon the *Turks* having raised their Batteries, began to play upon it with their Cannon, but without any damage to the Besieged. Hereupon the *Turks* changed their Attack from that, to another part, where their Horse and Foot were drawn up in Military Order, with resolution to storm the place, which they attempted by break of day in the Morning, falling on with great fury, and with their Scymyters in their hands thought immediately by force of Arms to carry the place: But the besieged so bravely defended themselves, that they gave them

such repulse, as caused them to found a Retreat, leaving behind them many of their Soldiers dead on the place, to the number of about Two hundred, of which the greatest part were *Albanians*. In the Town the loss was very inconsiderable, there being only the chief Engineer killed, and some few persons wounded.

In the mean time the Provéditeur-General *Cornaro* being informed of these successes, resolved to give effectual relief to the Town; and accordingly he detached several Parties of *Morlachs* to infect the Enemy on all sides; which they performed so successfully, that they returned with the Heads of many *Turks*, with Prisoners in Chains, and with a considerable booty, and Numbers of Cattle, having had the fortune to defeat a Convoy which was sent with Ammunition and Provisions to the *Turkish* Camp.

Howsoever the *Turks* still continuing the Siege which had now lasted Seventeen days, to which they had called all the *Nesheres*, which are the Trained-Bands of the Country, and brought thereunto all the Cannon which remained in the fortified places round about; they did not doubt in a short time of the success they desired. But all their hopes vanished away so soon as News came that *Atlegick*, that the *Venetian* Army was on their march to relieve the Town, with which they were so alarmed and affrighted, that raising their Camp, Tents, and Baggage, they quitted the Siege, and ran away with a shameful and precipitate Cowardice. And thus ended the Successes of this Year 1687, to the Glory of God, and Confusion to the Enemies of the Christian Faith.

The Victories and Triumphs in *Hungary* gained by the Imperial Arms, were almost miraculous, as is before related; the successes in the *Morea*, with the subjection of *Patras*, *Athens*, and other places of *Greece*, were wonderful, and the relief given to *Singh*, and taking of *Castel Nuovo*, were all works of the Divine Providence. And when we further consider the Tumults, Seditions, and Mutinies amongst the *Turks* themselves, to the deposing of their Sultan himself, and destruction of their Chief and Principal Officers by the madnes and fury of the Soldiers, even almost to the total destruction of their Empire; we may believe, that the Hand of God was lifted up against this People, to bring them to the brink of Ruin, and Misery, and cause them to cease, and be no longer a People. Let us therefore proceed to the ensuing Year, and therein relate the sequel of the wonderful works of God; in whose hands are the disposal of Empires and Kingdoms.

1688.

ANNO 1688.

THE Emperor, who had from the time of the Incorporation of the King of Hungary remained at Presburg, (otherwise called *Pestonium*) with all the Imperial Court, returned now at the beginning of this year to Vienna, and arrived there on the 26th of January. The Season was now come for making Preparations for the next Campaign against the Turks; and Consultations were held, not only to secure the new Conquests, but to advance farther, and to enlarge the Imperial Dominions; at all which his Cæsarean Majesty was pleased to assist in Person. But in regard the Work was great, and the Charges immense to Recruit the old Regiments, and raise new, to provide Ammunition, Provisions and Forage, for that vast Army which was designed for Hungary; His Imperial Majesty was pleased to convene all the States of Austria, and of his Hereditary Dominions; who accordingly meeting and forming an August Assembly, the Chancellor in the name of the Emperor declared unto them in a Florid Oration, the necessity that there was for a large supply of Money, whereby to carry on the War against the Turks, not only on the defensive part, but also to advance forward in that way, which God had opened, and to enlarge the Dominions and extent of Christendom.

At the Conclusion of the Speech, the States of Austria having with most profound Reverence and Respect, returned their most humble Thanks to his Imperial Majesty for his gracious Clemency, they promised in the most submissive Terms imaginable, to answer the just Demands of his Majesty to the utmost of their Power. The like was done by the States of Stiria, the Governor of which Province called *Stubenberg*, having offered to his Majesty the Sum of Three hundred thousand Florins, besides the One hundred and Sixty thousand, which those States annually pay for Maintenance of their own Charges, both Civil and Military; and of the Militia which is quarter'd on the Confines of *Slavonia*.

Moreover, Messengers were sent to the several Princes of the Empire, to send their respective *Quotas* and *Contingents*, and numbers of Soldiers, according to the ancient Constitutions of the Empire: And in the mean time the Imperial Chamber took such due means, and measures in order to the preparations of all things necessary; that Recruits were made, the Artillery mounted, the Magazines filled with Ammunition and Provisions; and all sorts of Carriages, Pontoons, Boats, Barges, and all other appoint-

ments for War were provided in great abundance. In the mean time the Garrison of *Alba Regalis* being reduced to great Extremities, by Famine, and want of all necessities, dispatched away a certain *Agá* called *Achmet*, with some few Attendants to *Belgrade*, there to expose to the Governours of that place, the Miseries of their languishing City. *Achmet* privately conveying himself out of the Town with his Servants, found by chance a small Boat tied on the Banks of the *Danube*, into which being enter'd, they quietly passed for some Days down the Stream, until they came near to a place called *Erdeedy*, which had not long before been possessed by the Christians: The *Heydukes* perceiving the Boat from the Walls, immediately suspected, that the People therein were Fugitives, then making their Escape; to prevent which, they privately went on Board a *Saick* or Turkish Vessel, and crossing upon them cut them off in their way; and firing on them with their Muskets, forced them to Steer and Row to the other side; but they following them, made them all Prisoners (*Achmet* only excepted) who being very nimble and active, and a kind of a Bog-trotter, escaped over a Marsh with all his Letters; and fetching a compass out of the way, he came over against *Valkovar*, which he supposing to be still a Garrison of the Turks, made a Sign for a Boat to Ferry him over the River; the Boat passing over, rowed and manned by *Heydukes*, seized *Achmet*, who being surprized to see himself made a Prisoner, and thinking, that they were Turks and not Enemies, cried out; *I am a Turk, sent by the Pasha and Garrison of Alba Regalis, with a Verbal Commission only to the Port, denying to have any Letters about him*; but they nisting him, found near Three hundred Letters, which were afterwards sent to Vienna, and translated by the Emperor's Interpreter. And now *Achmet* finding it no time longer to conceal his Business, openly declared with Tears in his Eyes, That he was the more troubled for this misfortune, because that thereby he could not answer the expectation of his Friends at *Alba Regalis*, who had dispeised him for *Belgrade* to give an Account to those Governours of their distressed Condition, and according to such Answers, as they should receive from thence, to take a Resolution either to Defend or Surrender the Town. He farther added, That tho' sometimes certain Hungarian Friends conveyed into the Town some Flour, Pease, Beans and Butter, yet it was in such small Quantities, that all was devoured, and the People therein reduced to such Extremities, that in case a small number of Germans should appear with Cannon before the City, the Bodies of the Garrison,

1688.

Alba Regalis in distress.

Messengers sent to Belgrade.

Ara taken.

Valkovar;

Confession of Achmet.

son, and Inhabitants were become so enfeebled by Famine, and their Spirits so low, that without all doubt, they would upon the first Summons Surrender at Discretion: But to give the Reader a more evident Narration of the Misery of that place, it will not be from our purpose to insert one of the Letters which were taken about *Achmet*, subscribed by the three *Pashas* from *Alba Regalis* to the Grand Vizier, in these Terms. After the Complements and Ceremonious words premised, which are commonly long, and full of Bombastick Expressions according to the Turkish Style, they began in this manner:

Most happy Lord,

If you enquire after the State of this City, and of the Turkish Soldiers therein, and in the Parts adjacent, all that we can say is, That we recommend theirs and our Condition to the most High God, and to the Pious Compassion of your Excellency; for that after all our Stores of Provision, as well new, as old were consumed, there remained a small quantity of Miller, which tho' it were so old and corrupted, as if it had been laid in, at the first Foundation of the City, yet it was delivered out and distributed amongst the Soldiers; the which being also consumed, there remains not one Grane of any Corn amongst us; so that we are reduced to a most extremum, and incredible Extremity: And what is worse, we cannot expect any Relief from the neighbouring parts; for that the Villages round about are revolted to the Enemy, who in the last Summer burnt all our Corn upon the Ground; and in the Autumn made themselves Masters of the bordering Palanques, or Ports, namely *Palotta*, *Chiocca* and *Bacchian*; so that at present being environed on all sides by Enemies, we dare not stir abroad, but are forced to contain our selves within the compass of four Walls. And indeed to speak the Truth, we are in that starving Condition, that many have deserted, and above Eight hundred of the Servants of God, have rather chosen to yield themselves Slaves to the Christians, than to die by Hunger; and many of these have renounced our Holy Faith; nor is it possible for us to binder those, who do daily desert us. Surely, most Pious Lord, The Compassion of our Sovereign is such, as will not permit his innocent People to perish, or to be trampled under the Feet of our Enemies.

Most happy Lord, The Giaours or Infidels, since the taking of *Agria*, are come to take Winter-quarters in the Castles, and Villages of our Neighbourhood, and appear every Day in sight of our Gates; and being puffed up with Pride, since the Subjection of *Agria* and *Of-fecth*, they daily send us Letters and Summons to Surrender; and now lately the third time, we received a most insolent Letter from a

certain Captain, who says he belongs to the Religious at Vienna, inviting us to a Surrender, promising to Conduct us in safety with our Goods and Families to such places, as we shall desire; Threatening upon our refusal to give us no Quarter, but to put us all to the Sword. And now at last another Messenger is come to us from the Commander of *Palotta*, whom out of pure Zeal to our Religion, we put to Death with Thousands of Torments: The next Day after which we made a Sally, in which the Giaours (that is, the Christians) gained the advantage, killing and taking Prisoners, One hundred and fifty of our Zaims and Timariots, putting to Death afterwards all those which they had taken; in Revenge of what we had committed on the Messenger, which they had sent to us; and with these, many of our Servants became Martyrs for our Holy Faith; which struck such a terror into the Minds of our Citizens, Spahes and Jani-faries, that above Two hundred of them conveyed themselves away in one Night.

Most valiant Lord, Besides those Letters, which we have sent by divers Conveyances to give a Relation of our most miserable Condition, we have yet farther to add, that our Soldiers finding themselves desperate, and out of all hopes of Relief and Succour, have sometimes arisen in a Mutiny upon us. For after they had eaten up all the Cattle and Oxen, and Fleish which was in the Magazine, so that an Oke (which is two pounds and a half) of Salt, is sold at four Dollars, and a Bushel of Millet at Twenty four Dollars; in which necessity and Famine, the Soldiers came upon us demanding Pay and Subsistence; saying, That they were obliged to remain only one year in the Town, and that then they should be relieved; but instead thereof, they had been continued a year and a half in Famine, Nakedness, and perpetual danger of their Lives; so that the Jani-faries, who are to the number of Three hundred, have rent asunder all the Linings of the Tents for Cloth, and Linnen to cover and defend themselves against the Cold. Wherefore most Honoured, and most Dread Lord; To quiet and appease the just Complaints and Demands of our Soldiery, we have promised that in the space of a Month, they shall receive both Pay and Subsistence: To which purpose, we have dispatched away the Bearer hereof, with some Camerades of his, to present, and expose our Grievances, Wants and Miseries, at the happy and Sacred Feet of your Excellency, praying unto God, to Conduct him safe to your most revered Presence.

But if notwithstanding all we have said, delay should be made to Succour us with a formidable Army, with Money and Provisions; God knows what will become of us; for in a short time our Business must have an end. If the General of the Emperor should come upon

us,

1688. us, both We, and this City must fall into his Hands. And then neither your Excellency, nor the Port can excuse your selves in saying, That you were not timely advised of our Miseries: For if in the space of a few Weeks we are not relieved, considering the People we have lost, and those which die daily, God knows, you will never see more of our Letters: All depends on your Excellency.

Given at Alba Regalis, in the Month of January, 1688. Subscribed,

Your Servant Seckoghly Achmet
Pascha, called Vizier of Buda:
Your Servant Achmet Pascha, Govern-
our of Alba Regalis.
Your Servant Osman Zagargi Pa-
sha, Commander of the Janissaries.

Besides this, and several other Letters, which were found about Achmet, the Kadi or Judge of the City, had secretly conveyed into his Hands a certain *Arz*, or Memorial, faithfully representing the Abuses of the Officers, and which was to this effect.

Our most gracious Emperour having supplied our City of Alba Regalis, with plenty of Provisions for Subsistence of the People, one half of them is already consumed and devoured, and the other half hath been fraudulently divided between this our Honourable Vizier, and the Zagargibahce, who is Commander of the Garrison, and which they have sold abroad, and put the Money into their own Purse, by Reason of which the poor People are constrained either to perish with Famine, or to Desert, and Fly into the Hands of the Infidels, who are our Enemies: Besides which, to the great Diminution of our Garrison, many of our People have been miserably destroyed in the frequent Salles which they have made. And because by such Mis-carriages as these, the Mussulmin Cause (or Cause of the Believers) doth greatly suffer; I am obliged in Conscience to make known these false, and treacherous dealings, which are the natural effects of Tyranny and Oppression; for as the Alchoran saith, Allánettulach Alla Zelimín, which is, let the Curse of God fall upon the Head of Tyrants.

This Honourable Vizier by his evil Management of Affairs, and by the insupportable Taxes, which he hath laid upon the Subjects, hath been the cause, why so many of the Servants of God have been trampled under Foot, and so many Villages laid Waste, and why so many Entire Families, have been necessitated to retire for Protection into the Christian Dominions. In short, his Tyranny and Negligence in the Government hath exterminated the Peo-

ple, and reduced this Garrison to utter Ruin, 1688. where at present are scarce Three hundred Persons to be found: And in fine, he is a Tyrant unfit to Govern with an absolute Authority. One day I adventured to Begin a free Discourse with Achmet Aga, the Bearer hereof, touching all these Mis-carriages, in presence of Osman the Zagargibahce Governour of this place; who therewith was so offended, that he laid his Hand upon his Dagger, and would have killed me. I know not more what to say, since it is the Will of God. And I hope, That what I have here declared will be kindly, and graciously interpreted: And so referring all to your Prudence, I remain;

Mustapha Kadi of Alba Regalis.

Given at Alba Regalis, in the Month of January, 1688.

The truth of these Matters was confirmed by a Christian, who had lately made an Escape out of Alba Regalis; with this farther Addition, That the Commanders of that Town were so grievously importuned by the Garrison and Inhabitants, that they were resolved to dispatch another party of Turks, amongst which was one Ali Aga, a subtle and dexterous Person, who had been often a Prisoner, and with one Wribeck a Renegade, with Instructions to represent the State of their Affairs at Belgrade, and to hasten the desired, and long expected Succours. Besides which, the Turks were not wanting with all Diligence, Subtlety, and Money to provide what Sullenance they were able, an occasion for which in a short time offered unto them: For Colonel Biserzi Commander of Palotta, designing to furnish Zischba with some necessary Provisions; laden four Carts therewith, and dispatched them away under the Guard, and Conduct of Twenty four Musketeers; which the Turks being informed by a treacherous Person, detached that very Night a Party of Two hundred Men, to lie in wait in a Neighbouring Wood, attending the passage of the Waggon, which so fortunately succeeded, that they surprized them, and brought them with Twelve Musketeers of their Convoy into Alba Regalis.

About this time another Regenado arrived safely in the Town from Belgrade, who gave new Encouragement to the Commanders to hold out, with assurance, that before he came away the Seraskier had already provided great abundance of Victuals and Money, under a strong Guard, which was on their way towards the City. And moreover he reported, That there were other Succours coming to them from Constantinople

1688. flantinople, under such a powerful Convoy as needed not to fear the German Troops, who being sensible of their own Weakness, had abandoned part of their Conquests; as Illoch, Peter Waradin and other Villages, both upon the Save and Danube; so that the Turks having a free Passage, had laid their Bridges over the Save and Drave, designing not only to relieve Alba Regalis, but likewise Sigeth and Kanisa.

The News which this Messenger had brought, was soon afterwards verified, by an Incursion which some Troops detached from the Regiment of Norheim had made into the Neighbouring Woods; into which they had no sooner entered, than they found themselves assaulted by a strong party of Turks, who cut off the Heads of divers of those, who were too far advanced; howsoever the rest made their Retreat good by the Assistance of the Governour of Poffega, who came in to their assistance; at which time also Seven thousand Turks passed the Save, who rifled all the Villages round, and carried away the People.

The Imperial Court being seasonably advised hereof, took immediate Counsels to prevent and obstruct the Succours designed for Alba Regalis, and to secure the new Conquests from returning again into the Power and Dominion of the Enemy: To which end, Orders were dispatched from the Council of War, to the Regiments quartered in all the adjacent parts about Pesth, to prepare themselves for a March; the like Orders were given to the Regiments of Palf and Staremberg, as also to some of the Bavarian Troops quartered in the Counties of Strana and Liptona: Moreover Marshal Caprara received the like Orders, to cause all the Regiments under his Command to March, which lay on the Confines of Croatia: And the like positive Commands were dispatched to the Governours of Croatia; And to all of them Orders were sent to make their Rendezvous in, and about Ofek, so as to be in a readiness to oppose any Attempt of the Turks, and to obstruct their passage over the Drave; and prevent their making Semblin a place and Magazine of Arms: by which means all the designs of relieving Alba Regalis, Sigeth and Kanisa were disappointed.

In the mean time Tekeli not being informed of the Surrender of Mongatz, but supposing it to be much strained, and in a Condition not to hold out much longer, wrote a Letter to his Princells (which was intercepted) wherein he directs her to provide in the Articles of Surrender, that his Goods and princely Coronet, with those Writings and Commissions given by the Sultan in his favour might be preserved, and

permitted to be carried with her; and that for her self and Family, she would do well to dispose of her self and them in Poland, but by no means to commit her Person into the Hands of the Germans, or to abide in any part of the Upper Hungary. But Tekeli hearing that these Orders came too late, and that the Place was already yielded, being full of Anger and Rage, he studied all ways possible to Revenge himself, wasting and consuming all those fruitful Fields and Countries, in the parts adjacent as far as Great Waradin; near unto which he had fortified himself with some Thousand of Men, in a certain Village called Thelegg, where General Hensler had some times beaten up his Quarters: And at length on the 6th of February, passing the River Rerez over the Ice with a strong party of Horse, he fell upon him in his very Trenches, with such Bravery and Success, that Tekeli was put to Flight, leaving Six hundred of his Men dead in the Field; and Four hundred Prisoners taken, amongst which was one Genay a Chief Captain, and second in Command to Tekeli himself, together with Twenty other Officers.

This Success was followed by another of the like nature: For Tekeli having detached a Party into the County of Zaimar to gather Contributions, and forcing the same with Fire and Sword, put the poor People into a most miserable Terror and Conterfation, flying from place to place for Refuge and Protection. Upon advice of which, General Hensler hastened with a Party of Horse, encouraged and flushed with the late Victory, happily encountered the Tekelites, as they were carrying away the Spoil, which they had dislained for Non-payment of Contribution; but they not daring to make a stand, quitted their Hories and their Booty, and saved themselves in the Thickets of a neighbouring Wood. At the same time General Carafa was by order of the Emperour dispatched into Transylvania to settle matters in a better state then before: And being come to Hermanstadt, he was informed that the German Troops were not provided, and accommodated according to Agreement; whereupon he dispatched a resolute Messenger to Apafi, and the States of the Country, giving them to understand, that in case better Provisions were not made for the necessary Quarters of the Soldiers, he should be forced to take such Measures, as were most adequate to the present occasion. Apafi, considering that Carafa was resolute, and not to be opposed in his Demands, made a virtue of necessity, and sent his Chief Minister Teleky, the most esteemed and most honoured Person of the States and Nobility, unto him, to make him a Complement, with all the

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Means taken to hinder the Succours from Alba Regalis.

Tekeli surprised in his Prison.

Febr. 1688.

1688. Tekeli defeated.

General Carafa at Hermannstadt.

1688. Expressions of Submission and Compliance. In pursuance whereof the General took into his consideration the particulars of the several Quarters, and thought fit to advance the Allowance one Third more, than what hath been agreed in the former Treaties. And having made some alterations amongst the Officers, belonging to certain Imperial Garrisons, he fixed his own Head-Quarters at *Hermanstadt*, as being not only the strongest Garrison, but the most proper and convenient place, from whence he might most easily succour and relieve the other Quarters, as occasion served.

Halmet yielded.

Felicit surrendered.

The Name of the *Germans* was become now so dreadful over all *Hungary*, that many strong Fortresses at the first appearance of the Imperial Forces surrendered themselves; as did *Halmet*, a Castle on the Frontiers of *Transylvania*, encompassed with a deep and broad Ditch, and furnished with Draw-Bridges, and Garrison'd by *Turks*, yield up itself to General *Magni*; who proceeding forwards in his March, took in the Fortresses of *Felicit* with as much ease and facility, as he had done that of *Halmet*; by which means he brought above Two hundred Villages under Contribution, and excluded the *Turks* from all Communication with the parts of *Transylvania*.

All things being settled in *Transylvania* to the satisfaction of the Emperor; Baron de *Pace* was detached with Three Regiments, and reinforced with some other Troops under General *Saurau*, with Orders to march towards *Stephanopolis*, a Frontier Garrison of *Valachia*; to prevent the designs of that Despot in case he should attempt anything to the prejudice of the Emperor. But the Imperial Court being sufficiently satisfied that the Despot had no other but sincere intentions to preserve his own Dominion, and beneficent *Christendom*, His Imperial Majesty was pleased to send the Bishop of *Nicopolis* unto him, giving him to understand that he should receive his gracious Assistance in all his designs, and that he would cause the Succession of that Principality to descend upon his Son, acknowledging only that Homage, which from ancient times was paid to the King of *Hungary*. Whereupon the Despot sent an Envoy to General *Carsa* at *Hermanstadt*, to receive Orders and Instructions in what manner to behave and govern his Affairs.

In the mean time the *Turks* in *Alba Regalis*, finding themselves without all relief, and no returns made to those Messages, which they had dispatched by various ways, began again to be very mutinous, and utterly towards their Governors; howsoever they still held out, resolving as they should be hearken unto no terms, which yet to be

offered them by the Enemy. Notwithstanding which, the Marquess of *Baden*, who was President of the Council of War for his Imperial Majesty, being commanded to pass from his Government of *Javarin*, or *Rab*, unto *Ratisbon*, there to reside as Plenipotentiary for his Imperial Majesty at that Diet; did think fit, before his departure, to regulate some Affairs within his Jurisdiction; and particularly to appoint Count *Riccardi*, accompanied with an Interpreter, and a party of *Hungarian* Horle, to view and observe the State of *Alba Regalis*, and to try if he could incline and persuade the *Turks* to surrender; but they being quite of another humour, not being reduced as yet to the utmost point and extremity of Famine, cried out with a loud Voice, that they would maintain their City to the last drop of Blood; and even to more violent necessities than those of *Agria*. *Riccardi* returning with this report to *Giavarin*, the Marquess of *Baden* issued out new Orders to straiten the Town with more rigour and closeness, than before; and not only reinforced the Castles of *Palotta*, *Zioccha*, and *Schambegh*, warning them to be more diligent and watchful for the future to prevent all Communication between *Alba Regalis*, and the Neighbouring Villages; and to make the Blocade more formal, General *Batthiani* was not only commanded to march into those Quarters with his *Hungarian* Troops, but likewise caused them to be reinforced by some of the Militia belonging to the Circles of *Francia*, and other Troops under the Command of Count *Erdeedy*, Lieutenant-General at that time of *Giavarin*: Moreover the Marquess of *Baden* before his departure, disposed the March of the Militia, and ordered their several Quarters in parts adjacent to *Ofeck*, there to oppose the passage of the Enemy over the *Drave*. After which, all matters being well ordered, with excellent Methods and Rules of Government, the Marquess took Post for *Vienna*; where having received Instructions from the Emperor for better Government of his Presidency at *Ratisbon*, he proceeded thither, and there he held several public and private Conferences, for the better Regulation of the Military Affairs for the ensuing Campaign.

In the mean time Recruits were made, and Horles provided to Remount such as wanted them; and whilst it was doubted, Whether the Elector of *Bavaria* could be present in Person to conduct his Army this Year into *Hungary*, upon a jealousy, that the *French* would fall into the Palatinate; yet the Treaty was concluded for the *Bavarian* Troops to continue in *Hungary*, and serve with their best assistance to forward the Progress of the Imperial Arms.

Ma-

1688. Marechal *Caprara* commanding now in Chief in *Hungary*, provided *Ofeck* with all things necessary for their Subsistence; and gave Orders to those Captains, who commanded upon the *Save* to provide great Numbers of Boats, and Barges, and Floats, for making Bridges over that River, and as occasion served therewith to Transport Provisions and Materials for War. The *Turks* on the other side had also Erected another Bridge for the better security of *Bosnia*, and assembled at *Cofanowitz*, on the River *Uma*, with design to make Incursions into the Confines of *Croatia*; but that Country was so well guarded and defended by the vigilance of Count *Erdeedy* the Banto, or Chief Governor thereof, that all attempts of the *Turks* on that side were wholly disappointed, and defeated: And farther to render the Actions of the *Turks* fruitless and ineffectual in *Slavonia*, where they had made Provisions of Victuals and Ammunition, and had laid therewith Lighters and Barges, to supply their smaller Garrisons on the River *Save*, Baron de *Tunkel* was dispatched with a Detachment of Two hundred Horle, and a Regiment of Dragons, with some Haiducks to oppose the intentions of the Enemy; and being come as far as *Valkovar*, the Scouts brought word, that *Rustan* Pasha, the late Governor of *Agria*, with about One thousand Horle and Foot, had conducted into *Idoch* a very great Convoy of about Two hundred Waggons laden with Provisions; and that afterwards he himself was returned unto *Belgrade*. *Tunkel* being disappointed of this Design, was more successful in another Attempt, which he made on a place called *Ratzka*, situate on this side of the *Save*, defended by some *Spabees* and *Janisaries*; to which privately marching in the Night, he surprized the place about Two hours after Midnight, with the Death of about Three hundred *Turks*, and Seventy *Slaves*, and set at liberty Fifty *Christians*, and took Sixty Horles, with great Numbers of Cattle, and Three Ensigns; and having set Fire to the City, he returned in Safety and Triumph to *Ofeck*, laden with Honour and Spoils.

On the other side the Pasha of *Gradisca* having advice that Count *Caprara* was upon his march towards *Ofeck* with a strong Party to Conduct and Convey many Waggons laden with Ammunition and Provisions in order to some extraordinary Enterprize; the Pasha apprehending that his Design might be upon *Belgrade*, resolved to pass the Bridges which he had laid over the *Save*, with design to surprize *Poffega*, and *Zernoch*, and thereby to divert the Attack intended upon *Belgrade*: In pursuance of which the Pasha marched with a Body of Three thousand Five hundred men towards *Zernoch*, but not with that

Privacy as *Tunkel* had lately done; for in their way they set Fire to all the Villages round, and killed the People, which gave such an Alarm to that Garrison, by the affrighted Peasants which had 'escaped, that they immediately put themselves into a posture of defence: And Colonel Baron *Amanazaga* having all News thereof, hastened with a Body of Horle, and some Foot, and came so seasonably to the succour of the Town, that they encountered the *Turks* in their march, and charged them with so much bravery, that they not only put the Cavalry to Flight, but also forced them to abandon the *Janisaries*, and to expose them to the Sword of their Enemies: The greatest part of which to the Number of about Five hundred, were slain upon the place, and Two hundred made Prisoners, amongst which was the Commander in Chief of the *Janisaries*, Four Aga's, and the Son of the Pasha of *Gradisca*, with several Colours, and Drums: The News of which Baron *Amanazaga* dispatched to General *Caprara* with all Expedition.

About the same time, or the Day before, another Party detached from the main Body made an Attack upon the Out-guards of *Poffega*, which being over-matched in numbers, retreated under the Gates of the City: The Lieutenant Governour, to whom at that time with some veteran Soldiers, and subaltern Officers, the Command of the Town was committed, took the Alarm; but not being cautious enough to be informed of the Strength, and Numbers of the Enemy by the Report of the Out-guards, he advanced too far from the Town; which when the *Turks* observed, they made a feigned Flight, with design to bring their Enemy into an Ambuscade, which they had prepared for them, in which they had all miscarried, had not Count *Truxes*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Hollstein*, and Count *Bizzaro*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Lodron*, who were accidentally marching to relieve the Out-guards, come seasonably into their Succour and Rescue; who so vigorously charged the Enemy, that they put them to Flight, and forced them to take Refuge in the Woods and Mountains, whilst the *Christians*, the Night approaching, retired orderly into *Poffega*.

There being in the mean time various Reports at the Imperial Court concerning the State and Condition of the City of *Alba Regalis*; which holding out so long beyond all expectation, it was conjectured, that the Blocade was not strict, or at least not sufficiently guarded and watchfully attended as it ought to have been, which obliged the Council of War to dispatch Orders to Colonel *Riccardi*, that he with his Regiment should March to *Vesprimio*, *Palotta*, and other Neighbouring places, to make enquiry

Alba Regalis in Hungary.

The Emperor's Allowance in Winter-Quarters increased.

C. Caprara commands in Hungary.

The design of the Turks defeated in Slavonia.

Demitio surrender.

The Blocade closely watched.

Raczka taken from the Turks and burnt.

Marquess of Baden at Ratisbon.

Baron Amanazaga defeats the Pasha of Gradisca.

The Garrison of Poffega seasonably relieved.

1688. into the State, and Condition of that City and Garrison. Riccardi according to his Orders marched out of *Giavarino* or *Rab*; and taking with him a Company of *Croats*, and a Party from *Schomberg*, he came to Quarter for one Night at a Village called *Brin*, about a League distant from *Alba Regalis*; and early in the Morning by break of day founding to Horfe, in pursuance of his March he detached Ten *Croats*, and as many *Hungarians* to advance before, with directions to seize and surprize what *Turks* they should meet near the City, that by them they might be informed of the State of the place. But they meeting with none on the way, came up to the very Gates of the Town, which they found shut and unguarded: But soon afterwards they were opened, to give Passage to the Sally of a Party both of Horfe and Foot; the latter of which remained within their Palisades; but the first Sallied out into the Field, having the Renegade *Wrebeck* at the head of them, who coming near, frankly discoursed with the *Christians* in this manner: *Soldiers what is it you demand? May a Man trust to your Word?* To which Answer was made, *That he might*; whereupon he came up boldly to them, and touched the Hand of an *Hungarian* Ensign, and a *Rascian*: By which time *Wrebeck* perceiving the numbers of the Enemies to increase, and to approach within Cannon-shot of the Town, he Demanded, what those Troops were? To which Answer was made, *That they were the Troops of a certain Croatian Colonel, who desired to have conference with the Pasha, or with some other of the principal Officers.* *Wrebeck* promised to carry that Message, and accordingly returned to the City, where at the Gates thereof he met the *Pasha* of that Country, with the Commander in Chief of the *Janisaries*, and with two or three other of the principal Officers of that place; to whom he made a Report, that the Troops without were Commanded by a certain *Croatian* Colonel, who desired to enter into a Conference with the *Pasha*: To which the *Pasha* suddenly replied in these words: *It is well, he is welcome, I will go and speak with him.* These words being over-heard by the Chief Commander, or *Ag* of the *Janisaries*, he arose up in a Fury, and throwing down his Turbant with a Rage upon the Ground, cried out Treachery, and that the *Pasha* had a Design to betray them into the Hands of the *Christians*: And Roaring out Treachery, Treachery, he ran to advise the Vizier thereof, whom he found on one of the Balfions, taking a view of the Enemy's Troops in the Field. The Vizier having heard this saying, Commanded that the Business should be examined, and in case the *Pasha* should be found Guilty, he should be

Colonel Riccardi desires a party with the *Pasha*.

1688.

Jealousies in the Town.

stoned to Death, and his Body thrown over the Walls. The *Pasha* being highly incited upon this so unjust an occasion, took up his *Topuz*, or Mace into his Hand, and holding it over the Head of the *Ag* of the *Janisaries*; said aloud, *What is the matter? And what Noise is this thou makest? Thou art Fool? Thinkest thou, that thou art more brave, or more faithful than I am? Fold thy peace, or by the living God, I will beat thy Brains out with this Topuz.* For what Reason is it, that I am not permitted to speak with that Captain? Will he alone take this City? Let us hear and see what it is that he will say: If his Offers are good, we may receive them, and if bad we may reject them. It was never denied in any part of the World to hear Ambassadors.

In the mean time a great Noise, and Tumult arose amongst the Soldiers at the Gate, and above a dozen Cannon-shot were fired at the Imperial Horfe, which stood drawn up within Musquet-shot of the Gates; and some of the *Turks* mounted on Horfe-back made a Sally, and began a Skirmish, which continued almost two Hours, without any other hurt than of some few *Turks*, who were wounded. Colonel Riccardi all this time could not discover the true State and Condition of the Town; and therefore he gave freedom to two *Turks*, provided that they would procure entrance into the Town, and return with certain advice of the true state thereof: But the Confusion was so great before the Gates, that they were neither permitted to enter, or speak: Whereupon the Colonel seeing little good was to be done, at that present made a Retreat, and was on his return with his Soldiers to *Palotta*; when they espied *Wrebeck*, with some other *Turks* running full speed towards them, as if they intended another Skirmish; but they stopped their Horses and returned back to the Town, and so did the Colonel towards *Palotta*: And having passed a certain Bog or Morass, the River *Sarowitz*, he gave Command to a *Turk* who was his Prisoner, to go that Night to *Alba Regalis*; and having there understood the true State of the place, that he should the next day early return with some certain Report thereof: But the *Turk* desired to be excused, for that in case he were discovered, he should most certainly be Empaled. But the Colonel fiercely commanded him to go, with promise to give him his Liberty at his return: The poor Fellow obeyed out of fear, and out of Religion to the Faith of his Promise and Oath, he faithfully performed the Service enjoined him.

For the next Day being the 30th of March, this *Turk* with Sixteen others well clothed and armed, with four *Turkish* Women, Wives to some of them, and Children escaped out of

A Skirmish near the Gates.

An Uprur in the Town.

1688.

1688. of the Town, and fled to the *Christians*. The Colonel soon entered into discourse with them, and by their Answers to several Interrogatories he put to them, he understood, that amongst those Sixteen there were two of them, which in the late Tumult in the City had been principal Ringleaders of the Sedition, the first called *Hadgi Ali*, and the other *Kara Hassan*, both of them Officers amongst the *Spahes*, and of the number of those, who had broken the Vizier's Windows, and given some Stabs to the Governor of the Castle. And to satisfy the Colonel's Questions more particularly, *Hadgi Ali* gave this following Account of the late Uprour, which had happened in the Town.

On the 27th, said he, of this Month of March, some *Janisaries* and *Spahes* of the Garrison came to me; and said, Friends and Brethren, what are we to do? These our Commanders will neither Surrender up the City to the *Christians*, nor yet give us Provisions wherewith to live: Come let us go to these Tyrants, and require an Account from them, for what reason they treat us in this inhuman manner. The Day following, the *Spahes* and *Janisaries*, to the number of Four or Five hundred, went with me to the Vizier, with whom we found the *Pasha* of the City then present; and I, as their chief Speaker, began in sharp and reflecting Terms, to lay before them our miserable and starving Condition and Aggrievances. The Vizier and *Pasha* with gentle, and most obliging words endeavoured to pacify us, and to lay the blame of all upon the *Ag* of the *Janisaries*, advising us to cite him before the *Kadi*, or Judge, then sitting in the chief Mosch of the City; where being convicted by Justice, they would leave him to our Mercy, to inflict Punishment on him according to our own free Will and Pleasure: And that their intentions might appear more real and manifest, they gave into my Hands an Order directed to the Judge, to give ear unto the Aggrievances of the People, and to those Accusations which they had to charge on the *Ag* of the *Janisaries*. The People here-with went to the House of the Judge, whom finding not at home, they proceeded directly to the *Ag* of the *Janisaries*, who being well provided of the Business, called me to himself and began to speak to me in very kind words. I know, my dear *Hadgi*, you desire that the place be yielded up; and for my part I am contented; and if you will let me go to the Vizier and the *Pasha*, we will soon agree upon Articles for the Surrender. The which we having permitted him to do, he immediately mounted on his Horfe; but the enraged People fell upon him, and had killed him, had he not retired back into the Yard of his House, and shut his Gates upon them; and to save himself from farther Outrage, he barred up himself in a secret place of his House, resolving not to

come forth, until he had received assurances for the security of his Life: The which, when I had given him, with consent and approbation of the People, on Condition that he should confer with the Vizier and *Pasha* in their Resolutions for Surrender of the place, he then went to the Vizier and the *Pasha*; and being all three together, they jointly agreed to call me to their Presence, and caused me, which was a thing unusual, to sit down amongst them, and demanded of me what it was I desired. I immediately answered: Sirs, My Companions have entrusted me to tell you, That if you do not Surrender up the City, but suffer them miserably to Perish, they resolve to Kill you, and to do the Business themselves, and to depart from hence with their Families to *Belgrade*.

These words being uttered with some fierceness, and accompanied with some other Menaces; they expressed great tenderness for the People, repeating their promises to yield unto all their desires: But I was scarce got out from their presence, before the Gates were with despight shut upon us; and the Commanders shewed themselves armed with all their Attendants at the Windows; and the *Ag* of the *Janisaries*, who was more resolute than any, and averse to the Surrender, holding his Bow and Arrows in his Hand, told the People plainly, that he would not consent to the Surrender of the City, but would defend and maintain it to the last drop of his Blood.

The People enraged hereat, drew up into a Body before the Vizier's House; and some of them ran upon the Walls, and drew from thence two Pieces of Cannon, intending therewith to batter down the Vizier's Palace; which was ready for Execution, when the Renegade *Wrebeck*, a Fellow very dear to the People, came with Tears in his Eyes, to dissuade them from so violent an Attempt; and having used many very pungent Arguments to them, he prevailed so far, that the Tumult was appeased.

During this interval or suspension of Arms, I, who was as it were the Tribune of the People, was called again, and desired to appease the Multitude, promising to answer their desires: But they having been so often deluded, refused to give any Credit to their Words, unless they would solemnly swear on the *Alchoran* to yield the City; nor yet would they draw off, and return the Cannon unto the Walls, until such time as they had begun to make some steps towards the execution of their desires.

Hereupon the three Commanders, with some of the Citizens assembled in the great Mosch, as if they intended to agree upon the Propositions, which were to be offered to the Enemies; but in reality they intended nothing less, labouring all that Day to appease the Tumult with Money and Provisions: The Vizier made large distributions to the *Spahes*, and the

1688. Aga to the Janifaries, and the Palha to the Citizens and Soldiers of the Country; and by these means they took an Oath of the People patiently to endure, until St. George's Day, being the 23d of April, which is a Day regarded by the Turks: But howsoever they would esteem themselves absolved from this Oath, in case an Enemy should in the mean time appear before their Walls, and streighten them yet farther by a Siege.

Colonel Riccardi having by this Relation been rightly informed of the true State of the Town, he thought fit to make Tryal of another Appearance before the Walls, and came with more than One hundred Horse within Cannon-shot of the place, which had he done the preceding Day, before the People had taken an Oath to hold out until St. George's Day, the City had most certainly been yielded: But now instead thereof, they made several Shots from the Battering, and killed out both Horse and Foot, without any other execution on either side, than the taking of one Turk, whose Head they cut off in sight of his Companions.

Thus the Colonel having sufficiently been informed of the State of the matter, on which he was employed, he departed from Palotta with his Troops on the 31st of March, and Lodging that Night within a League of Alba Regalis, a certain Janifary well armed and clothed came to them in the Morning, and gave an Account that he was fled from the City with some other Companions, amongst which was an Odababsee, or Captain of the Janifaries, who having been over active and forward in the late Mutiny, feared in cooler Blood to be called to question by the angry Officers. After which, Colonel Riccardi finding little farther to be done, marched back to Buda, as Colonel Biferzi did with his Forces to Palotta.

The obstinate Defence which Alba Regalis made, gave some trouble to the Court at Vienna; both because it was necessary to have it subjected before the beginning of the Campaign; and because the Captive Turks and Deserters were so numerous in those parts, and in the Towns and Redoubts over all those Quarters, as might give just occasion of Jealousie and fear of Danger, in case any design of Massacre, or Assassination should be plotted by them: But so vile and mean were the Turks esteemed, and their price and value so low, that a lusty Fellow was quartered for a Dollar, and a Woman for a quarter.

But we must here take our leave of Alba Regalis for a while, and return to Constantinople, where we shall find the Seditions and Military Mutinies broken out again with more Fury and Danger, even to the very

shaking of the Foundations of the Empire, rather than at the latter end of the last year: For the Cabals daily increased amongst the mutinous Soldiers: They had lately received their pay, and were furnished in all they could demand; their Officers had some of them been displaced, and others strangled, as they were pleased to bestow their Heads and Offices, but not being herewith contented, unless every one of them could be made a Vizier or Palha, they were emboldened to proceed to farther Outrages. There had been a kind of a cessation of these intestine Troubles, for about the space of two Months; during which time the new Sultan was persuaded as a thing accustomary, to send an Ambassador to France, England and Holland, to give notice of his happy exaltation to the Sublime Throne of his Ancestors; but whilst this was meditating, and preparations making for carrying on the Wars of the ensuing Summer, which was designed most vigorously to be acted in the Morea, and in a defensive manner only in Hungary, the Thoughts of sending an Ambassador into Christendom, (as lately designed) were laid aside, which was not unpleasing either to Sir William Trumbal, who was then Ambassador for his Majesty of Great Britain at Constantinople, nor yet to the English Company of Merchants at London trading into the Levant Seas, who could expect to reap nothing but trouble, and expence from such an Embassy. And indeed all things were at a stand by the Infidelities of the Soldiers; the Officers both Civil and Military being discouraged, and at a stop and full Period in the Grand Seigneur's Service, had work enough to contrive, how to guard their own Persons against the violence of the Soldiers, and provide for the safety of their own Lives.

The daily Cabals of Mutinous Soldiers having been held in several places of the City, were adjourned at length to the Vizier's own House, where with Menaces and greater Infidelities than formerly, they demanded the removal of Kuperlee the Chincam Kuperlee from his Office; saying, That he was as bad a Man as his Father, who had split Rivers of Blood, and ruined the Empire. It was an unusual Piece of Favour and Mercy in this People to deal thus gently with him, who were accustomed formerly to be, Executioners of their own Sentence, upon those whom they suspected to be no good Withers to their Side, and Faction. To oppose them herein had been to no purpose, and to expostulate with them had been equally dangerous; wherefore the Vizier being sensible of their Outragious and Irrational Humour, not patient of the least Contradiction, seemed to concur with them in all they asked, and ordered

1688.
We find just
in a Gally
to the Ca-
stle.

dered a Gally immediately to Transport Kuperlee to the Castles, on the Hellespont or Dardanelli: There was no need of Commands, or Force to drive Kuperlee away, for he was affrighted and readily leapt into the Gally, thinking it a happy occasion to save his Life, and escape out of their Hands. The Vizier also at their instance discharged several Officers, which they had nominated, putting the Chief of these Rebels into their places, and renewed a solemn Oath with them to stand by them, and never to be their Enemy; and the Spabees and Janifaries took the same Oath to stand by each other.

The Vizier, as a means to amuse the Mutiniers, and to divert their Thoughts to more orderly and lawful designs, set forth the (Tugb) or Horse's Tail, with a Signal of the Vizier's March into the Field within the space of Forty days; but having been forced in this manner to put out Kuperlee his Brother-in-Law (in whom he much confided) from his Office of Chincam; he knew not any, whom he could more safely trust with the Government of the City, during his absence than Shaban Aga, his own Kaiah, or Deputy in his Business; and to supply his place Zulhas Effendi was nominated to be Kaiah; but very unseasonably, for he was Obnoxious to the Mutiniers, having been Chincam-bahsee, and turned out by them; which when one Tesfesge underfoot (the ablest and ablest Chief Head amongst them) he came to the Vizier, and insolently told him, that if he made that Man his Kaiah, he would kill him before his Face. The Vizier full displeased this Affront, as well as many others; letting these Rebels run on in their mad and tyrannical Government, until they had rendered themselves universally Odious to the People, which they soon did by their Arbitrary and unequal proceedings; for they framed a Project of raising Chimney-Money, of a Zechin yearly on every Chimney; (tho' for Popularity it was contrived, that the Rich should pay for the Poor) they also gave out Rules for quartering Soldiers, and for levying Money by extraordinary Ways, besides innumerable other Violences and Outrages they committed; all which served to the Vizier's purpose, and hastened the execution of the Designs, which had been contrived between him and Kuperlee, to bring them to destruction; but this could not be completed without the consent of the new Aga of the Janifaries, with whom the Vizier had prevailed to joyn, and concur with him.

1688.

Accordingly on Sunday the 19th of February, a Hatte-sheriff (which is a Royal Command under the Sultan's own Hand writing) was sent to the Janisfar-Aga, who assembling the Chief Officers, read it to them,

the Contents whereof were thus; That whereas the Soldiers having lien under many Grievances, and long Arrears of pay, had chosen some of their Body to obtain a redress; which having been granted unto them, and they fully satisfied in all their just Demands, their Duty was now to be Obedient to the Sultan, and to all such as he should appoint to be their Officers, and not to mix in Affairs relating to the Government; and that whosoever should be Refractory should be punished as a Rebel. The Hatte-sheriff being read, the Janisfar-Aga asked them, whether they would be obedient to the Royal Command? To which the Officers (for none but the inferior Soldiers joyned with the Mutiniers) answered, Yes. But Tesfesge cried out, That he was a Villain, and a Rascal who obeyed that Order. Whereupon the Janisfar-Aga calling him Traytor and Infidel, caused him to be carried into an Inner-room, where he was killed, and his Body thrown out before the Gate. After this, the Janisfar-Aga went to the Vizier to give him an account of this Action and Success, with which the Vizier could not but be well pleased, thinking the Business to be ended: And indeed it was a good step to it, for this Tesfesge was the principal Instrument to keep the Spabees and Janifaries united, and the boldest, and most understanding Villain amongst them. And now as if the Game had been sure, the Vizier sent the Tefterdar to Seal up his House in order to a Confiscation of his Estate, and also the Houses of several others of the Chief Mutiniers: But herein the Vizier made a false step, for he should have secured their Persons, before he had sealed their Houses.

For hereupon Hadgi Ali (who was an intimate Companion of him who was killed) fearing the same Fate, presently advised the rest of the Mutiniers hereof, and stirred up the Janifaries, by minding them of the many Oaths they had taken with the Spabees to stand by each other: They assembled at Armeidan, or rather Okmeidan, which is a Field without the City, where they used to Shoot with Bows and Arrows. The Janisfar-Aga hearing of the Assembly, and thinking by his Authority to disperse, and appease it, enter'd boldly into the Field; whom when Hadgi Ali espied, he made up to him, and told him, You have Murdered our Companion, and endeavoured to sow Dissentions amongst us; and striking him on the Head with his Scymeter, he was immediately cut to pieces. This Man was an Armenian Renegade; and as it is said, he was after his Death found to be uncircumcised. After this the Tumult increased; and then they went to the Tefterdar's House, and ransacked it,

1688.
The Grand
Seigneur's
Command
runs to the
Soldiers.

Tesfesge
refuses to
obey
And is killed.

Hadgi Ali
another
Armenian
Fellow.

Kills the
Aga of the
Janisfaries.

1688. it, taking away a considerable Sum of Money, which was prepared and laid up for the Soldiers Pay: From thence they went, and assaulted the Vizier in his own House, where he defended himself valiantly; for having got to himself the *Tefterdar*, the Captain *Pasba*, and a considerable number of Friends and Servants all well armed, he repulsed them thence. At last, thinking to pacify them by the Resignation of his Office (which was a very great Error) he sent for the Mufti, who out of fear was joined with the Mutiniers. He gave up the Seals into his Hands, desiring him to carry them to the Grand Seignor, that he might constitute another Vizier more pleasing, and more capable to Rule his People. This false step disheartened all his Friends and Associates, finding him dejected of all his Authority and Power; the *Tefterdar* and Captain *Pasba* gave way also to the Fury of the Soldiery, and made their Escapes: And the Mutiniers being hereby encouraged, and not in the least softened by this Resignation, fell on more fiercely, and broke into the House of the Vizier, who retiring by a Back-stairs, was pursued by *Hadgi Ali*, and shot with a Pistol, and by others wounded in the Belly, so that his Guts came out: He had fought courageously, having slain several with his own Hand: His Friends would have persuaded him to withdraw himself; But they could not prevail upon him, saying, That he could not live long, and that during his short life, he would not abandon his Wife, and Children to the Fury of these Miscreants. Above Fifty Soldiers were killed before they entered the House, which they spoiled even to the Windows and Doors. His Wife (the Daughter of Old *Kuperlee*) gave them all her Jewels; but they treated her inhumanly, and wounded her; upon which, as then reported, the Miscreant of a Child and died: The eldest Daughter not delivering her Pendants soon enough, they cut off her Ears with them; and a younger Daughter with a Slave, they took away, and sold for six Dollars.

His Wife, who was, as then reported,

Great esteem.

This Tumult lasted three or four Days, when the Rebels seemed to be absolute Masters; for there was now no Vizier, no *Janifar-Aga*, nor any surviving, who had any Authority over them; when a small Accident ruined these Men, and overturned their Anarchy, which was impossible to last: For after they had commenced for the space of five Months, Pardoning or Killing, Raising or Destroying whom they pleased; it happened, that in some of the Shops of the City, four of these *Janifar*ies in the Morning had taken away some Embroidered Handkerchiefs, and other small Commodities which remained there to be Sold; upon which

a great Cry, and Clamour being raised a-mongst the Shop-keepers, by the Encouragement of an *Emir* they all arose, fell on them, and killed two of them; and then the *Emir* putting a Linnen-cloth on a Stick, and lifting it up cried out, *Let all true Muslemen come to the Seraglio, and pray the Grand Seignor to put out the Prophet's Standard and destroy these Rebels*: Upon this, great numbers of the Citizens, who had been highly incensed by their Robberies and Infoleness, got in a Body together and went to the *Seraglio*, which so encouraged the Sultan and those within, that the Standard was set forth about Noon, and Proclamation made in the Streets, for all People to come and Fight under it. The Reverence paid to this Standard, brought an incredible concourse of People of all Conditions and Ages, under the Walls of the *Seraglio*; from whence a *Shegh*, or Preacher called to them thrice, and asked them, Whether they were contented with their present Emperor? To which, Answer was made in the Affirmative, with three great Shouts; but that they would have the *Giarbas*, or Captains, or Ringleaders of the Mucious Militia destroyed: Upon which, Orders were given to seize them: Accordingly Thirteen of them were taken and cut to pieces; the rest fled or absconded. The Mufti also, who had sided with the *Giarbas*, was deprived of his Office, and *Tabac Effendi* put into his place, who had formerly been deposed by the unruly Soldiers: All that night a strong Watch was set about the *Seraglio*, and the next day all was quieted, as if none of these Disturbances had hapned: Only Proclamation was made to Search for the Rebels, of which, as many as were found, were immediately executed. Upon this Revolution, and Turn of Affairs all the great Officers were changed: The *Nisfangi-Pasba* who was an old Man, and for many years had done nothing else, but make the Grand Seignior's Firm on Commands, was created Grand Vizier: And a very young Man, the fifth Page of the R. Chamber, whose Office it is to cover the Grand Seignior's Table, was made *Ag* of the *Janifar*ies: Several *Armenians*, who dressed in the Habit of Soldiers, had mixed with the Tumults, and plundered the Houses of the late Grand Vizier, and *Ag* of the *Janifar*ies, were taken and hanged, and several others were imprisoned upon Suspicion of confederacy with the Rebels. In fine, upon Proclamation made, that whosoever had plundered anything from any of the aforesaid Houses, and should restore the same again in the space of three days, should obtain his Pardon; which had to good effect, that several Sums of Money, were either brought to the new

1688.

The Sultan takes up arms to govern.

Ismael made Vizier by Chance.

Diocery punished.

1688. Vizier, or in the night time laid in the Streets, and next morning restored. And now from this day only may we begin to account the Reign of this new Sultan: Who in the first place to exercise his Authority, by a strict reformation of things, he suppressed Taverns, and prohibited the taking of Tobacco: And to observe what effect his Authority had taken; he walked one day *Inognito* in the Streets, with about eight Servants at a short distance from him, and finding two poor Fellows selling Tobacco, he caused them immediately to be executed. The suppression of this dreadful Mutiny and Rebellion, produced a general Joy and Jubly over the whole City, and served to bring the Soldiery again into their Wits, who had for some Months, like so many Wild and Ravenous Beasts, getting the Bridle out of their Mouths, acted without Reason or Common-Sense. For one would have thought that Men, so lately mortified by the Victories and Successes, which their Enemies had gained over them, should not thereby grow, or become more insolent; or that they who fled before their Enemies, should blush to abandon their Frontiers, and leave them naked and exposed, whilst they marched Five or Six hundred Miles homewards, to reap their Anger on their Commanders, and exercise the little Courage which was left them, against their Citizens and Country-men. But many times we read, that such Turbulences as these, which are like Fevers in the Body Politick, have served to render the whole Composition afterwards more healthful, being thereby purged of many corrupt and malignant Humours.

The Sultan takes up arms to govern.

Ismael made Vizier by Chance.

And so it hapned in this case; for after the Death of *Sciaus Pasba*, and the destruction of the *Giarbas*, it hapened fortunately for the present Vizier *Ismael*, that there was no *Pasba* then in view, on whom to confer this Sublime Office. After which no eminent Men appearing, and of years fitter to support the weight of so great a Charge, then *Ismael*, who was almost arrived to the Age of Fourscore; it was proposed, that he should descend to the Trust of *Chimacam*: But *Ismael* rejected that employment, saying, That in such turbulent Times he could not act with Vigour and Authority, requisite for composing the present distractions, and securing the Peace and Quiet of the Empire, unless he were invested with the Supreme Power and the Seal of Vizier, which in that present Exigency was granted to him: But he having never made any Figure in the World before, and this advancement to so high a Dignity being very accidental, it was really believed, that it could not be of any long continuance, and

that he was rather designed to supply the Vacancy, than possess the Office. But in a few days *Ismael* discovered to the World, that his intentions were not to keep the place warm for another, but to settle himself; and for his own greater security and quiet of the City, he immediately fell to purge with great severity the dregs of those ill Humours, which had disturbed the Government. And so he caused all the chief Servants of the *Giarbas*, and several of the *Spahes*, and *Janifar*ies (who had sided with them) every Night to be cut off and thrown into the Sea, to the Number of about a Thousand, by which the rest being terrified, the Soldiers were reduced to as exact an Obedience, as formerly.

To proceed farther in this Work, the *Tefterdar*, or Lord-Treasurer, who was first put by the *Giarbas* (tho afterwards they would have killed him) was imprisoned in the Middle-gate of the *Seraglio*, and all his Estate seized: Then was the *Kia-bei*, or Lieutenant-General of the *Janifar*ies sent for, and vested by the Vizier as a *Pasba*; but so soon as he was gone out, he was seized, imprisoned, and privately conveyed away in a Boat, and banished to *Nytilene*. The reason why the Grand Vizier made him a *Pasba*, was because that according to the Confiscation of the *Janifar*ies, and that Ancient Cannon, no *Kia-bei*, whilst so, can be put to Death, or Banished, until he is first deprived of that Office.

And now *Kuperlee*, who, as formerly mentioned, was sent away to the Castles at the *Dardanelli*, began to come into remembrance, and to be looked on by the Vizier as his Rival, and a dangerous Competitor, and as such, to be too near the Port: Wherefore to remove him farther off, a Gally was ordered to Transport him to *Canea*, and the same Gally in her return to take *Mustapha Pasba*, the late *Janifar-Aga*, who was not long since banished to *Canea*, and bring him back to the *Dardanelli*.

And farther to purge the Army of all Mutiniers, and punish them for their late Sedition, several of the chief *Giarbas* were taken, flogged, and their Bodies thrown out before the Gate of the *Seraglio*. *Shaban Aga*, the *Kaiah*, or Deputy of *Siaus Pasba*, late Vizier, and his *Hafnadar*, or Treasurer, were imprisoned to make a discovery of the Estate belonging to *Siaus Pasba*, their Master; in Composition for which, upon payment of One hundred and twenty Purfes, they were set at liberty. *Shaban Aga* the Customer was also seized, and Three hundred Purfes demanded of him; but he having been so often fleeced, and squeezed in all Turns, declared himself unable, and so was continued in his Imprisonment.

1688.

March

The Vizier (and several) is seized himself.

1688. In the mean *Teghen*, the famous Robber in *Asia*, who having the last Year brought with him Fifteen hundred men into *Hungaria*, was for that reason made a *Pasha*, by *Solomon* then *Vizier*; and for want of better Officers, the Command of the *Turkish* Forces on the Frontiers of *Hungaria* were now committed to his Conduct: But being a Man always used to Rapine, and Violence, he could not cast off the Trade to which he was accustomed, but fell in upon the Country of one *Zeni* the *Pasha* of *Albania*, which he plundered, and pillaged on all sides where he came, raising great Sums with all manner of Oppression, by the Force and Violence of his Soldiers; which *Zeni* not enduring, opposed and beat them away. Whereupon *Teghen* made great Complaints to the Port; and *Zeni* not knowing what impressions they might make in the minds of the Great Men, appeared in Person at *Constantinople* to make his defence; but so low-spirited were the Ministers at that time, that for fear of *Teghen*, they gave up *Zeni* to be strangled by him. This *Zeni* was an *Albanian* by Birth, and of good interest in his Country, and always bred up to the Wars, and esteemed a brave Soldier; and being now sentenced to Dye, he made it his earnest desire, that he might be sent against the Grand Signior's Enemies, that he might Dye in the midst of them with his Sword in his Hand; but he was to be Sacrificed to the base and rapacious Spirit of a Robber; for to so vile and mean a Degree was the Greatness and Authority of this Empire fallen.

It being now the Month of *March*, when it was high time to form an Army with all Provisions of War for the Campaign, frequent Consultations were held thereupon in the *Divan*. The New *Vizier*, as to himself, was for several reasons unwilling to remove from the Court to the Camp; For he was very poor when he came first to that Office: And tho' the Conjunction was favourable, when he was at first advanced to it, all Offices being then new Farmed, and let out through the whole Empire, which brought him at least a Thousand Purles of Money; yet the Equipage of a Grand *Vizier* for the War was vast, and to one in his condition wholly disurnished of Tents, Horses, Camels, Mules, &c. would be unsupportable: And this gave him a fair pretence to excuse himself from going this Year to the Wars: Nor indeed was it his interest to soon to absent himself from the Grand Signior's Presence, until he had settled himself in his Favour and Acquaintance, and introduced his own Creatures. Moreover his Age was great, and his Experience in the War little; the Preparations

for the War, by reason of the late *Diftra*-1688. ctions, and intestine Troubles, Divisions, and all kinds of ill-management, were become very inconsiderable; so that it was not without favour to the *Vizier* given out, that it was not for the Reputation of the Grand Signior's Seal, and the Safety and Honour of the Prophet's Standard to be so meanly attended. Whereupon it was concluded to make *Teghen* a *Vizier* of the Bench, to send him Three Horse-tails, and constitute him *Sardar*, or Major-General in *Hungary*.

All this while *Teghen* had not been idle, but had pursued his point of raising Monies by all manner of Extortions, and at last very confidently wrote a Letter to the *Vizier*; importing, That in case any Letters should have been wrote to the Port, containing Complaints of his having raised great Sums upon the People; he desired the *Vizier* to peruse the Account, whereby he would find that the Sums he had raised, did almost amount unto One thousand Purles, which he had employed to the payment of his Soldiers, and to provide them with Necessaries, desiring that One thousand Purles more might be forthwith sent him to pay off the remaining Arrears of the Army, which would serve to keep the Soldiers in Order, and Obedience, and put both himself and them in a convenient posture for the War.

But the *Vizier* was not very forward to send him supplies of Money, having taken a jealousy, that by his various motions he intended to set up for himself; for many of his Ancient Comrades came daily flocking over to him, and some privately from *Asia*; and therefore designed to remove him as far off from him, as he could, and give him his Hands full of business with the *Germans*.

Soon after which, this *Teghen* sent his Steward or *Kaiah*, named *Kara Mustapha*, with Letters to the Grand *Vizier*, recommending the *Kaiah* to be made *Pasha* of *Caramania*, and that he might have Orders to forward the *Asiatick* Levies for the War. This the *Vizier* dissembled and granted; and accordingly whilst his *Kaiah* was preparing an Equipage for his Government, other Letters came from *Teghen*, demanding more Money and Soldiers, with the Standard of *Mahomet*, and a power to dispose of all the Offices, and *Pashalucks*, or Government of *Pashas* in those parts, adding that it was very fit the Grand Signior's Seals should be in the Army, as necessary to uphold the Authority of a General, and keep the Soldiers in due obedience. This spoke to plain his intention of setting up for Grand *Vizier*, That a Great Council was convened, where it was agreed to take from him

1688. him even the Office and Title of *Sardar*; and bestowing on him the Title only of *Pasha* of *Temiswar*, *Hafnadar*, or Treasurer, *Hafsan* *Pasha* was again made *Seraskier* in the Room of *Teghen*. To execute this resolution with more Authority, Five *Kapigibashes* were dispatched, with Orders and Instructions, That in case *Teghen* would not accept of the Government of *Temiswar*, and refuse quietly to repair thither; then they were by virtue of a Royal Command under Signature of the Grand Signior, directed to the *Boshangibashes* at *Adrianople*, and in all parts of *Romelia* to raise the *Nefran*, or Trained-Bands of those Countries upon him. And to prevent the passage of *Teghen* into *Asia*, where by joining with a Body of Thieves, and Robbers, and Malecontents of his Party, he might cause great Commotions, the Ways were all laid with Forces to prevent and obstruct his Passage: And that his *Kaiah* neither, might not be permitted to pass into *Asia* to prepare Commissions against the coming of his Master; the Gates of *Constantinople* were shut, and Guards set, not to suffer any to go out of the City. But the *Kaiah*, upon the Rumour hereof, surrendered himself that Evening to the Grand *Vizier*, and had immediately been strangled, had not the *Mufti* vigorously interposed in his behalf, alleging, That it would appear more just and reasonable to secure his person for the present, and to stay, and to see what effects the Grand Signior's Orders would have upon *Teghen* his Master.

These Rumours raised once again new fears and distractions at *Constantinople*; for Reports flew about, that *Teghen* was on his march towards the City, where he had a strong Party amongst the *Giurbas*, and others, giving out that he came to restore Sultan *Mahomet*, or his Son, to the Throne, all which being Fore-runners of a New Civil War, moved many rich *Turks* to leave the City, and some of them to retire to *Grand Cairo*, the Sanctuary of Rich and Opulent *Turks*. The *Vizier* in the mean time to obstruct his March, sent Ten or Twelve Chambers of *Janjaries*, with several Pieces of Cannon to guard an important Pass, called *Mustapha* *Pasha's* Bridge, upon a River in the Marthes, about Six Hours Journey from *Adrianople*: And left he should have another design in his Head of passing over into *Asia*, at the narrow Streight of the Hellespont, *Merza* *Pasha* was sent with other *Janjaries* to *Gallipoli*, where it was probable he might attempt a passage, it being reported, that he had already sent Four hundred Purles, with many of his People by that way. All his Force was reported to consist only of Four thousand Horse; and

it was hoped by the Grand *Vizier*, and other Chief Commanders, that many of these would desert also; and that all the Country of *Romelia*, which had miserably been harried by him, and that the Great Men, who mortally hated him, would unanimously rise to suppress, and reduce him to Subjection.

During all these intestine Embroils, no care was taken to oppose the Foreign and Common Enemy, all being abandoned to their Lust, until they could see an end of the Civil Wars. From whence we may learn, That no Faith or Trust is to be given to Robbers, and Highway-men, like these; for tho' they may by fair words, and specious pretences, come in to the assistance of a Prince, their design is to set up for themselves, and set only on Mischief, on Rapine, on Violence, which their Education had made natural unto them.

Still did the Apprehensions, and intestine Disturbances from *Teghen* daily increase; and *Ismael* the *Vizier* being found to be a Person of all Qualities, Proud, Obstinate, and extremely Avaricious, besides his small practice in Affairs; the *Mufti*, together with the Chief Men of the Law and Sword, gave privately by the hands of the *Kiair-Aga*, an *Arz*, or Memorial to the Grand Signior, representing that they thought themselves obliged in Duty, humbly to make known unto him, that *Ismael* *Pasha* was not a fit man to continue *Vizier*: That such difficult times, as these, required one of the greatest Abilities, and Experience; and that none was better qualified to contend with the dangerous Troubles and Commissions, than *Mustapha* *Pasha*, at present an Exile at the Castles of the *Dardanelli*. The Grand Signior presently agreed to the Counsel, and dispatched a Hatre-Sheriff, or Royal Command to *Mustapha* *Pasha*, to repair to his presence; which he accordingly did; and the next Morning after his Arrival, he visited the Grand *Vizier*; who being informed that *Mustapha* was sent for to be made *Vizier* of the Bench, and to be an Assistant to him in his Councils, for the better Composure of the disturbed Estate of the Empire, he vested him with a Vest of Sables, as a *Vizier* of the Bench, and Companion with him, to bear a share of the heavy burthen of the Government. The *Vizier* also designed to move the Grand Signior to employ him in the Command of the Army, in the place of *Teghen*; for which Office he was very proper, being well beloved in the Army, and in high Reputation both of the *Spahes* and *Janjaries*.

But the *Vizier* had but flattered himself with all these Measures; for coming one P p Moen-

1688. Morning from the *Divan*, and being late down at his Table to Eat, in came the *Baltage Kizeli*, or Lieutenant of the Guard of the Battle-axes, and delivered a Hatter-Sheriff, or Royal Command from the Sultan, to deliver up the Seals, which he immediately did; and the same being carried to the Grand Scignior, he sent for *Mustapha*, and gave them to him, vesting him with the Ceremonies usual at the Creation of a Grand Vizier.

After which, the first thing which *Mustapha* did, was to dispatch away several *Coures* to *Teghen*, and to the *Pasbas* in those parts to countermand the Orders formerly sent; but before those Advices could arrive, a Messenger came with Letters from *Teghen* to *Ismael*, and the Mufti, acquainting them,

That since the *Nesran*, or Trained-Bands had by their Orders been raised upon him, and encompassed him round on all sides in the Plains near *Sophia*, where he lay Encamped, but durst not attack him; (for if they did, he resolved to sell his Life dear, as he had declared to those, who came to take him) therefore he protested against the Vizier, and Mufti for all the Musselman Blood, which should be spilt in that quarrel. He also desired the *Pasbas*, who came against him, to have patience only until an Answer was returned to those Letters which he was then sending to the Port, and to give them free passage. In his Letters he seemed to wonder much, what should be the cause of this Commotion, he for his part having done nothing contrary to his Duty, or his Allegiance to his Prince; and therefore could not believe, that it was the Grand Scignior's Will and Pleasure that these Arms should be raised upon him; but if it were, he would go, and lay his Head at his Feet, who might take it, if he pleased, but he would deliver it no other person.

Mustapha, now Vizier, having received the Letters, read them, and said to the Messenger, who brought them, *Cursed be he who was the cause of this disturbance*: But howsoever he said that all should end well; for that he had already dispatched Orders for pacifying and composing all things, and would next day return him back with a Confirmation of the former dispatch. *Ismael* being now laid aside, and out of Power and Office, was to bear the Burthen of all the Misfortunes; for that *Teghen* Writing, in case he had not more Men and Money, he could not advance farther against the Enemy, but should be forced to return to *Constantinople*. *Ismael* had taken the Alarm, and raised the Country upon him without just or reasonable Apprehensions of any danger from a force so small and inconsiderable, as that of *Teghen's*, they consisting of no greater a Number, than that of Four thousand men.

But the Truth was, *Ismael* had great reason to apprehend the danger of the approach of *Teghen* to the Port; for he was a dangerous Villain; and tho' his Numbers were not great, yet they might be formidable when joined to the Faction and Friends of the *Giurbas*, and the Male-contented Party which lay concealed, and under Covert in the City of *Constantinople*.

But now new Masters, new Measures; and *Teghen* was to be Courted by Letters from the Vizier, declaring that the Sultan highly esteemed his Fidelity and Bravery; and had pardoned him; and that now he should return to the Frontiers, and cheerfully attend the Service of the Sultan: As to his *Katab* he was continued in the Office, with the Title of *Pasha of Caramania*; but was ordered to supply his Government with a *Musselim*, or Deputy, but he himself was ordered to serve in the War.

And now after these dispatches, *Ismael* was called upon to Refund the Monies, which he had raised from *Pasbas*, and other Officers for their places; which were valued to amount unto One thousand Purfes; but he made his Composition, and paid to the Treasurer or Treasurer Five hundred only.

Thus had the Civil Disensions taken up all their time, and obstructed the due Preparations for a War so pressing and heavy upon them; so that little could be expected of great Action in *Hungary*, the Season of the Year (which was now *April*) being far advanced: Howsoever great things were expected from the Wife and Valorous Conduct of this New Vizier *Mustapha*, having for his Merit been raised from a common Soldier to be a General. He had been *Janisfar-Aga* at the Siege of *Vienna*, and afterwards *Seraskier* at the first Siege of *Buda*, and was for a while in great Reputation with all People, both Civil and Military.

But this favourable Air of the People did not continue long; for *Mustapha* by his Indisposition of Body, and the continual Distractions and Difficulties of the Times, seemed not to answer the great expectation which was at first conceived of him; and indeed the Confusions and Fears of the People, grew always higher and greater as Dangers approached nearer; to increase which, there wanted not evil Spirits to possess and affect the minds of the Vulgar with hideous Stories and Reports; and indeed as for some of them, there wanted not probable Reasons, or substantial Foundation. The News of the Revolutions at *Grand Cairo* took up a great part of the Discourse; the Truth of which came afterwards to Light, and known to be no other, but a discontent of the People raised upon a Belief, that the

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About the same time also there happened a Combustion in *Candia*, where the Soldiers mutined for want of Pay, and killed their *Pasha*, with the *Agas* of the *Janisfaries*, and some others, seizing on the *Pasha's* Estate, which was accounted to amount unto so much Money, as would pay the Soldiers all that was due to them. Whereupon the Grand Vizier created *Kuperlee-Ogle*, lately

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1688. gave him a very Splendid Entertainment. The Grand Seigneur was so pleased with the Dinner, the Air, and the Fields, that in two or three days afterwards he went again to the Meadows at *Cat-Hanah*, about two English Miles at farthest from *Pera*; where he was again feasted, not without the Centure and Mummuring of the People; who said, That in a short time he would follow the Example of the late *Sultan* in his Divisions, and Negligence in the Government, so they should have changed (as indeed they had) to little purpose.

It began now plainly to appear, That the *Turks* by reason of their intestine Divisions, had made very inconsiderable Preparations either by Land or Sea: Howsoever something was necessary to be; and therefore in the first place, Eleven Gallies were sent to Guard the *Black Sea* against the *Cossacks*, who (as was reported) were preparing to make Incursions into the Parts near *Constantinople*, as they had usually done in former times.

But their chief Apprehensions and Fears were raised from a Report, that the Imperialists were marching towards *Belgrade*: And indeed they had great Reasons for it; for they had nothing of Force on the Frontiers, nor nothing to oppose them in case the Emperor should think fit to push forward his Conquests, which nothing could obstruct, besides Famine and Hunger in a March through a ruined, and a desert Country.

The *Turks* in these extremities, finding no safety or success, and protection in their Arms, had recourse to their last refuge, which was, if possible to obtain a Peace with the Emperor, a Method, which they had never practised before since they were an Empire, to be the first to sue for a Peace. But now Necessity pressing them, they were for dispatching an Ambassador to the Kings of *France*, *England*, and the States of *Holland*, whose design, substance and main drift of his Embassy was only pretended to give notice unto those Powers of the Exaltation of *Sultan Solyman* to the Throne of the *Ottoman Empire*: But with private Instructions to intimate unto those Princes severally to interpose in a Mediation of Peace, and to use their endeavours to give a stop to the Career of the Imperial Arms; which good Offices, in order to a Peace might reasonably be expected from Kings and Princes, who had for many years maintained a happy Peace, and Correspondence with the *Ottoman Port*; where their Ambassadors had been treated with Friendship, and their Merchants with Security, and their Trade flourished on all sides with Profit and Advantage. One *Achmet Aga* being proposed for this Embassy, he was severally treated

and feasted by the three Ambassadors, who by the Discourses they had entertained with him, observed him to be a Person discreet, and better practised in Affairs of Countries different to their own, than commonly *Turks* are, who think it an Indignity to them, to look into the States of Christian Princes, which so lately the *Ottoman Empire* overlooked, as unworthy their Consideration: To Transport this Ambassador a French-ship was appointed, and his Equipage prepared; but by the Conduct of Sir *William Trumbal*, English Ambassador then at *Constantinople*, and the confused Affairs of the *Turks*, this Embassy did not succeed: And indeed the *Turky Company* could not expect to Reap any thing from thence, but trouble and expence, and perhaps displeasure at the Port, in case his Entertainment had not equalled, that which he had received at *Paris*.

Howsoever, the *Turks* were better reformed in the Point of that Embassy, designed to the Emperor. And to that end, they chose *Hamed Effendi*, one who had been bred up a Clerk, and afterwards came to be first Accountant in the Treasury; and *Mavuro Cordato*, a Greek by Nation, a Man of Intrigue and Business, having for many years been employed for Interpreter to the Grand Vizier, ever since the Death of *Panaiotti*. The *Turks* being ashamed, as a thing below the Dignity of their Empire to sue for Peace, thought it might prove a certain consequence in Answer to a civil Letter, written by the Grand Seigneur to the Emperor, giving notice of his Exaltation to the *Ottoman Throne* (much after the same Tenour with that which was written to the other Powers) with this Addition and Alteration: That whereas the ancient Amity and Friendship had been broken during the Reign of his Predecessor, he, as to his own Person, had not been consenting nor instrumental thereunto; and that God having punished the Authors of this War, he resolved to take different Measures; and considering the Emperor as his Neighbour, he was desirous to enter into a League of Friendship with him, and to establish a firm and lasting Peace, in case the Emperor should be inclining thereunto. These Ambassadors were appointed to begin their Journey towards the end of *June*, towards whose expences the Grand Seigneur intended to allow Six thousand Dollars; which was esteemed a sufficient Provision for them, until they came to the Confinnes, whence according to the ancient Canon, they are to be conducted by the Emperor's Guards, and defray'd at his Expence: Their Retinue consisted of 60 persons, half of which was habited in the *Turkish*, and half after the *Grecian* Fashion. As yet they had received no Passports for them; but in

The *Turks* make small progress in this

The *Turks* seek for Peace

An *Aga* sent to France for England

1688.

1688.

1688.

1688. assurance, that they would be granted, the Ambassadors were posted away to *Belgrade*, there to remain in expectation of them.

The New Grand Seigneur during all these Combinations and Negotiations minded little, or nothing of Business; nor indeed was he capable of any; for when any thing was propounded to him, he answered, Yes or No, or with some very short Reply, after the manner of *Laconick* brevity, and then presently turned away to read the *Alchoran*. He was at first reputed after the manner of his Father, to be impotent as to Women; but afterwards taking five or six into his Embraces, he gave the World cause to conceive another Opinion of him. He sat awkwardly on Horse-back as his Father, that Exercise being unseemly to him; his chief Divertissements were his Books, (which we may believe he ill understood) and sometimes taking the Air on the Water, and in *Chios*, or Garden Houses on the side of the *Bosphorus*, he passed his pleasant time.

Teghen still continued to Ravage the Country between *Sophia* and *Belgrade*, as his Comrade *Tedic* that Arch-robber did in *Anatolia*: And the Government being too weak to suppress two such Thieves or Highway-Men, how much less was it able to contend with the *German Troops*: They were forced to dissemble, and give way to the present Extremities; by making *Teghen* Seraskier in *Hungary*, whilst *Hassan Pasha* was forced to give way, and fly privately out of the reach of his Competitor. The News hereof flew with great haste to the Thieves in *Anatolia*, who being encouraged with the Success of *Teghen*, under whose Government they all fancied to be made *Pashas* or *Grandees*, came over in great numbers to join with him: Amongst which one *Temac Boluckbafsee*, a leading Man, with Four hundred of his Robbers passed boldly over from *Asia* to *Constantinople*; and *Tedic* their General was not only pardoned, but made a *Pasha*.

To this hard Plight and Extremity was the *Ottoman Empire* reduced; when the *Turks* placing their greatest hopes in the *Tartars*, dispatched away an *Aga* to *Apafi* Prince of *Transylvania*, with a Patent to confirm him in his Principality; and with Orders to demand of him in consideration thereof a round Sum of ready Money, wherewith to Succour, and pay the Garrisons on the *Boriffenes*; and to provide for the Maintenance of *Caminiee*, which was in want of Ammunition, and all things necessary. And to persuade *Apafi* hereunto, he told Stories very improper and unfit to compass his ends; for he rehearsed all the Tumults of the *Zorbas* at *Constantinople*, and that the Grand Seigneur was forced to create *Teghen*,

who was their Chief and Leader, to be Seraskier in *Hungary*. That in *Constantinople* there was want of every thing, even to a Famine, caused by the Seditious and Mutinies of the Soldiers; and that for the appeasing these Tumults, and for the Donative unto the Soldiers, which is usually given by the *Sultans* at their Inauguration, the Exchequer had been drained of Twenty Millions of Dollars; wherefore he urged the States of *Transylvania* to grant him his Demands; in failure of which he threatened them with the Incursions of the *Tartars*, who had already passed the River *Prut*, and were entered into the Neighbouring Provinces, where they had left sad Marks of their cruel and miserable Devastations: And that *Sultan Galga*, and *Noradin* with a mighty Army were marching to oppose the Emperors designs upon *Belgrade*.

General *Carafza* having notice of these Practices upon *Transylvania*, went with all haste thither; and in a short time not only defeated this *Aga* in his Negotiations, but also so well disposed *Apafi*, and the States of *Transylvania* with entire Devotion to the Emperor, that in despite of the Message brought by the *Aga*; they absolutely renounced all Obedience, and Duty to the *Ottoman Port*: The which Renunciation follows in this manner.

We *Michael Ticleky* de *Szek General*, *George* and *Alexius* de *Bethlem*, *Laodislaus Szekel* of *Borofzeno*, *Valentine Frank* one of the Judges, Christian *Zaro Consul* of the City of *Hermanstadt*, Counsellors to the Illustrious Prince of *Transylvania*: As also *Nicholas* of *Bethlem*, *Stephen Appor*, *Peter Alvinzy*, and *John Starofy* Principal and publick Notaries, *Michael Filitrick Judge* of the City of *Brallavia*, Plenipotentiaries deputed by the Prince aforesaid, and by the States of the Kingdom of *Transylvania*; do hereby declare and make known unto all the World, desiring that these Presents may remain upon Record, for a lasting Testimony unto all Ages.

With great Reason may this present *Aga* remain astonished, and envious Eyes become dazzled with the Splendor of the Divine Clemency; which not suffering its beloved Christendom to Groan longer under the Yoke of Barbarous Pride, nor remain in Bonds to Tyrannical Servitude, nor longer to be overwhelmed, and drowned after so many Wars in a Sea of Innocent Blood; hath at length out of his great Compassion, been pleased to exert the strong Power of his Omnipotent Arm, to Rescue so many Kingdoms and Provinces, from an unsupportable Slavery under the *Turks*, who transported with senseless Fury had rendered themselves formidable to the World, ruinous to their Neighbours, and Despisers of all

The Honour of Constantinople

Yeghen made Seraskier

His Complaint is encouraged

An Aga sent to Transylvania

1688. all People, besides their own. But behold! How the God of Hosts, being justly displeased with their vain Boastings, hath thrown his Thunder-bolts amongst them, and dispersed them, making the most August Emperor Leopold the First an Instrument of his Vengeance, and having showed Floods of Blessings on his Glorious and Triumphant Arms, hath encompassed his Royal Head with Wreaths of Victorious Laurel; whilst the Ottoman Throne is dressed up with Mournful Cipress.

Such were the astonishing operations of the Divine Power, made manifest to all the World. For when the barbarous Tyranny was in its full Career, and was in the Trail of a hot Scent after Christian Blood; then was God pleased to stop them in their Course; and reduce their unstable and depressed Fortune to the doubtful Terms of Hope and Fear.

It is now near an Age, that unhappy Transilvania hath been depressed by the unportable Ottoman Yoke, and bewailed the loss of her lawful King and Lord: And after having been Tumbled, tossed with Storms of War, with Fire and Sword, and Cruel Dissentions, all things have been so confused and defaced, that scarce any thing hath remained on the Registers of its ancient Glory; only since the Dominion of the Turk gained by the intestine differences of its own Princes, some Memorials are written, and referred to represent to the World a History of a most direful Tragedy. But now the malignant Influence of the Stars being either abated, or entirely exhausted; and the Ambitious Pride, and Designs of private Men defeated, Transilvania embraces the Paternal, and Powerful Protection of the most August Emperor of the Romans, Leopold the First, and Hereditary King of Hungary, and of all his Successors, and particularly of the most Serene Prince Joseph King of Hungary, (whose Life may God long continue) and of his Heirs after him, according as it hath been concluded and agreed in the year 1687, at the last Diet at Possonium with full Consent, Approbation and Concurrence of all the States of Hungary, who have for a long time poured out their Prayers and Tears, and Sighs before God, that at length through the Divine Mercy, they might obtain the Enjoyment of this long wished Felicity. Be it therefore Enacted, Established, and made known to this present, and to future Ages; That to the Glory of the Omnipotent God, and for the more quiet, and prosperous State of this Principality, both in this, and in Ages to come; We the said Plenipotentiaries deputed by the Illustrious Prince, and States of this Kingdom, do with our free Will and Christian Zeal, Renounce all Protection from the Turk; declaring that for the future, We will send him no Presents, nor pay him any Tribute; Nor will we maintain any Correspondence with the Ottoman Port, their Adherents or Dependants, whether Turks or Christians; or with any others, who are Enemies to the Majesty of the Roman Emperor our gracious Lord, or to his lawful Successors, and Hereditary Kings of Hungary; upon Penalty of High Treason, to be punished according to the Laws of this Country, after due Conviction of the Crime. And in lieu of that Power which we have now renounced, We do with all Sincerity, and Purity of Heart Enter, and Lift our selves under the Protection of the most August Emperor; and engage not only our selves, but our Posterity of this Kingdom of Transilvania. And for an Evidence of this our Submission and Agreement, by virtue of the power we have received from his Highness the Prince, and the States of the Country, We do admit, and receive the Imperial Forces, into the Forts of Kôvar, Huis, Georgim and Braslavia, besides other places already garrisoned by German Soldiers. Moreover we declare, That we shall be ready at all times, to take up Arms against the Common Enemy of Christendom, and against all others, as we shall be commanded by our most gracious Lord; whom with all Humility, We Pray and Beseech, that he would be graciously pleased to confirm our Privileges, and the free Exercise of our Religion, as we have hitherto enjoyed: And also, that he would protect, and defend our Posterity, and Successors in the said Liberty and Privileges: And in the mean time that the Treaty and Convention made with the Duke of Lorraine may remain in full Force and Virtue; We have in Testimony thereof and for greater Evidence and Manifestation to all the World, ratified and confirmed this our Abjuration, and Renunciation of the Ottoman Protection under the Seal of the three Nations of the Kingdom of Transilvania.

Given at Hermanstadt the 9th of May, 1688.

These happy Successes made way for the Surrender of Alba Regalis, which all this time held out, supplying themselves sometimes with Provisions by Salies and Excursions, which they often made even to the Walls of Buda. Wherefore it being wisely considered, that this Garrison might still defend it self for a long time, unless the Blockade were more strictly watched; and such Forces disposed on all sides, as might suffer none either to go in, or come out of the City; Prince Herman of Baden President of the Council of War, projected a formal Blockade, and with some Parties of Germans and Hungarians, within the Jurisdiction of his own Government, together with some Militia of General Count Batbyani, Commanded by himself; and the former Conducted by Colonel Baron Arv-

May. zaga

1688. zaga Governour of Leopoldstadt, and these were employed to make an actual Attack upon the place, in case they understood, that a Blockade was not likely to succeed.

About the beginning of May these Forces appeared in view of Alba Regalis; and a strict Blockade was formed on all sides of the Town. Howsoever, the Defendants seemed not to lose Courage, but on the contrary, made a stout Sally both with Horse and Foot; the Issue of which was of no greater Importance, than only the taking off the Heads of some unfortunate Soldiers on one side and the other. And now at length to make their last effort, the Turks made another Sally on the Germans, but soon retired again without any Action; which gave opportunity to the Van-guard, to advance within Cannon-shot of the Town; with which the Defendants became so terrified, that the three Chief Commanders sent forth a Turk well clothed and mounted, to make some motion for a Treaty: The Turk approaching near the Vanguard, desired to speak with some of the Chief Captains, letting them know, that he had Offers to make of a Surrender; which whilst he was uttering, several other Turks Saluted out with a kind of cheerful Air and Briskness, one of which advancing before, demanded of the Christian Soldiers, what it was they required? To which Answer being made: The Town Reply was made; 'But we must know first on what Conditions; may we not, said they, expect to receive the same Articles, that were given to Agria? And may not we obtain the Favour to have our Treaty Signed at Vienna, by the great Emperor of the Romans: To which Answer was made, That tho they had no Power, nor Authority to give them any assurance of the latter, yet they would endeavour to give them satisfaction in that point, as well, as in others.

1688. Hereupon Articles were drawn into several Heads and sent into the City, the which, next day being considered in the Divan, and by common consent agreed upon, were Signed by the three Palhas, and Chief Commanders of the Garrison; the Sum of all which being this: That the same Conditions should be given in all firmation of these Articles by the Emperor, that the Turks might be satisfied therein, an Express was dispatched to Prince Herman of Baden, that he might send Advice to the Emperor of this Success, and withal to intimate the Desires of the Turks to have their Articles confirmed by the Imperial Signature. The which being granted, Ali

1688. Aga, and Ali Beg were commissioned by the Garrison to carry the Articles to Vienna; and being come near to the City, an Officer was sent to meet them with a Coach, by whom with a Guard they were conducted to the chief Inn of the City, where they were Lodged, and provided with all things necessary for their Entertainment. The Emperor not being in the City, but at his Country-house at Luxemburg; the Turks lost the curiosity of their Desires, and Honour of Kissing the Hem of the Emperor's Garment: Howsoever, after having been courteously treated, they were with much expedition dispatched away, that the Surrender of the Town might not be delayed; for in War are many Hazards: And perhaps the Commanders of the Town might have projected this pretence for a delay, not knowing what might happen in the interim by Succours from Belgrade; which were promised, and daily expected to relieve them. In consideration of which the Marquis Herman of Baden, President of the Council of War, procured the Imperial Signature to their Capitulations with all hast imaginable, and having made a Present to each of them of a Watch, they were Conducted back to Alba Regalis by Count Ziczely, who had all that Winter been very Active to Watch that Garrison, and force them to a Surrender. Thus these two Commissioners being returned to Alba Regalis, with the Articles of Surrender signed and confirmed, they entered into the Divan with the Palhas, and other Commanders, and after some Debate and Consultation, they resolved on an immediate Surrender, and without other pause or delay, they began to laid their Goods and Moveables on Carts and Waggon: And on the next day being the 19th of May, they quitted the City, and went out by the Gates, to the number in all of about Eight thousand Souls, amongst which there were not above Three hundred Soldiers. The Articles on which the Town was Surrendered were these.

First, That the Castle, and City with all the Ammunition, Cannon and Arms, with the Bells, Clocks, and all things of publick use, shall without Fraud, or Design be delivered up; and what Mines that are, either in the Castle or Town, shall be discovered, and made known.

Secondly, That permission shall be given without let or hindrance, or molestation whatsoever to the Garrison and Inhabitants freely to leave the City with their Arms, Horses, Beasts, Goods and Moveables.

Thirdly, That the Sons of Christian Women, who are Slaves, and do not pass the Age

1688.

May.

The Turks make a Sally.

The City salute.

The Articles are agreed, and the Expresses sent to Vienna.

1688. of Eighteen, shall remain in the Power, and under the Government of their Fathers, who were Turks. But those who are of riper Tears, and past that Age, shall be left to their own free Will, to chuse which side, or party they will take. And as to those who were Born Christians, and are under Age, as well Males, as Females [shall be delivered faithfully into the Hands of the Christians; and in case amongst the Turks, any Person shall be desirous to turn Christian, no Person shall dare to hinder, or pervert him.

Fourthly, That Three hundred Waggon's shall be provided for carrying their Goods and Moveables, as far as Gian Curtaran upon the Danube; where Seventy Boats or more (in case Seventy be not sufficient) shall be furnished for Transport of the People and their Goods to such Places, as they shall desire; and in the mean while whilst the Waggon's are providing, and the Garrison is issuing forth, the principal Turks of the City shall remain for Hostages.

Fifthly, That some German and Hungarian Officers shall go with the Convoys, which Conduits the People to the Danube, where being Embarked, they shall Accompany and Protect them to the next Garrisoned Town of the Turks; and for security of the safe return of such Officers, some principal Turks shall be given for Hostages, to remain at Oleeck until all Conditions are executed, and then afterwards they shall have free liberty to depart.

Sixthly, All Christian Captives, as well young as old, shall be set at liberty.

Thus Alba Regalis being Surrender'd on the 19th of May, as we have said, *Te Deum* was Sung in the principal Mosques, and on the 20th the Turks began to take their way towards *Gian Curtaran*; and a sufficient Garrison of Imperialists entered the City, to the number of Five hundred Germans, and about One thousand *Hussars* Horse and Foot, under the Command of Colonel *Arceizaga*, there to remain until further Orders from the Emperor. Some few days afterwards Count *Stephen Zischy*, Lieutenant General of *Giavarin*, who by Order of the Council of War had with a Guard of Five hundred *Hussars*, Three hundred Musketeers of the Regiment of *Wech*, and Three hundred Horse of the Circle of *Saabia*, convoyed the Turks to the place appointed, returned back to *Alba Regalis*, where he reported, the great Sense the Turks had of the faithful observance, which was given to the Articles; concerning which they had made many Expressions of Satisfaction; saying that it was no wonder, That the Christians gather so many Laurels of Victory, since they knew so well with Sincerity, and Religion to observe, and comply with the Faith they had gi-

ven: The which may more evidently appear by the Letter here following, Written to the Marquis of *Baden*.

1688. **M**OST Happy, most Honourable and Gentle Prince, Vizier of the Emperor of the Romans, Friend, and dear Brother, after these our sincere Salutations shall be come to your Hands, Be it made known unto you, That in that happy Hour, when the Imperial Decree of your most Gracious, and Glorious Emperor, and our Lord, and also your obliging Letter filled with courteous Expressions, and Demonstrations of Civility used towards our Messenger *Ali Aga*, and *Ali Bei* came to Hand, we were greatly comforted, to have found favour, by means of your intercession, in the Eyes of your Gracious Emperor, whom the High God reward, and recompense with his Divine Grace. For that in pursuance of the Sacred Command Signed by your Emperor, the Honourable General *Bathyani*, and his other Officers have carefully protected us, not only when we quitted the Town, but during all our March towards the Danube; so that by the regular Discipline and watchful Eye of the Germans, and Hungarians towards us, we are safely arrived at *Gian Curtaran*. And so much we have thought fit to acknowledge, and expleat at the Feet of your Highness; that it may be made manifest to the World, with how much Sincerity and Faith, this Treaty hath been Executed. As to other Matters, we find the Boats and Vessels all in a readiness, so that we Design to Embark and depart early to Morrow Morning; for all which good and punctual performance, we beseech God to succeed, and prosper you.

Dated the 23d of the Moon of *Regeb* 1099. That is, the 22d of May 1688. Subscribed by the Servants of God.

Acmet Vizier Commander in Chief, *Aga* of the *Janisaries*, *Zagargee* *Paisha*.

Besides this Letter the same Persons wrote another to Count *Bathyani* of the like Tenure; acknowledging the due Observance and Execution of the Treaty.

When the People, and Garrison of this City, to the number of about Eight thousand Souls, passed down the River by the Towns belonging to the Turks, great was the Confusion and Conternation amongst them, but more was the shame to the principal Officers, who had either by their Negligence or Cowardise, or ill Conduct, not relieved so important a City, but suffered it to be reduced to the utmost Extremities of Famine, without hopes of Succour: And at the same time, that the Fortresses of *Sigeth* and *Canisla*, were in no better Condition, being reduced almost to the like

1688. like Extremity with *Alba Regalis*, which being well known to the Imperial Council of War, Orders were given to streighten those places by a more close, and strict Blockade.

1688. About this time to hasten the Preparations, and to draw out the Measures, and Scheme of War for the ensuing Campaign; the Duke of *Lorraine* arrived at *Vienna*, where several Conferences and Councils were held, by the great Captains and Generals, than which, never did any Age produce more Brave, Valiant and Wise of Conduct, than appeared in this present year. There are many things concur to form and complete a General of Renown; towards which nothing doth more contribute, than Fortune and Success in War; of which the Imperialists had for some years had a happy Run, and plaid long with a lucky Hand. The Turks on the contrary had lost the most part of their bravest Officers, and Soldiers; and those which had escaped out of the Battles, became a Sacrifice to the Rage, and Fury of Mutilous and Dissolute Soldiers, who having thrown off the Bridle of all Discipline, turned their Swords from their Enemies upon their own Commanders and Generals; and this was not the least Misfortune of the Turks, that the most captivated People, and such as formerly served with the most blind Obedience, had forgot to obey, or revere their *Sultans*. But now if we should compare these obscure Commanders of the Turks, Men started from nothing, unexperienced in War, Thieves and Robbers, such as *Teghen*, and his Master *Tedie*, who for some Years had lived on Spoils in the lesser *Asia*, with the Redoubted, and Valiant Generals of the Imperial Armies, we may without the help of ancient Prophecies, prognosticate the continued Successes of the Imperial Arms: The Names of which Generals are these, worthy to be Recorded for ever in History.

The Duke of *Lorraine*.

The Elector of *Bavaria*.

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*.

Count *Caraffa*.

Count de *Staremburg*, Marshal of the Field to the Emperor.

The Prince of *Salm*, a Field Marshal, to whom the Education of the young King of *Hungary* was committed.

Count de *Rebata*, Commissary General of the Emperor's Armies.

Count *Dunewald*, General of the Emperor's Horse.

Count *Palfi*, another General of Horse.

Count de *Sereni*, General of the *Bavarian* Horse.

Prince de *Croy*, General of the Artillery.

Gondola, Chief Lieutenant General of 1688. Horse, and a very ancient Officer.

Count *Taffi*, another Lieutenant General of Horse.

Count *Scheffenburg*, a Lieutenant General of Foot.

The Prince of *Neubourg*, Great Master of the Teutonic Order.

The Prince of *Savoy*.

Veterrani, a brave General, full of Courage.

Piccolomini the like.

The Prince of *Lommercey*, *Rabutin*, *Negrelli* and *Esterhazy*, *Aprenont* and *Wallis*, all Major Generals, were Persons of great Reputation and Bravery, Fit and Proper to Lead, Conduct, and Command an Army.

To give all these Generals a Character agreeable to their Worth and Merit, would be too great a Talk, and favour, something of Flattery, which is disagreeable to the Sincerity of an Historian. However, we may adventure to draw some few Lines, in describing the Complexion of those Heroes, to whose Valour and Conduct Christendom is so much obliged for it's Defence and Safety.

The Duke of *Lorraine* was a Prince naturally Valiant, and unconcerned in Dangers, exposing himself without Ostentation or Vanity, into Perils, where he judged, that his forwardness was requisite to animate his Soldiers, and to give them an Example to imitate his Valour. And as his Temperament was incapable of Fear, so amidst the most hazardous Condition he was always settled and composed, and capable to give and receive Counsel; and willingly hearkened to the Advices of any, that pretended to have an insight into Matters: However, tho' he was not esteemed to have a large Prospect into Matters, or to draw a Scheme for a whole Campaign; yet in the Management of a Battle, or taking all the Advantages, no General in the World was ever more capable. However it was objected against him, That he was over loose in his Marches, and acted with little Order therein; that he was not careful to strengthen his Convoys, nor to secure his Forages, by which, and a thousand other Oversight of this nature, we read in History, that whole Armies have been confounded, and mouldred to nothing: There is no Man, without his Faults and Defects; or, as we say, without his blind side: Yet the World must avouch, that he was a great Captain, and a Person of most excellent Qualifications; for it is not little to his Honour that he was not Ambitious, or transported with vain Glory; but firm and zealous

Councils of War at Vienna.

The Commanders on either side compared.

The Christian Generals and Officers.

1688. The Garrison of Alba Regalis Marched out.

1688. zealous for the Interest of the Emperor, tho he little regarded his own, by endeavouring to form and project strong Leagues against France.

Character
of the
Electors
of Bavaria.

The Elector of Bavaria was another General of great Renown; than whom no person in the World was endued with more natural Valour; indefatigable in War, and would never be wearied or faint, tho he should be constrained to fight every day. Skirmishes were his diversitements; and tho he was a General, yet he could condescend to the degree of an inferior Officer, in giving Orders, where they were necessary. At this time he was Young, and consequently had not as yet seen many Campaigns; but no Prince was ever more capable, and of greater hopes, which some Years afterwards were brought to all Perfection. He loved Battels; and to put the Troops of his Enemies to Flight, and to make himself Master of the Field, and to gain Victories, were his great pleasures; but as to the Plunder of the Field, and the great Booties obtained therein, he left all to his Officers and Soldiers, never demanding any share, or account of them. However he was esteemed also to have his Defects; for it is said, That he looked not with due attention to the care of his Troops; and that as he was very diligent and vigilant in the time of action; yet afterwards he indulged himself too much to his Pleasures in the times of Vacation and Ease from his Labours; and it may be said of him as was of a Roman General, That he was *Patiens Laboris, indefessus in bello, sed ubi vacaret, nimis voluptatis*.

Character
of Prince
Lewis of
Baden.

Prince Lewis of Baden was a true Man of War, cut out for a Soldier from his Infancy; in which Trade being Educated, he soon arrived to a singular Perfection, being naturally addicted to Arms. He was full of Courage, Heat, and Bravery; Active, Vigilant, and a Man of Order in disposing of his Troops; always on Horse-back, and capable of doing great Actions; as we shall see verified Two or Three Years afterwards: However he was not without some allays, by a too obstinate adherence to his own Opinion, and Councils; which if at any time he was forced to retract or change, so as to follow the Advices and Counsels of others, yet he would do it with an ill Grace and Will, and not without some mixture of his own contrivance. He was more fit for an Army than a Court; giving his Tongue too much liberty to speak and Discourse freely of the Faults and Defects of the chief Ministers of State; which begot him some Enemies, but his Greatness of Mind, and Success in War, carried him above all.

Count Caraffa was advanced by the favour of Count Montecuculi his Uncle; to which his own Merits contributed very much; for being a Soldier of Fortune, he resolved to rise by that way; and being endued with a natural Courage, he signalized himself on several occasions. His Enterprises were always performed with great moderation, and Phlegm, watching his opportunities of advantage upon the Enemy, and seldom inclined to hazard any thing; his Counsels were full of prudent Caution, which made his Performances suspected by the Enemy, fearing some Turn which they did not foresee. He was also a Courtier as well as a Soldier, and knew how to comport himself towards the chief Ministers of State in the Court; as he did also to the Generals, and Officers, and Soldiers in the Camp.

Count Staremberg, one of the Emperor's Chief Field-Marshal, a Person Renowned through the World for the defence of Vienna, was a person of admirable Courage and much Fire in his Temper, and endued with all Qualities fit for a Soldier, tho not so proper for a General, being naturally violent and transported with Passion. He is, as we find him, more celebrated amongst Foreigners and Strangers for defending Vienna, than amongst the Germans, who served in the Garrison with him, alleging that he exposed his Soldiers too frequently to unnecessary Sallies, and was too prodigal of spilling their Blood.

The Prince of Salm was another Field-Marshal, to whom the Education of the Young King of Hungary was committed. It is said, That he hath served long, and gained great Experience in the War: But his Valour, Wildom, and Nobility, have endued him with such Vertues, as serve not only to render him esteemed and honoured for himself, but capable also to inspire Learning, and Royal Thoughts into the Mind of that Young King.

Count Rabata, another Field-Marshal, and Commissary-General of the Imperial Army, was esteemed more capable of the latter, than of the first Office. For as to the providing for the subsistence of an Army, no man was ever reputed more intelligent and industrious; being endued with an admirable Faculty to draw out a Scheme for Winter-Quarters; and the manner how to regulate Troops with such Discipline, as might tend to the Conservation of the Provisions of a Country, which Soldiers are apt to consume unnecessarily; especially the German Armies, which lose Plenty and Excess; and do commonly, (if not prevented by good Management) ruin those Countries in Two Months; which might

1688.
Count
Caraffa.

Count
Staremberg.

The Prince
of Salm.

Count
Rabata.

1688. might otherwise conveniently maintain an Army for the whole Year.

Count Dunevald, General of the Imperial Cavalry, was esteemed very capable of that Charge; and with all the Reason and Justice in the World, may be numbered amongst the best of those Officers, who are esteemed, to be Courageous, Wise, and Experienced in War.

Count Palfi, General of the Hungarian Horse, was a man of great Understanding; but because he hath not served in any other Wars, than those of Hungary, he is not much esteemed for a Soldier; howsoever being defended from one of the most Ancient and Noble Families in Hungary, the Court of Vienna judged it policy, to give in his Person an Example and Proof of the Emperor's Favour and good Will towards the Hungarian Nobility: By reason of which he made a speedier advance into Preferments in the War, than could reasonably be expected from his Services, and Actions.

Count de Serien, General of the Bavarian Troops, besides his other Qualities, hath but too much of Wit and good Management, by which he seldom fails of arriving at the end of his designs, having by his Conduct and good Fortune, got into the Command of the Bavarian Troops: And so insinuated himself into the Court of Vienna, that they seem to say, that they are obliged to him, for the strict Alliance which the Elector hath made with the House of Austria. In short, he was esteemed for a Person of admirable dexterity in avoiding invidious matters, without being either suspected or perceived.

The Prince of Croy, General of the Artillery, was a person of undoubted Valour.

Gondola, first Lieutenant-General of the Horse, was a very Ancient Officer; much beloved by his own Soldiers; in short he is a man without Vice, Vivacity of Spirit, or Ambition, being of a Conversation easy, and inoffensive to all the World.

Count Taffi, a Lieutenant-General of the Horse, was a very Gallant man, having in all occasions of danger acquitted himself with great Courage; and yet he is not so much to be commended for his Military performances, as for the Character he hath acquired of a just, civil, and an honest Gentleman. He was of great Understanding, pleasant Conversation, good Literature, and well studied, accomplished in all his Exercises, doing every thing with a good Grace. In fine, he would be supereminent in every thing, did he not prefer those Qualities which rendered him useful before those which made him acceptable. I had once the honour to see him at Vienna, and have some acquaintance with him in the Year 1666.

Count Souches, chief Lieutenant-General of the Infantry, was greatly advanced by those Employments which his Father had bequeathed to him.

Count Schaffenberg, Lieutenant-General of the Foot, was a person of great Courage, but something tenacious.

The Prince of Neuburg, Great Master of the Teutonic Order, was a very good Man, but heavy and unactive; bold in danger, but without much Application to business.

The Prince of Saroy, a Gentleman of great Courage, of more solid Judgment, than quickness of Fancy. He was a Man of good Learning, and in his studies had applied his mind to that part of the Mathematics, which treats of Fortifications; by which, and by practice in War, there was great hope, that with time, he would arrive at those eminent degrees of Honour and Preferment, of which the greatness of his Birth, and his own Virtues made him capable.

Veterani was as Brave and Valiant as any, having signalized himself in the last War by an extraordinary Action, worthy for ever to be remembered. He was an Italian by Birth, but so plain and unaffected in his Speech and Behaviour, that he seemed to have contracted nothing of the Air of that Nation, but the Name only.

Hengler was a Soldier of Fortune, as stout and brave as Hercules himself; no man more Valiant, and none more Active and Vigilant, and by his Merits only arrived to the highest Commands in the Army; his Comportment, Motions, and way of Speaking favoured of a man of Quality.

Piccolomini, was not only endued with Courage, which is the first Principle of a Soldier; but was a Master in the Trade of War: Tho' he hath been maliciously traduced, as wanting both; but his own Actions, Conduct, and Success in many Battels, have evinced the contrary.

To these we might add the Prince of Lommercy, Rabhatin, Nigrelli, Elterhast, Apremont, and Wallis, all Major-Generals of Renown, and famous Reputation, besides many other Field Commanders, Captains and subaltern Officers; so that, as we have said, no Age could ever boast of more brave and undaunted Spirits. On the contrary, the Turks had in several Battels, unfortunate to themselves, lost the best of their brave Soldiers, Pashas, and Timariots, and what remained were cut off by the Chirbas, and the rebellious Soldiers, (as fore-related;) so that now there scarce survived one person fit, and of sufficient Experience to conduct an Army, as will appear in the sequel of this present Year.

1688. But to return now to the Councils of War held at Vienna for hastening the Campaign, and forwarding the Troops, and drawing a Scheme for managing the War of this Year; many and various were the Opinions. At length strict Orders were given to Marechal Caprara, immediately to go to Ofek; and there consult with Count Apremont, Governor of that place, on such methods, as might best contribute to the Service of his Imperial Majesty, both as to the Enlargement of the Conquests, and Subsilience of the Soldiery: In order unto which, great Numbers of Boats were laden with all forts of Provision and Ammunition, and dispeped down the Rivers of Danube, Vagus, Tibiscus, and Drave, for undertaking some considerable Enterprize.

Orders were also dispatched from the Council of War to General Caraffa in Transylvania; That having committed the command of the Upper-Hungaria to Nigrelli, and of Transylvania to General Veterani; and having also satisfied the Quarters of his own Militia, he should forthwith march along the Banks of the Danube, but with such Caution and Vigilance, as might secure him and his Forces from the Surprizals of Tekely; who since the surrender of Agria and Mongatz, had made frequent incursions from Temeswar, as far as Lippa, Julia, and sometimes from Jeno to Waradin.

It being judged almost impossible to conserve Peter Waradin, by reason of the nearness therunto of Illock, where the Enemy maintained a numerous Garrison, it was resolved to draw forth the Troops and Provisions from thence. Howsoever Caprara being desirous first to take a view of Illock, he conveyed himself privately before the place with some Horse of the Regiment of Palfi, and about Two hundred Dragoons on Foot, and seized on a Misch before the Gate; but being discovered by the Turks, they Fired such a Volley of Shot upon him, that several of his Dragoons were killed, and he received Two Musquet-shots through the Folds of his loose Coat, with which he retired without other hurt or loss.

But of more concernment it was to General Caprara to defeat the Camp of the Turks, which they were forming in the open Plains of Salankement; to which end he prepared Boats and Barges, and Bridges to Transport over the Drave the Forces which were on their march from the Upper-Hungary. But the Waters by excessive Rains, had so swollen the Rivers beyond the Banks of their right Channel, that both Horse and Foot were constrained to make a stop at Darda, to which place the General passed over in a Boat, and there remained un-

til the Waters were fallen; as did also some 1688. Bavarian Troops designed to repair the Danube near Buda, on their march to Erdeodi; where having traileed a Bridge over the Danube, and Six more over the Moors and Fens, they joynd with other Forces, and marched in a Body towards Illock.

In the mean time, whilst the Imperial Court was enjoying the pleasures of the Country at Luxemburg, the Duke of Lorraine falling sick, put the Court into some difcomposure; for that the Season of the Year being now ripe for Action, the want of the General's presence, would be a necessary retardment to the Proceedings of the Campaign; howsoever that was happily supplied by the coming of P. Lewis of Baden, who every day entred into consultation with the D. of Lorraine, in what manner they might best carry on the War on the other side of the Save; which being agreed, P. Lewis proceeded to the Camp, where, with Marechal Caprara, the Imperial Forces were for that time commanded, and with them it was concluded to pass the Save.

But now some of the Transylvanians being allured by Succours, and great Assistance promised them by the Tartars, to renounce their sworn Allegiance to the Emperor; the City of Stephanopolis refused to receive a German Garrison, which Design was chiefly carried on at the persuasion of the Valachians, who considering that by the Submission of Transylvania, their Province lay open to the Germans, and through that an easie passage into Taryary; they both joynd to persuade the People of Stephanopolis, to refuse to take in a Garrison of Germans. But General Veterani immediately marched to the City with the Regiments of Pace, Taff and Strum, and by surprize Attacked the Suburbs in three places, and being come within Pistol-shot of the Walls, the Dragoons dismounting from their Horses, and raising some Barricadoes to cover them from the Enemies Cannon, they began to throw Bombs into the Castle, by which, and by help of the Regiments of Baden and Schaffenberg, who brought with them two Pieces of great Cannon, and four of small, they batter'd the Town, to the Terror and Consternation of the Inhabitants; so that with common consent they cried out for Quarter; which was granted to them by General Caraffa, at Discretion; and the City yielded, as also the Castle, into which five Companies of the Regiment of Baden were admitted. In the mean time General Caraffa with like diligence, Marched with a Body of an Army to Lippa; and having Summoned the City, he was answer'd by their great and Small-shot from the Walls: Upon which the General without any delay raised,

1688.

The Duke of Lorraine sick.

The City of Stephanopolis refused to receive a German Garrison.

The City Surrendered.

1688. raised two Batteries, by which beating down part of the Wall, he made an Attack on the Breach; from whence, tho he was repulsed at the first time by the Bravery of the Defendants; yet renewing the Assault again with greater Force and Resolution, they enter'd the Town by Storm, with the Death of Five hundred Turks; the rest giving Fire to their Houses and Magazines retired into the Castle, which they maintained a while with good Resolution. But Caraffa raising two new Batteries, fired incessantly from them, and threw Bombs into it with such good effect, that the Defendants terrified therewith, displayed a white Flag, and submitted unto Terms of being made Prisoners, to the number of Six thousand Persons, Two thousand of which being Men capable to bear Arms were made Slaves; but the Women and Children were freed, and with a Convoy were sent in safety to Temeswar. The Surrender of Lippa was of great consequence to the Germans, having thereby opened all the Country between the River Maros, and the Tibiscus.

This Success was soon followed by the Surrender of Ldgos, a Castle four Leagues distant from Lippa, which after a small resistance yielded to Colonel Pace on Articles, according to which about Two hundred Soldiers, with One hundred and Eighty Ragians and Valachians marched out, together with the Inhabitants of the lower City, and about Six hundred Women and Children. Within was only one Mortar-piece, and eight Pieces of Cannon; but no Victuals or Ammunition. The like Fortune had succeeded at the great Castle of Caramezbes, had not the Attacks been disappointed by an excessive Rain of four or five days; which forced Colonel Pace to return back to General Caraffa, who remained still in expectation of his coming to Lippa.

The Indisposition of the Duke of Lorraine increasing, and little hopes of his Recovery to such a state of Health, as was requisite to Conduct an Army during the present Campaign; the Elector Maximilian Emanuel Duke of Bavaria, was the only person looked upon fit for the high Command of General of the Imperial Forces: For he was a Prince tho young in Years, yet for his time, of that vast experience, and of that Disposition and Courage, naturally inclined to War, that he seemed not to come behind any of those renowned Generals, famed for Heroick Actions in past Ages; wherefore being elected by the consent of all the General Officers, for Commander in Chief of the whole Army, the Count Kaunitz was dispatched with the Imperial Letters to the Elector at Monaco,

inviting him to accept of this important Charge. But because the Season of the year was far advanced, and that no time was to be lost, Prince Lewis of Baden was dispatched to the Army to joyn with Marshal Caprara, both for Conservation of the new Conquests, and to dispose Matters in order to farther Victories.

Nor were the Turks only vexed with the ill Successes of War, but were also afflicted with Earthquakes, Mutines, Conspiracies, amongst their Soldiers, with Robberies and Disorders over all Asia.

On the 30th of June, about half an hour before Twelve a Clock at Noon, which is the common time of Dinner, hapned a most dreadful Earthquake at Smyrna, which in a few Moments over-threw almost all the Houses in the City, with the Death (as is computed) of Five thousand of the Inhabitants, many of which were drawn out half Dead from the Ruins. This terrible Judgment, by the good Providence of God hapning to be on a Saturday, (which commonly the Consul, and Factors of the English Nation make a Day of diversion without any business) most of them were abroad, either in the Country, or on board some Ships in the Port, from whence they easily heard the lamentable Noise, and Cries of the falling City, not now to be seen, or discerned through the vast and thick Dust which cover'd all the Ruins; those who were in the Ships were sensible of the Shake; for the Seas lifted up the Ships, the Guns leaped in the Carriages, and the Seamen on the Deck were as unsteddy on their Feet, as in a Storm at Sea. Some who were on the Shoar, felt the Earth trembling under them, Stagger'd, and were thrown to the Ground. In the Houses of our Merchants, three only of the English Nation perished, namely, Mr. Samuel Bernardiston, Mr. Henry Stephens and Mr. Richard Pierce, all killed by the falling of a main Beam, as they were sitting at Dinner: Several others which remained at Home, are still alive to recount their wonderful Escape, whilst the Tops, Tiles and Rafters of the Houses fell round about them without any Wound, or touch on their Bodies. But had it so pleased God, that this Earthquake should have hapned on any other Day in the Week besides Saturday; it is more than probable, that many more of the English Factory would have perished in the Ruins. Of the Jews Four hundred were killed, and amongst them one of their most famous Rabbis of the East, called Aaron Iben Haim. The Metropolis of Smyrna with many of his Papasies, who went into their Church to Pray, were killed by the fall of the Roof. The like Fate befel

1688.

An Earthquake at Smyrna.

Lipps yielded.

Lagos yielded.

The Elector of Bavaria made General.

1688. the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who with his People was overwhelm'd with the Ruins. Of the French Nation the Consul only was killed; and of the Dutch only one Merchant. About three or four Hours after this dismal Shake, an Irruption of Fire appeared in the *Frank Street*, (which is a Row of Houses along the Sea side, inhabited by the *Frank Nations*) for so the *Turks* call all the Western People: This Fire perhaps might at first have been extinguished, but that smaller Shakes happening now and then after the greater Earthquake, so terrified the People by the falling of Walls and Tops of Houses, that none daring to come near, suffer'd the Fire to prevail; which consumed much of the Merchants Cloth, melted their Tin, Lead and Money; and burnt up their Papers and Books of Account: So that it cannot be said, whether the Earthquake, or the Fire did the greatest Damage and Devastation: But this is certain, that the *English* Merchants were very considerable sufferers, some having computed the loss to a Hundred thousand pounds Sterling. It is a great Question from whence this Fire should proceed, some will have it from the Fires in the *Kitchens*, which were kindled about that time of the Day, for the use and purpose of dressing Meat and other Services; but that seems unlikely; for the Kitchen Fires at that time of the Year and of the Day, being not great, might have been more easily extinguished, and smothered by the fall of so much Brick and Rubbish, rather than kindled by the Beams and Rafter; wherefore I believe, that this Incendiation did proceed from an Irruption of Subterranean Fires, which are the cause of Earthquakes: Thus was it, when the Mount *Pelivius* was blown up, and so it was, and is when *Mongibello* Vomits out it's Flames, making all the Countries tremble round the Island of *Sicily*; and so it was in the Year 1666, when *Ragusa* was destroyed with an Earthquake, the Subterranean Fires destroying whatsoever remained under the Ruins: And so it was at *Lima* in the *West-Indies*, where after the Earthquake a Fire broke forth, which consumed that City in the same manner, as afterwards it did at *Smyrna*.

In the Army were great Discontents, as it always happens in times of Misfortune. *Teghen* (as we have said) had forced himself upon the Vizier to be made Seraskier or General; whilst many better Men than he, were laid aside: The Force being so inconsiderable on the Frontiers, it was judged beneath the Dignity of a Vizier, to appear at the Head of so weak an Army; wherefore remaining that year at *Constantinople*, where several of the discontented

1688. *Giurbas* had concealed them; a Conspiracy was by them formed against the Grand Vizier and the Government, which had in a few hours taken effect, had it not been discovered by some of their false Brethren; to prepare which, several Libels were thrown about in the *Mosques*, condemning the removal of the Grand Seignior, and his Court to *Adrianople*, to the great Ruin and Detriment of the ancient Seat of the *Sultans* at *Constantinople*, and prejudicial to the Empire by such an unnecessary expence: These Libels were seconded by an *Arz*, or Memorial from the Soldiers to the Vizier himself, importing, that they would not suffer the Sultan to remove from *Constantinople*; but in case the Vizier would go in Person to the Wars, and first pay them their Arrears, they would accompany him, when the Season was fit for so long a March; but to go and Winter at *Adrianople*, would discommode them and their Families, and prove of no benefit to the Grand Design of War against the Common Enemy the *Christians*. This bold Memorial gave Encouragement to the Inferiour *Janisaries* to commit daily Intolences in the Streets; which being connived at by their Officers concerned in the Conspiracy, which was to have been executed on the 23d day of *July*, gave Fears and Jealousies to the Government, that the same Tragedy was acting over again, as had been in the time of the late *Giurbas*. For the Plot was laid, that the *Gebeques*, should in a Tumultuous manner go to the Vizier's House to demand their Arrears of Pay; then were the *Janisaries* upon the Noise hereof to join with them, and Assault the Vizier, and take the Government into their own Hands, as had lately been practised by the *Giurbas*. But on the Vigil before the Execution, the whole Plot was discovered, and those who were to be the principal Actors therein were made known to the Vizier: Who immediately thereupon Summoned such Guards, as he could confide in; and with Five hundred Men went about the City all that Night, and seized all the Conspirators in their Houses. The next day, the *Janisar-Aga* was displaced, and made *Palha* of *Van*, a City on the Borders of *Persia*, and one *Mahomet Aga* (the *Segme Bajhee*, Colonel of a fort of Militia so called) was advanced to his Office; he was a Man of above Eighty years of Age, very lame by reason of a Wound he had received at the Siege of *Candia* by a Cannon Bullet, which shot off one of his Buttocks; But yet he was Vigorous, and of a severe Temper, fit to keep such Mutiniers in Discipline and Subjection: The *Kiabhei*, or Lieuten-

1688.

A Fire breaks out.

The Me- shado of the Plot.

Seditious in the Army.

1688. nant General of the *Janisaries* was also Cathered, and tho they both pleaded Innocence and Ignorance; yet the want of knowledge to discover such a Contrivance hatching amongst their Soldiers, was Crime sufficient to eat them of their Commands. For two Nights following, three Parties of armed Men took their Rounds about the City: The first led by the Vizier, The second by the new *Janisar-Aga*, and the third by the new *Kia-bei*; these meeting together in the Morning, and conferring Notes, found that they had cut off about Fifty Persons, most of them *Janisaries*: And several Nights afterwards some Executions were done, and all acted with such Secrecy, and Silence in the dead of the Night, that no Noise or Disturbance followed thereupon; for there was no Man of great Vogue or Repute put to Death, the highest being only in degree a *Chirbaggee* or Captain; all which were put into Sacks and thrown into the Sea, according to the punishment by ancient Constitution to be inflicted on *Janisaries*. Amongst those, who were put to Death was one *Hamed Effendi*, who was at first appointed with others to carry the Grand Seignior's Letter for Peace to the Emperor: Several others being too free in their Tongues against the Vizier, openly saying that he was decayed in his Parts, and not capable to manage so great an Employment, uttering other things favouring of a high Contempt of his Person, were put to Death: And amidst these Executions, the Head of *Dogangee Shuban*, *Palha* of *Nicopolis*, on the *Danube*, was brought to Town; he had been one of the *Giurbas*, and *Kiab* to *Siaus* *Palha*, and once named by him to have been left *Chimacem*, when the Vizier was at the War: This Report, with the Fame of being designed by the Conspirators to be set up for Vizier, was fatal to him, and procured the Hand-writing or Sentence for his Death. *Teghen Bei* was also suspected to have had a Hand in promoting, and projecting the Conspiracy; but he was too great, as yet to be reached by the waning Power of the Vizier: This Suspicion had some Foundation from the Councils, which *Teghen* had formerly given, concerning the removal of the Grand Seignior to *Adrianople*, which as he said could not be done without Hurt, and Damage to the Empire; declaring in like manner by a second Letter, that in case they should, contrary to his Mind and Opinion, remove the Grand Seignior, he would in the Autumn come personally to *Adrianople* to demand their Reasons for the same. Howsoever this Vizier was willing to overlook all the extravagant, and intolent Speeches of *Teghen Bei*, out of Gratitude, as was said,

How prevented.

1688.

Yeghen suspected to have been in the Conspiracy.

of sparing his Life; when after the loss of the late Battle, (he then being *Janifar-Aga*) the Soldiers would have cut him to pieces, had not the Authority and Interest of *Teghen* with the Militia, spared and secured his Life: In Consideration, and Remembrance of which, he was no sooner created Vizier, than he discharged the *Nesran*, or Trained Bands of the Country, which the late *Ismael* *Palha* had raised to suppress *Teghen*, then lying with his Forces near to *Seppha*.

Howsoever, this Conspiracy against the Vizier would scarce have passed over so easily, had not a lucky hit of Two thousand and six hundred Purles (being the Estate of two rich *Kuzlir-Agas* cut off, and brought from Grand *Cairo* in *Egypt*) been seasonably brought to the Exchequer, which served a little to pacify the Soldiery, which was now nine Months in Arrear. The Vizier also not thinking himself secure from the Plots and Conspiracies which might still be framed against him, removed *Ismael* the late Vizier from *Cavalla*, a place near *Salonica*, where he had been Imprisoned, to the Castle at *Rhodes*, the famous place for disgraced and banished Officers: He removed also several from their places of Trust, putting Creatures of his into their Offices; and amongst the rest he made four new Viziers of the Bench; one of which was *Hali Aga*, *Hafnadar* or Treasurer to the Vizier *Kapri-glee*, called from *Trapezond*, where he was *Palha*; another was *Omer* *Palha*, *Tefendar* or Treasurer, who last year in the beginning of the Troubles was *Segmen Bajhee*, or General of that Militia, and had been pulled off from his Horse by the *Giurbas* in the Streets, and turned out of Office; a third was the *Nisangji Bajhee*, a young Man taken out of the *Seraglio*, where he was a Page: And a fourth was one of the Vizier's ancient Servants.

But notwithstanding the dislike which the Soldiers shewed to the Grand Seignior's removal to *Adrianople*, the Vizier and his Counsellors resolved to pursue their Design; esteeming it a place more secure and safe for the Government (according to the *Maxim* of old *Kuperlee*) where the Militia could be more under their Eye; and Plots not so easily contrived as at *Constantinople*, where the numbers and Riches of the People were capable at all times to move Disturbances. So in the Month of *July*, the Sultan removed to *Adrianople*, with his deposed Brother, his Son, and the other Brother *Sultan Achmet*, with the *Valide Sultana* or Queen Mother.

The Court being come to *Adrianople*, at the first Consult a Peace was proposed, and Ambassadors named to go to *Vienna*, viz. *Zulfear*

1688.

The Vizier's respect to Yeghen.

Money sent from Grand Cairo.

Four new Viziers of the Bench made.

1688.

1688. *Zulficar Aga*, and *Maurocordato*, who was a *Jan* Pasha, with whom formerly (as we have said) he had a Quarrel in *Bosnia*, and having now an opportunity to shew his farther Resentments, he seized on his Tents, Horfes and Money, and would have strangled him, had he not been prevented by the *Aga* of the *Janisaries*, and the Son of the *Han* of *Tartary*, who was there present with a small Body of *Tartars*.

But the *Turks* had now something more to do, than to quarrel amongst themselves; for the *Christians* came pouring upon them on all sides; and how to resist them was the present Incumbence, and grand Concernment; so that laying aside all Intestine differences, *Teghen* with Ten thousand Soldiers, joynted to the Troops of *Tekeli*, resolved to pass the *Sava*, and Encamp near *Semlin* on the other side of the River. But that design was laid aside, so soon as News was brought to *Belgrade* that *P. Lewis* of *Baden* was Decamped from *Valkovvar*, and that, together with *Caprara*, he had taken his march towards *Illock* with which, *Teghen* and the *Turks* fainting in their Courage, were inclined rather to Proposals of Peace, than to a continuance of the War; and to try whether any reasonable offers of that nature would be accepted. Two ordinary Peasants were dispatched to *Osek*, with Letters to *Marquis Herman* of *Baden*, and *Marshall Caprara*, desiring them to interceed with his Imperial Majesty to put an end to this bloody War, which had already cost the lives of many innocent People, and laid waste and desolate vast and large Countries, and Provinces: But such a Message as this being brought by Peasants, who are improper Instruments to be employed in such an Action, gave just cause to the Generals to take and esteem them for no other than Spies: Upon which suspicion they were imprisoned, and Advice sent thereof to the Imperial Court; which not judging fit to take notice of any Offers of Peace proposed in such Form, gave new Orders and Instructions to *Caprara* to pursue with all vigour imaginable the Rules chalked out, and designed for carrying on the Work of this Campaigne.

Teghen not having with these Commands received the Prophet's Standard, nor the Imperial Seal, which are the Badges and proper Signals of the Office of Grand Vizier, became Angry and Sullen; for tho' he was made General, yet that seemed not sufficient without the Title of Supreme Governor: And whereas before, he was on his March towards *Belgrade*, he returned back again to *Sophia*, declaring that without those powerful Instruments, it was impossible for him to Govern the Army, and Rule them with such strict Obedience, as was necessary against so powerful an Enemy, and so formidable as the *Christians*: And as to the Overtures of Peace he was resolved to make none, nor suffer the Ambassadors to pass until such time, as he had tried the Fortune of the Ottoman Sword once more in the Field. To this pitch of Insolence was this *Teghen* arisen, that he was ready to Sacrifice the whole concernment of the Empire to his own Pride and Vanity: But Expresses after Expresses coming from *Belgrade* with News, that the *Germans* were Marching towards the *Sava*, with a Resolution to pass that River, so soon, as the Elector of *Bavaria* should Arrive in the Camp, *Teghen* began to grow a little alarmed; and fearing that all the Misfortunes impending over *Belgrade*, would be attributed to his ill Government and Sedition, he Marched away from *Sophia*, and being come to *Belgrade*, he made publick Declaration, that the Sultan had created him General of all *Hungary*, upon which the Forces Encamped in the Parts adjacent to the City submitted to his Command; and being now invested with the sole Power, he vented his Splice against his old Competitor, *Haf-*

Teghen in
History.

Bel-
grade.

1688.
Saves on
Huffia
Pasha.

1688.
The Turks
set for
peace.

Their Mis-
takes are
suspected.

Illock
abandoned
by the
Turks.

Caprara

1688. *prara* detached a Body of *Germans*, and *Hungarians*, to advance towards the Town, to observe the face of the Enemy, and the occasion of that Smoke; and being come near to the Gates, and perceiving that the Soldiers and Inhabitants had deserted the City; the *Germans* were employed to extinguish the Fire, and the *Hungarians* to pursue the flying Enemy; which they performed so effectually, that they seized a great part of the Goods which were then carrying away, and brought them to the Camp. The News hereof so affrighted the Garrison of *Peter-Waradin*, that with like Terror and Precipitation they abandoned their City, and fled to *Belgrade*.

These Successes gave great encouragement to the whole Army, and to the Imperial Court at *Vienna*, where the Duke of *Mantova* about this time arrived, with intention to pass forward to the Camp, and signalize himself and his Followers in a War against the common Enemy; his Equipage was very splendid, and agreeable to the Spirit of so generous a Prince.

In like manner the Elector of *Bavaria*, *Maximilian Emanuel* the Third arrived at *Vienna*, being called by the Emperor to command the Army in *Hungary* in the place of the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was become so weak by his Indisposition and want of Health, that he judged himself unable to command the Army with such vigour, as was required in so active a War. The Elector was so intent upon this Expedition, that the very day he arrived at *Vienna* with his most Serene Consort, he had departed, and proceeded to the Camp, had he not been forcibly detained by the obliging invitation of the Emperor, and persuaded to stay until the Evening of the following day.

In the mean time a design was formed to block up Great *Waradin*; but the Garrison being strong within, the *Turks* made frequent Excursions with Two hundred Horfe, and a Thousand *Janisaries* at a time, and frequently brought Provisions into the Town, the which was so managed by the Pasha and other Commanders, that the Castle held out until the Year 1692. Howsoever the Blockade of *Siget* and *Kaniffa* was greatly straitened; the first by General *Gabriel*, Count of *Vecchia*, and the other by *Bathani*, and *Ziczey*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Giavarin*, or *Rabb*; who appearing before *Kaniffa* in order of Battle, the *Turks* displayed their Colours of defiance, shewing a courageous resolution to defend themselves and their Fortresses. Howsoever the *Hussars* and *Heducks* came under command of the Cannon, and in despite of their shot, set Fire to the Corn and Fruits growing near the City. At which the *Turks* cried out with lamentable Voice, saying,

Siget and
Kaniffa
surrounded.

Set the fear of God before your Eyes, and do not commit these grievous sins, for which we have been punished by God; for the time was, when we did the like outrages, and disorders, destroying without cause the Christian Churches, for which we have worthily deserved the Divine Vengeance, and are now justly punished for these Offences. In this Fear and Amazement were the *Turks*, finding themselves blocked up, and environed round, having Five thousand Women and Children within, without hopes of being ever relieved, or succoured; so that their Courage began to fail, and Thoughts arise amongst them, how they might yield up their City on the most advantageous Terms.

In the mean time, *P. Lewis* of *Baden* continued his march with all expedition towards *Poffega*; where meeting the Count of *Hoffkirchen*, they consulted together in what manner they might best offend the Enemy on the other side of the *Sava*; but because the *Turks* kept the Banks of the River well guarded, the Passage over seemed very difficult, especially wanting Boats to Transport their men: At length, whilst they were considering hereof, News was brought by some of the *Heducks*, that about Two Leagues above on the River near *Proot*, Three Boats lay hid amongst the Flags, and Boughs, of which the *Turks* had no knowledge; each of which was capable to Ferry Fifteen or Twenty men at a time over to the other side; upon which intelligence, it was resolved, that *Hoffkirchen* and *Serini* should in the Night-time pass Eight hundred *Heducks* over to the other side; the which were followed by Eight hundred Horfe, and Two hundred German Foot, under command of *Hoffkirchen*; but the Nights were so short, and the Boats so little, that by Break of day in the Morning, not above Five hundred of the *Heducks* had passed; who finding themselves cut off, and separated from the rest of their Companions, resolved to attack certain Boats, Barges, and Ferries belonging to the Enemy, which lay on that side of the Water; and to make use of them for Transportation of the other Forces. The design succeeded very prosperously; for the *Turks* taking these *Heducks* to be their Friends, were easily surprized and cut to pieces; and two very great Barges were seized and brought over to the other side, on which *Hoffkirchen* and *Serini* embarking themselves with Three hundred Dragons, passed the River, and joynted the *Heducks*, who were far engaged in a pursuit of the Enemy; who being surprized, had abandoned *Proot*, together with the Works and Trenches which they had made; of which taking possession, made a speedy passage for the remaining Party of the *Germans*, and

Confu-
lence in
passing
Save.

Five hun-
dred pass-
ed the
River.

1688.

R r and

1683. and *Hoyducks*. In the Heat of this Action, Two hundred of the Enemy, who were Two thousand strong, were cut in pieces, and many Women and Children were made Prisoners; the Christian Soldiers gained a considerable Booty in this Action; for the *Turks* being surprized, had not time to save any thing of their Moveables and Riches; and with them they had the Fortune to set Two hundred Christians at liberty, amongst which was a Lieutenant of the Regiment of the Upper *Rhine*, with several other substantial Officers.

Count *Hoffkirchen* looking on this place to be an advantageous Post for raising a Bridge of Communication between that side and *Slavonia*, and that in Four days they could at any time be carried down the Stream to *Belgrade*; It was resolved to maintain that Post until other Orders should come from P. Lewis, to whom an Express was sent to know his pleasure: And in the mean time, they repaired the Trenches, and improved the Works with better Fortifications than those which the *Turks* had made; whereby they put themselves into a condition to resist any force, which the *Turks* could bring against them in a short time; and hereof in two or three days afterwards they had an occasion to make

16. *Hoffkirchen* at-
tacked by
Topal
Pasha.

1683. 12. *Hoffkirchen* at-
tacked by
Topal
Pasha.

make good Trial; for *Topal Pasha* having joyned himself with Two other Pashas lately come from *Adrianople*, came upon them with an Army to the Number of Eight thousand men; and having intrenched himself at the distance of about Three hundred Paces from the *Palancha*, he assaulted that, and the Trenches about Midnight; but were bravely repulsed by the continual Fire, which the Christians made upon them; so that drawing off at some little distance, they brought Two Guns about Break of day in the Morning, with design to batter the place; in which were no more than Three hundred *Germans*, Horse and Foot, and about One thousand *Hoyducks*; because that *Hoffkirchen* had detached a great part of his Forces towards *Poffega*, to Convey some Waggon of Provisions and Ammunition, of which they stood in need. The Enemy being well advised hereof, and of the weakness of the Garrison within, returned to make a new Attack, covering their approach with Boards, Waggon, and Barrels of Earth.

1683. 16. *Hoffkirchen* at-
tacked by
Topal
Pasha.

In the mean time the Attachment sent to *Poffega* returning, were observed by the *Turks*; who resolving to hinder their Union, furiously made another Assault, with Two thousand brave *Janisaries*, and as many *Spahes*; who having filled up the shallow Ditch with Bushes, Boards, and Rubbish, ascended as high as to the Parapet, where they planted Two of the Colours belonging

to *Topal Pasha*, near to Three of the Imperial Ensigns: Whereupon began a very furious Fight, with Swords and Scymeters at handy blows; and the Imperialists mixing with the *Turks*, threw them headlong into the Ditch and Trenches, killing in this Action with very little loss on their side above Five hundred *Turks*, and taking Three Ensigns. After which a Sally was made with so much vigour and bravery, that the *Turks* were repulsed, and droven out of their new Works, which they had made near the Banks of the River.

In the mean time the Detachment which had lately been made, returned and passed the Water; with which the Forces in the *Palancha* being reinforced, made a Sally upon the Enemy, both with Horse and Foot; and intirely beat them out of all their Approaches and Retrenchments, with the loss of their Baggage and Waggon: This Action continued for the space of Four and twenty Hours; in which, and other Attacks before, the *Turks* lost above Twelve hundred men.

This Post was maintained for several days, and until such time as P. Lewis of *Baden* sent Orders to *Hoffkirchen* to withdraw his Troops; it not being advisable to hazard such brave men in a Post, which could not easily be maintained; and at so far a distance, as Four days Journey from the main Body of the Army, C. *Hoffkirchen* abandoned the place accordingly; and having sacked it, set Fire to it, and passed the River with a very rich Booty.

The particulars of this Retreat not being well understood, caused some Disturbance at *Poffega*, where it was reported, that the *Turks* in a Body of Fifteen hundred Men, had passed the *Save*; and having defeated *Hoffkirchen*, intended to dispute the Passage with Prince Lewis of *Baden*: Who being in great Concernment for *Hoffkirchen*, was come as far as *Poffega* to enquire after him; and to receive true Information, he dispatched General *Piccolomini* with Three hundred Horse, to look after him; but they Marching by different Ways, missed of each other: When the General came to *Proot*, where he discovered some Parties of the Enemy, which covered themselves within those Ruins, having first broken down all the Bridges near to that *Palancha*, he passed the Water, and boldly attempted the *Turks*, imagining their numbers to be less than they were. The *Turks* pressing on the other side, that these Forces were some advanced Troops of the main Body of the Army, retired themselves into the old Fort over against *Proot*, where having no Cannon, they plied their Small-shot very plentifully upon the Imperialists, by which it

1688.

1688. 16. *Hoffkirchen* at-
tacked by
Topal
Pasha.

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1688. 16. *Hoffkirchen* at-
tacked by
Topal
Pasha.

1688. 16. *Hoffkirchen* at-
tacked by
Topal
Pasha.

1688. being discover'd, that the *Turks* were at least Two thousand in number; *Piccolomini* made a very skilful Retreat, according to the Military Order, and returned towards *Poffega*, where he found *Hoffkirchen*, Prince Lewis, and all the other Troops happily joyned.

The Troops having refreshed themselves one day in *Poffega*, and being provided with all things requisite for their Subsistence, Prince Lewis began his March thence towards *Gradska* on the 24th of July, carrying with him four Demy-culverins, and some Field Pieces; resolving to pass the *Save* at *Siffek* in *Croatia*, and joyn there with a Body of *Croats*, and endeavour to Attack the Enemy, if possible: And here we will leave him for a while on this Expedition, and return to the great Camp, where the Elector of *Bavaria* was Arrived, to the great Joy and Triumph of the whole Army.

The same Evening that the Elector entered the Camp at *Tiska*, he resolved next Morning to proceed towards *Belgrade*, and accordingly he made a strong Detachment under the Command of Count *Dunewalt* to Advance, and discover the Countenance of the Enemy, who (as it was reported) with a Body of Twenty thousand Men, had fortified the Banks of the *Save* all along the Shoar, as far as to the *Danube*, with Trenches, and Ditches, and Palisades, in the same manner as they had done the year before under *Essek*; besides which, *Tekely* had formed a Camp with such Advantage, as that he could in a very short time come in to their Assistance.

The Army having the 5th of August Encamped at *Tiska*, continued their March next day towards the *Save*, and made a Halt at *Baglutz*, about half a League distant from the River; where the Artillery lately brought by Water from *Buda*, together with the Baggage, and the Boats on Wheels, with other Materials necessary for making a Bridge, joyned the Army that Evening under a Good Convoy of Horse and Foot. About the same time a Prisoner was brought to the Camp, who upon Examination declared, That the Ottoman Army was composed of about Twenty five thousand Men, of which Twenty five Chambers of *Janisaries*, consisting of about Four or five hundred each, were employed to finish the Intrenchments they had made on the other side of the *Save*, to hinder the Passage of the Christian Army: A Counsel of War being held thereupon, it was resolved to force the Passage; and to send a good Body of Men to burn the Bridge, which the *Turks* had Built near *Belgrade*: But in case that Design succeeded not, then they

were to Post themselves as near the Bridge as they could, both to give the Alarm on that side, and also to secure the Convoys which were coming to the Army from *Peter Waradin*; for security of which, the Detachment of Four thousand Men, under *Dunewalt* was also appointed: In the mean time the gross Body of the Army moved towards the *Save*, directing their March towards the Island of *Zingar* or *Snadlowi*, which the *Turks* had possessed, but fled, and quitted it upon a Report, of the near Approach of the Christian Army, so that the Imperialists without any Opposition possessed themselves of that Island; the Foot passed over in Boats, but the Horse forded the Water: But the great difficulty lay on the other side, where the Water was not only deeper; but the opposite Banks descended so well by the Enemies Cannon and Small-shot, that there seemed an impossibility almost to pass; and the more, because that *Tekely* lay Encamped on the other side, joyned to a strong Body of *Turks*, who lay ready to receive them at their landing, and to give them an unpleasant Welcome. All which being consider'd; it was resolved to Alarm the *Turks* that Night in divers places, whilst Count *Serini* General of the *Bavarian* Forces, assisted with the Generals *Stirum* and *Alpremont*, should with Six thousand Men endeavour to pass the River at a good distance from the place, where the chief Alarm was made; which was executed with that Care and Conduct, that the Success proved answerable thereunto; for the Six thousand Men having safely passed without any Opposition, posted themselves with the *Chevaux de Frise* chained and linked together, which served like a Turn-pike against the Enemies Horse and Foot, until the rest of the Army could follow. But so soon as it was clear Day, they were furiously attacked by Eight thousand *Janisaries*, who were as warmly received, and forced to Retreat, leaving Six hundred of their Men dead upon the place, with the loss only of One hundred and twenty Men on the Christian side; during this Engagement which lasted about two Hours, a Bridge was laid over the River with such Expedition, that the whole Army passed that Day, except only the Cannon, and the Heavy Baggage; which were also Transported over without any delay. The most difficult Point of the whole Campaign being now overcome, the Elector of *Bavaria* distributed Two thousand Ducats amongst those who had signalized themselves in this Action; and without any demur marched towards *Belgrade*, from whence he was not distant above three days Journey. Had the *Turks* been Men of Courage of

1688.

1688. 16. *Hoffkirchen* at-
tacked by
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1688. 16. *Hoffkirchen* at-
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1688. 16. *Hoffkirchen* at-
tacked by
Topal
Pasha.

1688. Conduct, they might easily have hindered the Christian Army from passing the River; but indeed to speak the Truth, they had lost all that Bravery and Spirit, by which they had gained for many Kingdoms in the East, and advanced so far into the Dominions of Europe: But being now dispirited by unfortunate losses of their Cities and strong Holds, and by Overthrows and Defeats in Battle, and more especially by their own intestine Mutinies and Diffentions, in which most of their brave Men perished; they became so sunk in their Spirits, that they were not half the Men, that they formerly had been; but being struck with a Consternation, as their Enemies were raised and flushed with Victory and Triumph, they Cowardly gave back, and lost the advantage, which Nature had given them by the Waters for a defence. The Elector designed to pursue the Enemy, before he Attempted the Siege of Belgrade; and to raise his Camp with the rising of the Moon, then entering into the last Quarter; when he was hinder'd by a violent Storm of Wind and Rain, with Thunder and Lightning which endangered the Bridge, and lasted until break of Day of the 10th in the Morning: The Turks interpreting this Storm, as a bad Omen unto themselves, abandoned their Camp, leaving many Thousand Heads of Cattle dispersed in the Fields, with all their Instruments for Intrenching; and fled with such Precipitation and Hast, that the Christian Generals, judging it impossible to overtake them, directed their Course by the nearest way to Belgrade. Prince Eugeny of Savoy was Commanded by his Electoral Highness, to advance with his Regiment and some Guards, towards the City, to take a view of the Enemy, and discover in what order they were lodged in their Trenches: The Inhabitants of the City having received the affrighting News of the near Approach of the Christian Army, had the time of three or four days, to Embark their useless People, with the best of their Moveables, and richest Goods on a Thousand Boats; with which they failed down the Stream of the River, landing afterwards at several places, where Friends or Relations, or other Conveniences invited them: And in the mean time the remaining Garrison set Fire to the Suburbs, and reduced all to Ashes. Notwithstanding which, the Flight was so confused and hasty, that many of the Inhabitants with their Wives and Children, had not time to Convey themselves away; of which some were killed, and many made

1688. Captives: Only some Jews and Rascals remained behind, who being habited in the Turkish fashion, had been exposed to the

Fury of the Soldiery, had not the Generosity of the Prince restrained the Heat of their Martial Fury. Soon afterwards the whole Army came up, and Sacked and Plundered the Suburbs, sparing neither Mosque nor House: And tho' the Fire, and Flames were very terrible; yet the Soldiers gained more Plunder and Booty in those Suburbs, than they had done in all Buda; because they had the fortune to surprize whole Bales of Goods, and Moveables ready Packed up, which the Owners in their Flight had not time to carry away. However, some of these Plunderers being over-intent on their Prey, were surprized by a Party of the Enemy, and either killed, or made Captives.

No time was lost in opening the Trenches, into which Major General Steinman, and Count Ottingen entered on the 21st of August, and Commanded there that Night, but could not advance much by reason of the continual Rains. However, in two or three days the Trenches were finished, and three Batteries were raised, and furnished with the Heavy Cannon, which on the 25th arrived in the Camp. Twenty six Pieces were immediately mounted, and began to play upon the Castle; and tho' they had raised their Batteries, as high as was possible; yet the Ruins of the Suburbs lay so much in the way, that the Shot could not reach the bottom of the Wall, till the Way was cleared by the Pioneers; and then two new Batteries were raised, and all the remaining Artillery planted thereon, they ply'd incessantly on the Walls of the Castle with great Shot and Bombs, in the mean time the Enemy was not idle, but returned the like into the Christian Camp, making frequent Salies with much Bravery; in which the Germans lost more Men than the Turks, amongst which was the Count of Ligneville, Colonel of Foot, and Adjutant General, who by a Shot received in the Trenches died immediately.

The Town, and Castle of Belgrade being in this manner formally invested, it was believed, That it could not hold out long, by reason of the Weakness of the Garrison, which consisted of no more than Three thousand and five hundred Men, Commanded by Ibrahim late Pasha of Bagdat or Babylon, who being a Brave and Valiant Soldier, resolv'd to maintain the place to the last Extremity, giving out for Encouragement of his Garrison, that powerful Succours were coming to their Relief, under the Command of Osman Pasha of Aleppo; but this Report, grounded on some stragling Troops belonging to Tekeli, seen in the Neighbour-hood of Semandria,

1688.

August.

A fire consumes the Suburbs.

The Trenches open'd.

August. 1688.

Batteries rais'd.

gave

1688. gave some hopes to the fainting Garrison; but General Dunewalt being sent against Tekeli, with a strong Detachment of Horse, soon drove him from those Quarters. The chief Force of the Turks being no more than Twenty five thousand Men, under Command of Osman Pasha of Aleppo, lay Encamped near Nissa, whilst Teghen before retired with his Horse (for his Foot had deserted him) near to Sophia, destroying and confusing the Forage round the Country.

The Turks finding themselves in this low and helpless Condition, inclined to Counsels tending to Peace, and reassum'd their former Resolution of sending their two forementioned Ambassadors, Zulicar Effendi, and the Interpreter Mauro-cordato to beg a Peace (to whom as we have said, Teghen gave lately a stop) a Method never before practised by the Ottoman Emperors, since the beginning of their Empire: But the Misfortunes of War, and the Miseries of their own intestine Diffentions had bowed their Hearts, and Haughty Thoughts to submissive and humble Prayers for Peace; in order to which Osman Pasha of Aleppo wrote this following Letter to the Elector of Bavaria, brought to him by the Hand of a Chiaus.

To him, who is Dear to God, and ranked in chief Degree amongst the Princes of Germany, powerful in People and Government, Famous and Renowned in all Parts, Duke Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, and General of the Army of the Emperor of the Romans, unto whom may God grant that Health, which I wish unto him.

After Salutations premised. Be it known unto you, That one of the Chief Officers of our Emperor of the Turks, who now Reigns, is dispatched with an important Letter to your most powerful Emperor: This Ambassador is a Person highly esteemed amongst us, both for his Wisdom and Vertue, whose name is Zulicar Effendi; with whom goes also joined in the same Commission Alexander Mauro-cordato, Interpreter to the Port for secret Affairs, a Person of singular Reputation and Fame, and a Christian by Profession. These two Persons are arriv'd at this place from Constantinople with design to proceed farther to your Camp; in case they may be received with the same Honourable, Safe and Courteous Entertainment, as hath by ancient Customs, and laudable Practice been shewn to those of their Character: They have with them about One hundred Persons belonging to their Retinue, for whom that safe Convey and Passports may be dispatched, I have sent you this Letter, to request such Security for them as is necessary: When they draw near

to your Camp, they will send again to you, to the end, that a Convey may come from your Army to meet and receive them from the Pasha, who is sent with Troops from hence: That so the Respect, and Safety of Ambassadors observed by all Nations, as is fit and necessary may remain in it's ancient Lustre. For you know how careful both sides ought to be of their safe Passage. Prosperity to those, who follow the true Direction.

Signed, Osman Pasha of Aleppo.

Given in the Army near Nissa.

The Elector of Bavaria's Answer.

To Osman Pasha of Aleppo. Greeting, &c.

We have received your Letter from the Camp at Nissa, wherein you give us to understand, That an Ambassador by name Zulicar Effendi, and the first Interpreter, have Orders from your Emperor to come to our Army: Now altho' we being inclined to Military Actions, might well refuse to receive them here; which none could take amiss in this present heat of Affairs, or might put off their Reception until another time, since We judge that their Proposals will little agree with our present Intentions: Yet being moved by a Christian Compassion, We do Grant that they may come to the Army: And We will favourably hear, what your Emperor hath Commanded them to propose unto us. To which end We have Commanded that a Passport shall be prepared for their Security and delivered to the Persons, who brought your Letter. We have also given Orders to the Governour of Semandria, that in the manner directed him, and with a sufficient number of Troops, he Conduct them safe to our Army. Upon which they may firmly Rely.

Given at our Camp before Belgrade. August 23d 1688.

In pursuance of this Letter, Orders were given to General Caraffa to go to Tithal, and receive the Ambassadors; but in the mean time the Siege proceeded, and Attacks were made with all the Fury and Vigour imaginable; many Pieces of the Cannon, which came from Buda, being cast in half, burst one after another; so that to supply their defect, the Elector sent for most of the Cannon from Semandria; which being raised, and planted, did great Execution; and throwing Bombs and Carcasses from Fifteen Mortars at a time, struck Terror into the Defendants, and set Fire to divers parts of the Fortreſs. However, the Turks manfully applied themselves to quench the Flames, and returned the Cannon-shot and Bombs,

The Turks throw Bombs and Carcasses.

Bombs, with other artificial Fires made with Pitch, and Sulfur upon the Besiegers, in the same manner, as they had practised in the defence of *Buda*. They Sprang also one Mine, which venting about eight or ten Paces backwards, did no farther mischief, than the killing of one Man; but this being followed by a Storm of Bombs, one of which falling into a Magazine, where some Hundreds of Weights of Powder, it blew all into the Air, without other Mischief than the Death of eight Common Soldiers.

The *Turks* believing that this Blow, and Springing of the last Mine, had caused some disorder in the Trenches, made a violent Sally, with their Scymeters in their Hands into the Approaches; but being strongly opposed by a Captain who Commanded a Hundred Men, reinforced also by some Parties of *Strasser's* Regiment, they were repulsed with the loss of Forty of their Men, eight Imperialists only being killed. The Fury of the *Turks* being hereby much abated; Differences, as is usual, arose between the Commanders and the Souldiers; the first seemed resolved to defend the Fortrefs to the last extremity, and last drop of their Blood, knowing that they could not long out-live any Surrender made upon Composition: But the Soldiers, who could save their Lives on easier Terms, were desirous to be freed from the Showers of Fire, which being continually poured upon them, did in the Night resemble the dreadful Flames of *Vesuvius* or *Mongibello*.

The Elector of *Bavaria* being well assured in the mean time, that the Conquest of that Castle would shortly be added to the Triumphs of *Cæsar*, had time, with much quiet of mind, and without any distraction to give a Magnificent Reception to the Duke of *Lorraine*; who being now in some measure recovered from his late Sickness, could not absent himself from Martial Exercises, at least from being a Spectator, or bearing some share in this Heroick Enterprize.

News being come, that the Duke of *Lorraine*, having left his Royal Consort the Queen at *Buda*, was not far distant, the Elector accompanied with the Duke of *Mantoua*, and several of the General Officers, went to him at the Foot of the Bridge, which was made over the *Save*, and there received him with the joyful Salutation of all the Cannon which were planted in the Lines of Circumvallation, and by the Souldiery drawn up in several Battalions; and having walked over all the Lines, and observed the disposition of the Siege; all which being well approved, he was conducted to the *Bavarian* Tents, where he was sum-

priously treated by the Elector. After which, whilst these Noble Generals were viewing the approaches, the *Turks* sprang a second Mine under the main Battery; not far from the persons of these great Commanders; who being relieved by the Providence of God to reap more Laurels, remained untouched amidst that danger. Howsoever the *Turks* thinking thereby to have gained some great advantage, made a brisk Sally, with Colours flying, and Drums beating, drawn up in posture of Battle: The *Suedes* and *Franconians* having then that place allotted them to Guard, gave way upon the first attack of the Enemy, and abandoned their Post, leaving their Officers to the mercy of the Enemy, who were miserably slaughtered by them.

After which the *Turks* advancing to the Left, were so warmly received, that they were repulsed with the loss of many of their Soldiers: Soon after which these illustrious Dukes entered the approaches from whence the *Turks* had been beaten, and bestowed due Praises on those Soldiers, who so bravely and valiantly had behaved themselves to the Reproach of those, who cowardly retreated. After which the Duke of *Lorraine* retired to the Quarters of his own Regiment of Horse, than which he had at that time no other Command in the Army, the whole conduct and General direction being entirely in the power of the Elector of *Bavaria*.

The Breaches being now made, some wider than others, the 5th of September was appointed for a day of a General Assault; which being come, the whole Army remained in a readiness to make the on-set, and execute the last Orders of their Generals; when unexpectedly a Bomb from the Enemies Works fell amongst certain Barrels of Powder; which blowing up, over-turned the Works which belonged to Mines then preparing; and burned in a furious manner all things near it, killing divers Soldiers; and amongst the rest was Count *Guido of Staremberg*, and Count *Berzetti*, Chief Director of the Mines. This Fire was followed by such a terrible Rain, which continued all that day, and part of the Night following, that it was impossible to execute the intended Attack; but afterwards the Weather clearing up, the Mines were repaired again in such manner, that at break of day in the Morning, Fire was given to them with so good success, that the Ditch was filled up, and as it were, levelled as much as was needful.

The Attack was ordered to be made in Four several Quarters, that in the Front was commanded by the Elector himself: That on the Right-hand by the Prince of

The *Turks* spring another Mine, and make a Sally.

1688. *Commercy*, on the Left by the Dragoons of General *Heufler*, and that next the Water by *Pini* Sergeant Major of the Regiment of *Lorraine*.

All things being in this manner disposed in order for a general Assault, about Nine a Clock in the Morning the Signal was given to make the Attack, by Firing a Piece of Cannon in the Front of the Line of Circumvallation, which was answered by a Shot to the Right, and soon afterwards by Two others to the Left; which being the Signal to make the Attack, the Affiliants entered the Ditch, where they were received by infinite Volleys of Shot pouring upon them from all sides; which giving no stop to the Bravery and Courage of the Soldiers, they mounted to the top of the Breach, tho' the Earth was become soft and slippery by the late Rains.

From the height of this Breach, they took a Prospect of greater difficulties still to overcome; for they were now to descend into another Ditch, which the *Turks* had digged at the Foot of the inside of the Wall; and there to wrench up or beat down the Palisadoes, which were planted on the top of the Ditch; and this was to be executed in Contempt and Despire of all the Shot, which the Besieged shower'd from all sides upon them; the which was sufficient to intimidate and cool the Courage of the most valiant Heroes, especially when at the beginning of this danger they saw their Leader Count *Scherffemberg*, and soon afterwards their Colonel Count *Emanuel de Furstemberg*, who entered into his place, both killed before them, as was also Count *Henric of Staremberg*: And indeed the German Soldiers beginning a little to give Ground, were in danger totally to lose all the advantage which they had gained; had not the Elector himself exposed his own Person to all the Shot of the Enemy; and standing upon the Breach with his Sword drawn, threatened the Life of any one who should dare to retire; and accordingly some were killed for the Terror of others.

The Soldiers, animated by the Example of their General, and touched with a sense of Honour, defended with new resolution into the Ditch; and being well seconded by others, they mounted to the Top, where the Palisadoes were Planted.

The *Turks* terrified with so bold and surprising an Attempt, fled scrambling from the face of their Enemies, and crowded into the Castle, between which and this Town, there was only a single Bridge;

where displaying a White Flag, they demanded to Capitulate for their Lives: But some of the more desperate Affiliants having no regard to Flags, or Colours, or what was acting, ascended to the Tops of the Houses, and into Windows, and entered in at the Port-holes made for the Guns, where they made a most horrible Massacre of all that stood before them, without regard to Age or Sex.

This Success was in a great measure obtained by the other Attack, commanded by the Prince of *Commercy*; who tho' wounded in the Shoulder by a Musquet-Bullet, did yet overcome all difficulties, and enter victoriously within the Walls.

On that side howsoever, where General *Heufler* commanded with his Dragoons, the opposition was not so great; so that laying aside the Ladders which they had prepared for Scaling the Walls, they went directly to the Gate, and in spite of all their Shot fixed a Petard thereunto, which intirely forced it from its Bolts and Hinges, and laid all open to the entrance of the Soldiers; howsoever at some little distance from the first, another Wall presented itself, well guarded, and defended with Soldiers, who made continual Volleys upon the Affiliants; to which there was an Iron-gate to pass, before entrance could be made; and that so strong, that it was judged almost impossible to be overthrown, during the Heat of this Action.

Howsoever the Dragoons of *Savoy* being encouraged by their Prince, (who but some days before had been wounded in the Knee) leaped on the Wall, which was not very high; and desperately threw themselves into the City; by which means becoming Masters of the Gate, they opened it, and let in a whole Torrent of the German Forces, who in a short time covered all the Streets with the Bodies of their Enemies: Howsoever this Action cost the Lives of above One hundred Dragoons of *Savoy*, with some of their principal Officers, amongst which was the Count of *Maffels*; and General *Heufler* had his Thumb struck off with a Musquet-Bullet, which hindered nothing in prosecution of this Victory.

Many *Turks* endeavouring to escape the fury of the Soldiers by passing the River in Boats, fell into the hands of the Germans, who gave them no better Quarter, than they had done to those who defended the Breach.

The P. of Commercy forces on the other side.

General Heufler forces a Gate.

Maffels and slaughter of the Turks.

1688.

The Pasha
and other
Officers
made Pri-
soners.

All being now subdued, and subjected to Victorious Arms of the Christians, no place flood out, but only a small Trench behind the Castle, to which the Pasha or Commander in Chief, with the Aga of the Janisaries, and some Officers had retired themselves; and with them they took those Slaves which they had maintained for their Service in the Castle: The Soldiers in their fury, not being fatiated with the Blood they had already spilt, were disposed to bathe their Swords yet farther in the Bodies of this small remainder of their Enemies, and were ready to have executed, and wreak their final Rage on the Pasha, and Officers, when the Clemency of the most Serene Elector, being moved by the Cries and Tears of the Christian Captives, at their Petitions and Prayers, spared the Lives of the *Turks*; being contented to see the *Turks* bound in the same Chains which they had newly taken from the Christians: And yet the horrible Massacre of the Sword did not cease in other parts of the City, all being filled with Confusion and Cruelty; when on a sudden a terrible Fire broke out in the lower Town, which burned with so much Violence, that the Conquerors as well as the Conquered were willing to escape out at the Gates.

The Cruelty
of the Sol-
diers.
1688.

It was grievous to see poor Old men made Prisoners, dragged by their Beards, and Women and Maidens covered with Blood and, Dirt drawn by the Hairs of the Head, and made the Sport and Pastime of Military Indulgence.

In Fine, the Fire being extinguished, Slaughter ceased, and about Noon the City and Castle were intirely subdued.

Sept. 7.
Te Deum
sung.

On the 6th of September when His Electoral Highness, and the other Generals rode Triumphantly into the City, beholding the dead Bodies, which filled the Streets, the Ruins of the Houses, and the Destruction on which the Bombs had made; And considering these Successes to have proceeded intirely from the Blessing, and Divine assistance of the God of Hosts; His Electoral Highness on the 7th of September, caused *Te Deum* to be sung in one of the Pleasure-houses belonging to the Grand Seigneur, situate on the Declivity of a Hill, where the Elector thought fit to take up his Lodgings. And a Capuchin after saying Mass, was ordered by a short and devout Sermon to move the minds of the Soldiery to return Thanks unto God, who was the Giver of Victory;

and to implore the Divine Benediction on the farther progress of their Arms. After which, all the Cannon of the Fortresses, and of the Camp were Fired Three times, with loud *Vrue's* resounding the Fame of *Leopold*, and *Maximilian Emanuel*.

The day following the Elector invited all the Generals, and Chief Officers of the Army to a sumptuous Banquet, at which also the *Turkish* Ambassadors happened to be present; for whom, and his Retinue, (as we mentioned before) the Pasha of Aleppo had desired a Pass.

When this Ambassador approached near the Camp, he was strangely surprized to hear all things so quiet, no Noise of Guns or other Instruments of War; but coming yet nearer, his Eyes convinced him (when he saw the Imperial Eagles advanced on the Walls) that the Town was taken.

News being brought to the Elector, that the Ambassador was come, he was conducted with his Interpreter *Mauro-cordato*, and his Followers on Horseback into the Court-yard, of the House where the Elector was lodged; and there being alighted, he was conducted up Stairs by Two Gentlemen, to the Chamber where the Elector was seated, with whom at his first Entrance, he passed some Complements of Thanks, for the Passport and Convey which he had so obligingly bestowed upon him.

After which he was led into a large Hall, where a sumptuous Table was spread. The Elector took the Upper-end, at his Right-hand was placed the Duke of Mantova, on his Left the Ottoman Ambassador; and by his side the Interpreter was seated.

By the Duke were placed the Generals *Caprara*, *Dunewalt*, *Hensler*, *Rabatin*; Prince *Charles*, *Philip of Hannover*, the Vice-Commissary *Falckenhan*, Count of *Oetting*, *Sauran*, *Strum*, *Gronsfelt*, *Montecucoli*, *Palf*, and *Sereni*; which filled and crowned the Table with cheerful Countenances, whilst the Ambassador drooping in his Spirits, could not hide and suppress his Sorrow from appearing in his looks: The jollity of these Victorious Officers, was a Ponyard to his Heart, which very ill agreed with so much Festivity and Mirth of his Enemies; and of the principal Officers, who in very rich Habits encircled the Table. Howsoever being constrained to say something, which might not betray his dejection of mind; casting his Eyes round upon the Company, he said to the Elector, *That he was astonished at the appearance of so many handsome and accomplished*

The Turkish
Ambassadors
near the
Camp.Is seated
with the
Generals.Total se-
nate
Luna.

1688. *plished Personages*; But one thing he observed, *That the Emperor of the Romans was served by Young Generals; at which he could not much wonder; for when he considered, how they daily exposed themselves to the most desperate dangers, there seemed an impossibility almost for them to survive till old age*. Thus far it had been well, if he had stopped at this period of Complement.

But pursuing his Discourse farther, he told them, that the Year before he had been at the Battel of *Hatzban*. To which the Elector Replied, *That certainly he must have had a good Horse*; meaning to escape and run away; which caused some Laughter.

During the time of Dinner, the Trumpets, Haut-boys, and other Instruments were sounded; and Healths drank round in full Cups of Wine; to the Emperor; to the continuance of prosperous Successes to his Arms; and the Third to the Health of the Ottoman Emperor; To all which the Ambassador did reason in *Sherbet of Lemmons* Wine, being both against his Religion and his Custom to Drink. The Fourth Health was to the Elector; the Fifth to the Duke of Mantova; the Sixth to the Ambassador, and then to all brave Soldiers; and after many other Glasses, they concluded all with a Health to a Good Peace, or a Glorious War, with which, breaking their Glasses, the Feast ended with the Day.

The taking of the Town, and City of *Belgrade*, was of a most fatal Importance to the *Turks*; for thereby the Way was laid opened to *Adrianople*, and *Constantinople*, no Garrisons lay between them and *Belgrade*, nor Forces to oppose the March of the Imperial Arms; unless Scarcity and want of Provisions through a desolate Country, in many places full of Rocks and Mountains, to be passed, should bring more difficulty to the progress of a Victorious Army, than the Troops of their Enemies.

Nor did this Campaign end as yet with the Conquest of *Belgrade*, being seconded by others of equal advantage in *Bosnia*, under the auspicious Conduct of that Renowned and Fortunate General, Prince *Lewis of Baden*, whom we left lately at *Poffega*, with design to attack *Topal*, Pasha of *Bosnia*, who had Encamped himself under *Tervat* or *Tervent*, near the River of *Ukraine*, about Five Miles distant from *Proot*, which Prince *Lewis* had fortified, to facilitate his passage more easily into *Bosnia*, and to secure the

Communication between the Neighbouring Forts: And there also passed a Bridge over the *Sava*; which being finished, on the 1688. Third of September, he caused his Baggage to pass over, and the next day followed with his whole Army, in hopes to have drawn the Pasha from his Encampment; of whose Number the Prince had no very good Account; but being reported to be much less than they were, the Prince marched the Fourth Instant in the Evening silently, and without Noise to assault the Enemy in the Camp; and having passed that Night through many strait and difficult Ways, they arrived next Morning by break of day within sight of the advanced Guards of the Enemy, who gave the first Alarm; upon which the Pashas was the first to Mount on Horseback, and immediately drew forth his Troops, placing them in order of Battel; the Horse into Two Wings, and the Foot in the middle. The Force conducted by Prince *Lewis*, was no stronger in all than Three thousand Horse, and Three hundred Croats; but the *Turks* by several Recruits which had lately joyned them, were in all Fifteen thousand Fighting-men; by which inequality of Numbers, the *Turks* judging themselves secure of Victory, furiously attacked the Prince, who had also divided his Squadrons of Horse into Two Wings, the Right Commanded by *Piccolomini*, and the Left by Count *Casselli*, both Generals of *Battalia*.

The *Turks* at first falling in with all their power, and Numbers on the Left-wing, were Three times bravely repulsed by *Casselli*; when *Piccolomini* coming in to their Assistance, the Fight became so hot and fierce, that the *Christians* and the *Turks* remained for half an Hour so mixed together, that having not time to Re-Charge their Fire-Arms, they fought only at hand blows, opening the way with their Swords.

At length the *Turks* being overcome by the unparalleled Valour of the Imperialists, the *Turkish* Horse began to retire, leaving their Infantry naked, and exposed to the Fury of the Enemy, of whom the greatest Slaughter was made, that ever was known, between Two such small Bodies.

And indeed, Reflexion being made on the Numbers of the Imperialists, it will appear a Miracle that Three thousand three hundred men should defeat Fifteen thousand, killing Five thousand on the place, amongst which was the General *Topal* Pasha, Two Agas, and the *Kahya* to the Pasha: The Foot made a brave defence for some time;

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1688. but at length were dispersed: About Two hundred of them were drowned in the River, and lost in the Bogs, and such as escaped the Sword, submitted to Quarter. The Imperialists had the advantage to be covered by the side of a Hill, when the Enemy attacked them.

In this great Action the Imperialists lost not more than One hundred and fifty men, amongst which was Captain *Maraville*, and Two Lieutenants; the Prince *August of Hanover* was slightly Wounded in the Hand by a Lance, and the Count *de Cronsvelt*, Sergeant-Major of the Regiment of *Holstein* in the Neck,

Prince *August* was Colonel of a Regiment of Curassiers, and conducted a Detachment of Two thousand men, with which he was commanded to march from *Peter-Waradin*; and join with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; the which he performed, and behaved himself with incomparable Valour, which is natural to that Illustrious Family.

In this manner Prince *Lewis* Exalted with Glory, and laden with Spoils, returned with many Standards and Colours taken from the Enemy, to his former Camp at *Proot*; where Dedicating the Day following to the Repose and Refreshment of his Soldiery, he returned Thanks to the God of Hosts, for so signal a Victory, which happened to fall out on the very same day, that the Elector of *Bavaria* sang the *Te Deum* at *Belgrade* for the Conquest and Subjection of that place.

These Two great and signal Actions being performed so near to each other in time, filled all *Vienna* and *Christendom* (France only excepted) with extraordinary Joy and Triumph.

1688. Prince *Charles* of *Vaudemont* was chosen by the Elector to be the joyful Messenger of this Glorious Action of taking *Belgrade*, to the Imperial Court, which was immediately followed by Baron *Schlick*, dispatched by the Prince of *Baden*, with Advice of that wonderful Victory obtained over *Topal* the Pasha of *Bosnia*.

In this glorious manner did the Campaign end in *Hungary*, which might have been farther improved, and a progress made by the Imperial Arms to the utmost extent of those Dominions which the *Turks* possess in *Europe*, had not the most Christian King, being displeased at the prosperous Course of the

Imperial Arms against the *Turk*, thought it time to make a diversion by waging War upon *Germany*.

And indeed it had been no wonder to have seen the Imperial Eagles, as a consequence of the present Consecration, Erected on the Walls of *Constantinople*, and the *Turks* driven over the *Bosphorus* to possess their more Ancient possessions in *Asia*, had not the Menaces of the *French King* recalled the Elector of *Bavaria* from his intended Enterprize, which was very probable and likely to have succeeded: For the *Russians* were got into a Body of Eight thousand men between *Semandra* and *Nissa*, being, besides their old Feuds, lately exasperated by the burning of their Houses, and destroying of their Fields by *Teghen Pasha*, which he did to hinder the Imperialists from following him in his late Flight from *Belgrade*: In revenge of which, they desired the *Germans* to furnish them with experienced Commanders, to direct and discipline them; not questioning but to become Masters of all that Country, and to possess *Sophia* it self; promising also to bring the *Bulgarians* and *Greeks* into the Interest of the Emperor.

But the Elector of *Bavaria*, as we have said, being obliged to return, he arrived at *Vienna* the 18th day of September, and Three days afterwards was followed by the Duke of *Lorraine*, who by reason of his late indisposition, could not move so vigorously as the Elector.

The arrival of the Elector at *Vienna*, happened on the Day of Thanksgiving for the late Successes; where nothing was omitted to render that Day solemn and full of Joy and Triumph. The Procession came forth from the Royal Church of the *Augustines* disfiled, and proceeded to the Cathedral of *St. Stephen's*, being followed by all the Clergy, Gentry, Nobility, and Ministers of the Court; and last of all with Exemplary Devotion and Piety, came the Young King of *Hungary*, and their Imperial Majesties, attended with the Queen of *Poland*, and the Electress of *Bavaria*.

This most August Train being entered the Church, an Eloquent Sermon was Preached before them, agreeable to the present occasion; after which, *Te Deum* was Sung, and Mass Celebrated by the Bishop of *Vienna*, with the Harmony of the most exquisite Music, both Vocal and Instrumental, that Human Art could arrive unto. All which Jubilee and Triumph was much augmented

by

1688. by the appearance of his Electoral Highness, whom the Fatigues and weariness of his Journey could not hinder from bearing part in the Festival of this day; and indeed the People beheld him with such Admiration, that their Eyes had scarce time to fix on any other Object than his person, who had achieved Two such memorable Actions that Year; namely, in passing the *Save*, and subduing *Belgrade*, as may compare with the most memorable and Heroick Acts of *Alexander*, or the *Cæsars*.

Whilst these Triumphs were celebrating in *Austria*, and over all *Germany*, and Messengers dispatched to all Courts of *Christendom* to carry the happy News of so many Victories, the Ottoman Dominions lay disconsolate and low, and exposed to the Incursions of their Enemies, had the Imperialists been inclined to push forward their Victories, even to the Walls of *Constantinople*.

But the Councils of *France* judging it necessary to support the *Turk*, resolved to break into *Germany*; which was accordingly performed, and such a diversion made thereby, as protracted the War for several Years afterwards: Wherefore tho it be my purpose only to relate the Wars between the Emperor, and the *Turks*, carried on in the famous Kingdom of *Hungary*; yet considering that by the *French* Machinations and Contrivances a stop was put to the free Course of the Imperial Arms, it may not be from our purpose to make a small digression; and describe the Original of that War, which afterwards involved all *Christendom* to the great Advantage and Conservation of the *Turks*.

We must therefore understand, that King *Lewis* the 14th had, on Account of *Madam d'Orleans*, and a pretended Title arising from her, swallowed in his mind a right to the whole Palatinate; and nourished for a long time a hatred to that most August Family, watching all Opportunities to seize on those Lands and Cities, which he thought were unjustly detained from him: Howsoever his Enmity burst not into open Violence, so long as the Cardinal of *Furstemburg* was joined in a Coadjutorial power with the Elector of *Cologne*.

But that Bishop being dead, and *Furstemburg* disappointed of his Election by the Choice of Prince *Joseph Clement* of *Bavaria*; the King passing the bounds of all moderation, breaks with the Emperor,

and writes this following Letter to the 1688. Pope.

Most Holy Father,

WE have resolved to Write with our own Hand unto your Holiness, desiring you to do justice to Cardinal de *Furstemburg*, who hath been chosen Archbishop and Elector of *Cologne*, on the 19th Current of this Month of September, by such plurality of Voices, that this Cardinal doth not doubt, but to obtain the Approbation and Confirmation of your Holiness in this Election, which hath been performed according to the strict Rules of the Canon; especially since amongst all those who stood Candidates for this sublime Office, none is or can be so capable to govern, and worthy the Dignity of an Archbishop, as this Cardinal.

What therefore I desire of your Holiness is but a meer Act of Justice: But since we could never as yet obtain the least point of favour from you; we find our selves obliged to lay before your Holiness, that in case your denial of Constituting the Cardinal of *Furstemburg* Elector by your Bull, should be the Cause and Original of a War, which cannot be other than bloody and miserable; we protest before God that your Holiness is liable to answer for all those wretched and fatal Accidents which shall trouble and disquiet the repose of *Christendom*, which you, as the common Father, are obliged to prevent.

And lest it should be Objected, That the Bishoprick of *Argentina* (with which the Cardinal of *Furstemburg* is invested) is incompatible with the Archbishoprick of *Cologne*; We declare, That the said Cardinal shall readily quit that See; for which we Present one of the most considerable Subjects of our Kingdom, who is the Bishop of *Metz*, against whom your Holiness can have no Objection, considering that your Holiness once gave him the Character of being the Scourge of the Hereticks. Which being the only Cause and Sum of this Letter, we crave, Holy Father, the Apostolical Benediction.

Given at *Verfailles* September 22. 1688.

Subscribed *Lewis King of France*, the Eldest Son of the Church.

(S F 2)

This

1688.

This Letter being delivered to Pope Innocent 11th by Cardinal de Eftrees, received not the Answer which the King expected; for this Pope being a person of Courage, just and severe in Observance of the Canonial Cannons and Constitutions, would not be induced out of fear or dread of those Menaces pronounced in the Letter, to disannul or make void the Lawful Election of Prince Joseph Clement of Bavaria, to the Archbishoprick and Electorate of Cologne. Whereupon the King being highly displeased, made a solemn Protest against the Validity of that Election; with which he dispatched Messengers and Carriers with a thousand Menaces into all parts of Germany, as also into Holland; enjoying them not to intermeddle, or concern themselves in the Electorate of Cologne, declaring that he was resolved to vindicate the cause of the Cardinal of Furslenburg by force of Arms; and at the same time commanded his Troops to march into the Ecclesiastical State near Avignon, and into Germany; upon which Philippsburg was attacked and taken: Some Manifestos were likewise published at the Diet at Ratisbon, and other places, declaring, That the King did not design to act any thing against the Truce made at Nimwegen, but rather intended to Convert it into a perpetual Peace, in case the Cardinal of Furslenburg might be established in the Electorate: Offering also to demolish Philippsburg, and restore it to the Bishoprick of Spire; and Freibourg to the Emperor, it being first demolished. But then as to the pretensions of Madam d'Orleans, relating to her Demands upon the Palatinate, the same should be amicably debated; which not being agreed, in the space of one year, they should then be referred to the impartial Mediation of the King of England, and the Republick of Venice.

1688.

But no sooner was this Declaration published, than the French by Force of Arms made themselves Masters of several Cities, seizing, and fortifying Castles, miserably burning and destroying the Palatinate; and exacting Contributions in Suevia, Franconia, and other places upon pain of military Execution, raging over all those Countries with such barbarous Inhumanity, as if men had laid aside all sense of Bowels, or Compassion to each other, waging War in a manner unknown to Tartars, Scythians, or other more salvage People of former Ages.

This surprizing Irruption of the French into Germany being carried by an Express

to his Electoral Highness at Belgrade gave (as we have said) a stop to the progress of his Victorious Arms against the Turk; so that having committed the Command of the Imperial Forces to the astutious Conduct and Care of General Caprara; he returned with all Expedition to Vienna, commanding his own Forces to follow him.

At Vienna having passed some few days and diverted himself with his most Serene Consort, at the Imperial Court of his most August Father in Law, he hastened with all expedition to Monaco, the place of his Electoral Residence; there to take such Measures as might secure his Brother in the Electorate of Cologne, to which he had been fairly chosen, and confirmed therein, by the concurrence of Pope Innocent the Eleventh: And likewise guard his own Countries from the Incursions of the French, who now like a Torrent carried all before them, burning and laying all places desolate, even to the very Borders of the Bavarian Dominions.

Thus were the Ottoman Dominions in Europe rescued from the fatal Blow of an entire Conquest: For not only were the Bavarian Troops recalled; but the French pressing hard upon the Upper Germany, the Emperor was forced to give Licence to the Militia of the Circles to return home, and to remand back from Hungary some of his own Regiments, for security of the Empire, and of the Electors, and other Princes; who now judged it time to unite themselves against the common Enemy; which tho' once esteemed to be the Turk only, yet now the French being become more formidable, more cruel, and bloody, than the Turks themselves, when they came first from Scythia, it became the common Interest of all Germany to unite in a Body in opposition to the dreadful power of their mighty Foe. So the Elector of Saxony joining with the Princes of Lunenburg, Brunswick, Hanover, and Hesse castle, they vigorously made Head, resolving to oppose all the Attempts, which the French made upon the Empire.

In this manner the Turks being relieved from imminent destruction, by a stop given to the Current of the Christian Arms, they had time to take some breath, and respite, and recover themselves a little, as will appear in the course of the following Year.

The Pasha of Belgrade taken Prisoner, as we have said, was carried to Vienna, where

1688.

The Pasha of Belgrade Prisoner.

where he was treated with Respect, and permitted the liberty of the City, under the care of *Cavaglio Marc Anti* the Emperor's principal Interpreter, because he was a man of Years, a great Soldier, and one chosen for his Valour and Bravery for the defence of Belgrade, having approved himself on all occasions courageous in Battle; and particularly in the defence of Belgrade, which he had maintained to the last extremity.

1688.

Caprara commands at Belgrade.

The Government of the City of Belgrade being (as we have said) committed to the Care and Command of Marshal Caprara; His first Employment was to purge and cleanse the City of the noisome and ferulent smell of Dead Corps, which lay scattered in the Streets, under the Walls, and upon the Breaches; the same were laden upon Waggon, to the Number of about Eight thousand, and thrown into the Current of the Danube; which being carried down the Stream, found their Graves, or Resting-places, where the Winds and Torrent carried them.

The Garrison appointed for Defence of the Town consisted of Four thousand Foot, and a Regiment of Horse, under the Command of Count Guido de Starenberg; the rest of the Militia being drawn out into Quarters near Peter-Waradin, some care was taken to repair the Breaches by the Art and Industry of the Ingenier *Andrea Cornaro*; howsoever there was so much neglect in the progress of this work, as tended to the advantage of the Turks, who Two Years afterwards retook the Town again to the disreputation, as well as to the loss of the Christian Arms.

But whilst the Ingenier was at work to repair the Breaches, on a sudden a Fire burst forth in the House, or Palace, called the Grand Seigneur's Favourite, which consumed it intirely to Ashes, no man knowing how, nor by what means those Flames were kindled.

After so many happy Successes, Labours, and Travels of the Soldiery, it might now be judged time to put an end to this glorious Campaign, and refresh the Soldiery already wearied with Toils and Dangers.

But General Caprara willing to make use of the Air of Fortune, resolved to visit the City of Semandria, which, as he was informed, was abandoned by the Turks. Being come thither, he was carried with a desire to proceed yet farther into the Con-

quered Countries, and advanced as far as *Poffkarwert*, an open Town consisting of about Three hundred Houses, which the Turks also had abandoned, leaving all their Chans, or publick Inns filled with Victuals, and Provisions of all sorts for a Booty to their Enemies.

These fortunate Successes induced the *Rafians* to submit unto the Emperor; so that the Inhabitants of Semandria, having for their Leader *Paul Diach*, were the first to pay Homage unto his *Cæsarean* Majesty; and in process of time performed great Services against the Turk.

These being animated by General Caprara increased speedily into a Body of Two thousand men, who surprized a place called *Vvaohva* on the River *Drine*, and another Town on the same River called *Zukolova*, where engaging with a Body of the Turks, they killed a Thousand of them on the place, and put the rest to Flight, of which very few of them had the fortune to escape with their Lives. But because the Turks made great Spoils and Devastations on the Banks of the River *Morava*, carrying away many Greeks as well as *Rafians* into Slavery, General Caprara sent Orders to *Hessler* to hasten to their help with Five Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, *Hessler* being arrived on the River *Morava*; where hearing of the Exploits which the *Rafians* had performed, and how that they had taken Three other Castles upon that River about Twenty Leagues distant from Belgrade; he passed the River and Lodged at *Pazziarovitz*, an open place, well situated, and easily defended, being guarded in the Front by the Three Castles, and in the Rear by Semandria.

All things meeting the desired Success, Count Caprara returned to Belgrade, from whence he reinforced *Hessler* with Fifteen hundred Foot to give a stop to the Incursions of the Turks, who with a Body of Twelve thousand Men ranged all along the River *Morava*; but consisting for the most part of a sort of Rabble, rather than formed Troops, they were soon dispersed, and came to nothing, Disbanding or Deserting of themselves: Or at least served only for Plunder and Spoil, rather than to oppose or make a Stand against a formidable Enemy; and in this manner they made Slaves of their own Christian Subjects, and destroyed their Country, until such time as that some Parties of them moved with indignation for the unjust outrages which the Turks used against them, took up Arms, and

They take two places and defend the Turks.

Caprara returns to Belgrade.

The Cruelty of the French in Germany.

The Elector returns to Monaco.

The German Troops recalled from Hungary.

The Works about Belgrade negligently repaired.

Caprara forces on Semandria.

1688. and seized the City of *Uffiza*, a place tho' open, yet rich; killing Five hundred *Turks* on the place, and taking Two thousand Prisoners.

This Town was considered as a very important Pass and Inlet into *Bosnia*; but because the Ways were so narrow and rocky, that Cannon could not be drawn thither, it was judged fit not to put a Garrison of *Germans* into it; but rather to commit it to the Custody and Defence of the *Rafians*.

These ill Successes falling in this manner one on the Neck of another, so dispirited the *Turks*, that the only way left them to quiet the minds both of the Soldiers and People, was to possess them with the hopes of Peace by the Negotiation of those Ambassadors which were lately dispatched from the Sultan to the Emperor, who were now arrived at the Castle of *Puffendorf*, about Five Leagues distant from *Vienna*, where they were ordered to remain, until the Plenipotentiaries from *Poland* and *Venice* should meet at *Vienna*, furnished with Commissions and Instructions from their respective Powers in order to a Treaty.

And that this pretence might appear more plausible, the Grand Seigneur passed to *Adrianople*; from whence he dispatched very urgent and positive Orders to *Teghen* Pasha, that he should forward an Express to the Ambassadors, to press with all earnestness the Conclusion of a Peace, as the sole means remaining to save the *Ottoman* Empire; which in case he could not effect, he was then to take care that the Frontiers might be defended.

Teghen taking this Message and Commission as an Evidence of the Grand Seigneur's Favour, and Re-establishment into his Grace, he readily applied himself to an undertaking, which in appearance might look like Obedience to Command; and tho' he knew it was not possible to withstand the Power and Progress of the Imperial Arms, animated with so many Victories; yet considering himself strong enough to do mischief, and spoil, and pillage, he marched from *Nissa* towards *Dobruvitz*, where he committed all the Outrages imaginable on the miserable Inhabitants of that place; giving liberty to a licentious Soldiery to destroy an Ancient Monastery of *Greeks*, to which many poor Christians being fled for Sanctuary, they stained the Pavements with the Blood of a thousand persons; carrying away the Old Monks,

Women, and Children into distressed Captivity.

Tekeli also being re-inforced with a party of *Turks*, and *Tartars*, committed great Spoils on the Confines of *Valachia*, and *Transylvania*; but soon was forced to retire, upon the News that the *Rafians* with a Body of Four thousand men were marching against them: And thus laying aside much of his confidence in Arms, he resolved to try what effect his persuasions might have with his *Transylvanian* Friends, and those of his Faction, inviting them to cast off the Yoke of *Germany* from their Necks, and reassume their Ancient Liberties; and to that end he wrote this following Letter.

Ad Capitaneos, Directores, & Magistratus Inchy Regni Transylvaniae.

Omnia bona dei Deus Regno Transylvaniae, vigile Ingenium & oculus Incolis ejus opto. Nolim Ingratitudinem vestram qua Cesarum amplexi fuistis protectionem respicere; imo potius certiores vos facere, & commune facere velim vehementer volens Regnum Transylvaniae, in tantis afflictionibus, & exactionibus versari. Non dubito quin satis perpexeritis, hucusque iniquas Germanorum Machinationes. Volunt se in regnum intrudere, ut vos ex regno expellant: Vos peribitis, illi manebunt; Pellite itaq; & corrigite caecitatem vestram: Ad Arma currite omnes Nobiles, Libertini & Subditi; pro felici Patria certate, certe vos libertatem consecuturos, quam turpiter perdidistis ad Comam usque: Nisi omnes audacter insurrexeritis, peribitis vos, & filii vestri, & Nobilissimum Regnum in manibus barbarorum manebit. Valet, et vigiliate vobis, & Patriae vestrae. Datas trans Danubium proximè ad Transalpinas.

And to leave no Stone unturned, he solicited the *Ottoman* Port for new Succours, promising mighty Successes in case the *Tartars* would invade *Transylvania*; the which accordingly was designed, and had taken effect, had not the *Cosacks* made an unexpected Interruption into *Tartary*, and thereby obliged those *Barbarians* to quit their design, that they might attend to the safeguard of their own Country.

All places in *Bosnia* being now subdued, and brought under the power of the Emperor (*Bertzka* only excepted) situate on the *Save*; Prince *Lewis* after he had fortified *Proot*, and *Gradisca*, marched against it, being a place of such importance as secured all the River from thence to *Belgrade*: The *Turks* having advice of the approach

1688. of Prince *Lewis*, with Terror and terrible Consternation abandoned that vast City, pleasant for its Situation in a delicious Country, abounding with all sorts of Provisions and Fruits, both for the sustenance and delight of the Inhabitants; into this Commodious Dwelling made void by the flight of the *Turks*, a Garrison of Two thousand *Germans* was lodged, which served them for Winter-Quarters, wherein to refresh themselves after all the fatigues, dangers, and tedious Marches of the passed Campaign; and to secure this City to plentiful of all sorts of Provisions, a regular Fortification was Erected on the rising of a Hill, which served to cover, and very much to strengthen the City. Now in regard Advices were brought to *Bertzka*, that the Pasha of *Bosnia* was making Levies of men, and recruiting his Forces in the Neighbouring parts; General *Piccolomini* was dispatched to *Vienna*, to render an Account of the State of that Country, and to press for Forces immediately to be despatched for security thereof; it being a Province inhabited by many Christians, who with encouragement and protection would be ready to submit and do Homage to the Emperor.

Piccolomini so well Negotiated his Affairs at *Vienna*, that he soon procured Orders directed to the General at *Belgrade* to reinforce Prince *Lewis* with a considerable Body of men.

But because the *French* were now in motion, and had already entered *Germany* with a formidable Army; to oppose which, there was need of the Counsel and Direction of the best and most Experienced Captains, who had lately with such auspicious Fortune conducted the Imperial Forces against the *Turks*; it was resolved to recall Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to *Vienna*; and to commit the Charge of *Bosnia* to the Courage and Conduct of *Piccolomini*.

So soon as *Piccolomini* was returned to *Gradisca*, Prince *Lewis* took Post for *Vienna*, having some few days before his departure, taken possession of *Oliva*, and *Sbornich*, or *Swornich*, a City and Castle of considerable importance; of the latter of which, the Charge was committed to Major *Thomas Stracharta*, a Scotch Gentleman, who bravely maintained it against Two Assaults of the *Turks*: These places were situate on the River *Drine*.

After which this Valiant Prince departed, leaving most manifest Evidences and Proofs behind him of his Courage assisted with Fortune; for that in the space of about Nine Weeks, he had subdued all the Province of *Bosnia*, defeated the Pasha with double Numbers, taken *Proot*, *Gradisca*, *Bertzka*, and divers Castles, with no more than Eight thousand *Germans*, *Hungarians*, and *Croatians*.

Tho' it was now time to end this Campaign, yet still the Blockades of *Sigeth*, *Cansfa*, and *Grand-Waradin* were continued; the Defendants, tho' reduced very low, remained howsoever very obstinate and resolute to maintain the Garrisons to the last extremity, in hopes rather that their Ambassadors would succeed in the Conclusion of a Peace, than in any apparent probability there was of rescuing themselves by their own force, or other expected Succours. And indeed the *Turks* might then on very good Grounds have hoped for a peace, since that they readily offered to have quitted all pretensions to the Conquered places, and suffered the Emperor to remain in quiet possession of all wherof he had made himself Master; which had been a vast advantage to the Empire at that time, when the *French* were entered into *Germany* with a formidable Army, burning, laying waste, and destroying all the Palatinate; threatening War on the Empire, which continued for several Years with such fury, that had not King *William* of *England*, joined with *Spain*, *Holland*, and some of the Princes of *Germany* opposed this terrible Foe, all the Empire and other Countries had sunk under the weight of the Arms of *France*. But God knows by what Fate the Emperor refused to hearken to those fair Propositions of Peace; which that they might not be urged or pressed on his Counsellors, the *Turkish* Ambassadors were committed Prisoners to the Castle of *Puffendorf*, where they passed some Years under a tedious restraint and loss of Liberty, contrary to the Law of Nations: And tho' the *Turks* may be much blamed for this kind of Violation of the Law of Nations, and disrespect to the persons of Ambassadors, which in all Countries have been esteemed sacred, yet it is a new thing to be so practised by Christian Princes, especially by the *Austrian* Family, which is Renowned over all the World for their Piety, Justice, and Clemency. As there was at that time no Reason or Sense for not closing with the

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The Turks desire Peace.

The Emperor was engaged by request.

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Teghen Pasha commits great spoils.

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These ill Successes falling in this manner one on the Neck of another, so dispirited the *Turks*, that the only way left them to quiet the minds both of the Soldiers and People, was to possess them with the hopes of Peace by the Negotiation of those Ambassadors which were lately dispatched from the Sultan to the Emperor, who were now arrived at the Castle of *Puffendorf*, about Five Leagues distant from *Vienna*, where they were ordered to remain, until the Plenipotentiaries from *Poland* and *Venice* should meet at *Vienna*, furnished with Commissions and Instructions from their respective Powers in order to a Treaty.

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1688.

1688.

The Turks desire Peace.

The Emperor was obliged to resign.

The Turkish Ambassadors in prison.

Turks

Yeghen Pasha committed great spoils.

Piccolomini dispatched to Vienna.

P. Lewis recalled to Vienna.

1688. *Turks* in a Peace, so afterwards the Folly and Misfortune was so apparent, that the Court of *Vienna* hath often lamented the unhappy Consequences of that evil Council, which the Ministers of State to throw off from themselves have cast on the prevailing Faction of the Jesuits, and Clergy, which have ever carried a great sway in that Council.

And thus having by God's Affluence finished the Wars in *Hungary* by a full and ample Relation of all that passed in that miserable Country during the Course of the last Year of 1688. Let us now proceed to the Martial Actions, which passed in the same Year between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*.

1688.

THE

THE Venetian Successes T U R K S,

In Their W A R against the

In the Year 1688.

1688. THE Doge of *Venice* Dying about the End of the last Year, the Senate knew not any Subject on whom they could more worthily confer that Dignity, than on the Captain-General *Francisco Morosini*, a Person not only of an ancient Patritian Family, but one who had signalized himself both in Peace and War, and Sacrificed all his Time and Interest to the Service of the Republick.

Had he not merited more than by his great Achievements in this present War, the Ducal Dignity could not have been bestowed on any more deserving than himself, of which the Senate was so sensible; that this it was a new thing to Elect a Doge who was absent, which some, envious of his Vertues, and growing Greariness, did object; yet the Majority of Voices carried the Election, and accordingly the Ducal Bonnet was, by order, sent to *Morosini*, by the Secretary *Zuccato*, who found his Serenity aboard the Admiral Gally in *Porto Porto*, a Port in the *Morea*; where he offer'd in the Name of the Senate, express'd in a most Eloquent Oration, the Ensigns of the Principality; all the other Ceremonies being solemnly perform'd at *Venice*.

Before this Happy Inauguration, the Pestilence had greatly infected the *Venetian Armata*; but by God's Blessing, it was now ceased, and Prattick given at *Venice* to those who came from thence; for which the Doge having returned Thanks in a devout manner to Almighty God, aboard the Fleet, he began to entertain thoughts of undertaking some Enterprize worthy his new Dignity, and which might serve for a Fortunate Omen of what was to succeed in all the Progress of his Auspicious Government, which at the beginning looked fair, and prosperous in all the Circumstances thereof.

For from *Candia* Advices were brought to the *Armata*, of great Revolutions, and

Mutinies in *Candia*, which ended with the Death and Destruction of that Vizier, and the principal Pasha's and Bey's of that place: In *Canea* the Disorders were not less, the Souldiery following the Example of those Seditions, and Tragedies acted at *Constantinople*, would govern themselves; and whilst they knew not what Government to set up, there was a Rumour amongst them amidst their Confusion, That they would deliver up those Places into the Hands of the *Venetians*; but their Army being at some distance, and not near enough to meet the heat of this Popular Infurrection, their Hopes vanished, the *Turks* returning to more sober, and cooler Councils.

The Captain Pasha was now ready to come forth with the *Ottoman* Fleet, which consisted of so few Gallies, as were in no condition to deal with the Naval Forces of the *Venetians*, and yet were of some use for Transporting Soldiers and Relief to *Negropont*, or other Parts, according to the Motion of the Enemy.

But the *Venetian Armata* increased daily by the Union of several Convoys dis-spread to joyn with the main Body under Command of the Doge.

The first Convoy was composed of several Ships, Marilianes, and light Gallies, under the Command of his Excellency *Pisani*, with whom also two Noble *Venetians* called *Lorenzo Donato*, and *Girolamo Grimani*, were Embarked, appointed by the Senate to assist as Counsellors unto his Serene Highness the Doge; whom four other Noble *Venetians* accompanied to supply Places, and Offices of Trust, as occasions should offer.

On another Convoy the first Regiment of *Wirtemberg*, and the Prince himself, who Commanded them, was Embarked with several Nobles, and Gentlemen of that Nation, all of them Brave and Experienced Souldiers, attended with many Ships, and Ves-

1688.
Travels of
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1688. fels laden with Ammunition, Provisions, and all sorts of Instruments and Utensils for War. And with them also were dispatched the Syndicks and Officers for better government of the *Morea*.

A third Convoy was also prepared, and dispatched with the Second Regiment of *Wienberg*, under the Command and Conduct of the Prince Landgrave of *Armstadt*, and whilst these Forces were on their Voyage towards *Porto Poro*, there to join with the main Body of the *Venetian* Fleet, in order to some great Enterprize, his Excellency *Cornaro* Provéditeur-General in *Dalmatia*, was giving all the Assistance he was able, to the *Christians* of that Country; who upon the Rumour of the Misfortunes of the *Turks*, had taken Arms to recover their Freedom.

The Commander in Chief of the *Turks* in those Countries, was called *Solyman Pasha*, who by ill Successes having lately been driven into the Castle of *Podgorizza*, which he had plentifully provided with all sorts of Provisions and Ammunition, he gathered unto him all the Soldiers that were in *Scutari*, *Antivari*, *Dolcigno*, *Alfio*, *Drino*, *Croia*, *Burazzo*, *Ofrida*, and *Terra Nova*; with which, and with the Auxiliaries of 4000 *Turks* joyned thereunto by *Verlac Pasha* Sangack of *Valona*, he had formed an Army of 10000 Fighting Men, with which he resolved according to Commands received from the Port, to destroy the *Cutzi*, *Montegrini*, and *Nixichti*, Inhabitants of the Mountains, who having cast off the *Mahometan* Yoke, had devoted themselves to the *Venetian* Republick.

At the first beginning *Solyman Pasha* sent kind Messages to them, Exhorting, and Inviting them to return to their former Obedience; but they trusting to their strong Holds in the Mountains, and to the Assurances given by the Provéditeur-General *Cornaro*, to relieve and succour them on all Occasions, they rejected all the fair Words and Propositions made to them by the *Turks*.

Whereupon *Solyman Pasha* Detached about 3000 Men under the Command of *Abmethe Raja*, or Deputy, to fall upon their Rear in the Mountains; but the *Cutzi* so bravely received their Attack, and with such Constancy, that after a Bloody Fight, which continued for several Hours, the *Kaja* was totally Routed, and Defeated, and forced to betake himself to a shameful Flight: Whilst on the other side *Solyman Pasha* Burned some Villages, and cut up the Vines, and ruined the Vineyards of the *Cutzi*; who thereupon were so highly Enraged, that pursuing their late Victory with Courage and Indignation, they fell upon the

Pasha, and forced him to take Refuge in his Castle of *Podgorizza*.

The News herof being brought to the Provéditeur-General, he dispatched Orders to the Cavalier *John Antonio Polizza*, that with the Borderers on the Channel of *Cattaro*, and to the Super-Intendent *Perini*, that with a Battalion of *Italians*, and 600 of those called *Oltramaroni*, who are *Albaneses*, and other People living on the Coasts of *Friuli* and *Dalmatia*; they should march to the Succour and Assistance of the *Cutzi*: And in the mean time to give the *Turks* an Alarm in divers Places, some Gallies and Galeasses were commanded to pass along the Coast of *Albania*, under the Conduct of that Noble *Venetian* called *Francisco Grimani*, Nephew to *Cornaro*: This Appearance on the Coast, sometimes at *St. John de Medua*, then again near *Dolcigno*, and soon afterwards on the Shoar of *Bolaria*, and *Antivari*, the *Turks* were so confounded thereby, that they knew not where to apply themselves; until at length some *Venetians* Landing near *Antivari*, were Attacked by one *Abmet Aga*, the Son of the Governour of that place, whom they repulsed with much Vigour, and killed *Abmet* upon the Place; and stranded a Brigantine belonging to *Castel Nuovo* on the Shoar.

But the grand Design and Enterprize of this Year, being the Siege of *Negropont*, the whole *Venetian* Fleet with the Gallies of the Pope, and *Malta*, having made their general Rendezvous in *Porto Poro*, on the 19th of *June*, Old Style, weighed Anchor, directing their Course towards the *Archipelago*. The Fleet was divided into three Squadrons; one Commanded by his Excellency *Venturo*, Captain Extraordinary of the Ships; another Squadron consisted of Gallies, under the Command of the Governour of the *Condannara*, or of such who are Condemned to the Oar, whose Post was to keep to Windward of the Fleet. The third Squadron was Commanded by the Doge himself, who with the remaining part of the Gallies, Gallies, Galeots and Ships, were to take their Station to Lee-ward; besides which, a Squadron of Ships with 13 *Christian Corsairs*, making in all 26 Sail, were dispatched before with Orders to advance as far as the *Dardanelles*, and give a stop to the Captain *Pasha*; who upon the News of this powerful Fleet, durst not adventure Abroad, but kept within the Reach and Covert of the Castles: For indeed the *Turkish* Fleet, which for many Years past had not been of equal force to engage the *Venetians*, was this Year also much weakened by the want of Eight Gallies, which the Captain *Pasha* had dispatched to the *Black Sea* for relief of their *Saicks* against the *Cossacks*, who much infested

1688. infested that Coast, and for want of forty Galeots, which were remaining on the Stocks in the Arsenal at *Constantinople*, having neither Slaves for the Oar, nor Seamen to Sail and direct them. Nor was the Captain *Pasha* of sufficient force to give Convoy to the Fleet expected from *Egypt*, consisting of nine great *Solanaes*, and diverse *Saicks* laden with Ammunition and Provisions, of which, tho' the Grand Signior had great want, and had dispatched divers Commands unto *Alexandria*, to hasten their Voyage; yet the fear they had of being intercepted by the *Venetians*, was a sufficient Defence for them against the reiterated Commands of the Port.

This Squadron of Ships coming to Anchor before the Mouth of the *Dardanelles*, kept the *Turkish* Fleet within the Castles, whilst the Doge advanced with the main Fleet towards the Island of *Negropont*, in the Form and Manner before described.

The Island of *Negropont* is the most considerable of all the Isles in the *Archipelago*; the ancient Name of it amongst the *Greeks* and *Latines* was *Eubæa*; it had also other Names, as *Macris* from the narrowness of the Channel which passes between the Island, and the Main Land; *Abantias* and the People *Abantiades*; the chief Town was *Chalcis*, now named after the Denomination of the Country; *Pliny* calls the Island *Alopi*, and *Strabo* *Ocba*; it had also the Name of *Eloppia*, from *Eloppo* the Son of *Jupiter*. This Island, as believed, was once joined to the Main Land, but separated from thence by some Earthquake, and now adjoynd by a Bridge; it is 365 *Italian* Miles in compass, 90 Miles in length, and 40 in breadth. The City of *Negropont* anciently *Chalcis*, is situated on the *Euripus*, which is a narrow Channel, that in a wonderful manner Ebbs and Flows seven times in 24 Hours: The Walls of the City are about two Miles in compass, but the Suburbs are much larger, and more Populous, by reason of the many *Greeks* and *Jews* which Inhabit therein. The Captain *Pasha* is the Chief Commander thereof; but commonly governs by his Deputy: There is a Bey also belonging to it, a Man of great Power, by reason that he draws from thence a Yearly Revenue for Maintenance of a Gally.

This Island of *Negropont* formerly belonged to the *Venetians*, and to this Day the Arms of *St. Mark* remain over one of the Gates of the City; when *Pietro Zani* was Doge, it was given by the Emperor of *Constantinople* to the *Venetians* in recompence and reward of some good Services performed by that Republick towards him; or rather because he could not defend it, he

gave it over into the Hands of a good Ally.

But in the Year 1469, *Sultan Mahomet* being desirous to joyn that Pleasant Isle to his other Conquests, endeavoured to make a Bridge for the more easie Transportation of his Troops into the Land; but being repulsed by the Inhabitants, and the Bridge overthrowen, the *Turks* were forced to betake themselves unto their Boats, and Vessels: Howsoever in less than a Month afterwards, the *Turks* returned before the Place with 300 Sail, and then having formed the Bridge, as was intended, *Mahomet* himself came with an Army of 120000 Men, and Attacked the City, which was Fortified after the manner of those Times, and defended by a Garrison of 24000 Men, under the Command of *Giovanni Bondukmiero*, *Ludovico Calvo*, and *Paolo Erizzo*.

The *Turks* raised several Batteries in different Places against it, by which they made such large Breaches, that they made four terrible Assaults thereon, in which above 40000 *Turks* were Slain, and the Enemies bravely repulsed, but at length being overwhelmed with Numbers, and tired with a long Siege, the Guards which defended the *Porta Bureliana*, conveyed themselves secretly away, and abandoning their Post, they entered the Gate without much opposition, killing all the People who passed the Age of 20 Years. *Calvo* was killed on the Place, and *Bondumiero* in his House: *Erizzo* having intrenched himself in some fast place, defended himself valiantly, and at length surrendered on Conditions of Life; but the *Turks* maintained them not, but caused him to be Sawn in two: His Fair Daughter chose rather to die by her own Dagger, than to give up her Chastity to the Lust of the *Turks*.

The *Turks* having remained Masters of this City ever since the Year 1469; it came at length to be Attacked in hopes of Recovery in this Year 1688; in order unto which, the Captain Extraordinary *Venturo*, was appointed with nine Ships belonging to the Republick, a Fire-ship, and a Palandra to guard the Channel of *Negropont*, and to hinder the *Turks* from bringing Succours to the City; to which also seven Gallies were added under Provéditeur *Pisani*. At the same time also, severall Gallies were ordered to tow the Channel of *Palo*, and hinder all Succours from passing on that side.

All the Land Forces being Embarked upon the Ships, Gallies, Galeasses, Galeots, Palandras, and other Vessels; the *Venetian* Fleet weighed Anchor on the 7th of *July*, from *Porto Poro*, and Sailed with a fair Wind, directing their Course towards the Island of *Negropont*; but by what Misfortune

1682. June not known, a great Ship called the *Serena* Merchant, ran upon a Rock, which being high, and easily seen, it was suspected, to have been done on purpose by Treachery of the Captain; the which unhappy Accident gave some stop to the proceeding of the Fleet, in hopes to save most of the Rigging, and Materials thereunto belonging; but in fine a Gale of Wind springing up, the Ship was broken in pieces, and no more saved than only the Men and eight Pieces of Cannon of the 50 with which he was mounted, besides some Bombs, and other Materials for War. This Accident hindered something of the Proceedings of the Fleet, which received yet a greater Impediment from the Northern Winds, which at this Season of the Year so constantly reign in those Seas, as if they were Trade-Winds: Howsoever when the Gale abated, as it doth commonly towards Night, the Gallies made use of their Oars to row to Windward as high as Cape *Colonna*, where afterwards the Ships joynted them: And taking the Calm of the Night, the Gallies by force of their Oars towed up the Ships, and on the 11th of July they entered the Channel of *Negropont*; and on the 13th came to an Anchor in the Road, called the Gardens, about six Miles distant from the Capital City of *Negropont*.

Here it was that all the Soldiers, Horse and Foot which were Embark'd on the Gallies, Gallies, and Gallies, making a Body of about 8000 Foot, and 500 Horse, Landed without the least opposition; having only seen a Party of about 50 *Turks* on Horseback who presented themselves in view, to take cognizance of the Motion of their Enemies, amongst which *Mustapha Pasha* Commander of the Town was there in Person. So soon as the Out-guards of the *Turks* posted on a Tower erected on a Neck of Land which stretched out to the *Euripus*, espied the Troops which were disembarking, they discharged some Guns, to give an Alarm to the Town, and immediately quitted the place, as being not tenible; into which some Soldiers were entered from the Ducal Gally, being an advantageous Post, wherein were found four Iron Guns, and some small Provisions.

The Day that these Forces were Landed, some *Greeks* of the Country, together with the Captain of a *French Tartana* came, and gave Intelligence, that the whole force of the Island consisted of about 6000 Men, with *Musketiers* and *Spies*; but that they did not trust much to the Faith of the Inhabitants, whom they had lately disobligh'd by taking from them the best of their Goods and Furniture for their Houses: That the Walls of the City were lined with Earth,

and fortified on all sides with Bastions, well provided with Cannon: That all the Gates, and Entrances to the City were Min'd; and that the Suburbs were surrounded with a deep Ditch and Palliades: Besides which, that there were some Out-works lately finished, all provided well with Water, and Provisions necessary for a long Defence. That there were two Governours in chief, one called *Mustapha Pasha*, a Man of great Reputation, who Commanded the Mount, on which a Battery was erected towards the Sea: The other was *Ibrahim Pasha*, who defended the Outworks of the City, both Men of Resolution; besides these, who defended the Town, in which the Garrison was very strong, the *Scraskier* lay Encamped with 4000 Men, most Horse, nor far from *Negropont*.

On the 14th of this Month his Serenity the Doge, accompanied with General *Ron-
nismark*, and the Engineer *Perneda*, attended with many Barges and Feluccas, went to take a Survey of the Country, of the Situation of the City, and the Forts, and Batteries, which tho' more in number, and furnished with Cannon beyond expectation, did not yet abate the Courage of these Affiliants. All things being well observed by these Generals, they discovered how the *Turks* had on the left Hand of the Bridge raised a Battery with Earth, and planted many Pieces of Cannon thereon, and pitched their Tents along the side of the Aqueducts: And on the left Hand had formed a Line of Communication between the Suburbs and the Hill which commands the Sea, from whence they could offend the Gallies with their Shot, and the *Venetian* Tents; besides which, they discovered divers other Trenches in different Forms, strengthened with Palliades, with a deep Ditch full of Sea-Water, 30 Paces long, reaching to the Gate of the City, covered by a Hornwork: And below the Mills another Battery was raised of three Pieces of great Cannon, which commanded the Shoar along the Sea-side; all which Forts were defended by some *Christians* more or less in every Work, most of them of the *French* Nation, who were skillful in throwing Bombs, and all sorts of Fireworks.

Thus the Doge, and his Generals, having taken a full Survey of the several Fortifications of the City, and the Situation of the Country, on the 15th of the Month, was the Day appointed for the March of the Army towards a rising Hill opposite to another which covers the City: And at the same time the Gallies, and Gallies advanced by force of their Oars, against the Northern Winds, which continually blow at that Season, and came to an Anchor under

1682. der that rising Hill, which is near to a Wood, from whence they could see the new Fort of *Karababa*, or *Black Father*. An in regard the Ships could not enter into the Channel of *Negropont*, by reason of contrary Winds, the Doge dispatched away the Captain of the Gulf, with 10 Gallies to take out the Soldiers, and Transport them ashore to join with the rest of the Army: And for more expedition in this Work, the Provost *Pisani*, who Commanded the Gallies, which are Manned with such as are Condemned to the Oar, being returned with the nine Ships, of which we have given an Account, to have been ordered to the *Cardanelli*; and by reason of contrary Winds, were put into the Port of *Andra*, was also commanded to give his Assistance, for landing Soldiers, Horse, and all the Instruments, and Necessaries for War.

Whilst these things were preparing for the Siege, the Baly *Spinelli*, a *Neapolitan* Cavalier, General of the Gallies of *Malta*, demanded Audience of the Doge, to pass his Complement of Congratulation upon his Advancement to the Ducal Throne, the which being granted, the General appeared with a great Attendance, followed by many Boats, Barges, and Feluccas; so soon as he was ascended into the Ducal Gally, which was adorned with Flags and Streamers from Stem to Stern, he was saluted with four great Guns, and at the Stairs was met and conducted by Lieutenant General *Pisani*, to the Stern of the Gally, where his Serenity was seated on his Throne, having on his Head his Ducal Bonnet, and wearing the Senatorial Gown after the ancient *Roman* Fashion; before him stood the four Admirals of the Seas.

The General of *Malta* being entered into the Presence, the Doge arose from his Throne, and received him standing. The General with eight other Knights, Captains of the Gallies, and his Comrades, made a most profound Reverence at their Entrance, and having delivered the Letter to the Doge, from the Grand Master of *Malta*, full of kind and amicable Expressions, all there present floor bare-headed whilst he was reading: After which the General was caused to sit down on a Seat placed on the right Hand of the Doge, and four of the Knights on a Bench on the left Hand, the other four remaining without, seated also on Banks, the Antipoint of the Cabin being drawn up, the Sailors at the Oar were clothed in White, and the Soldiers clad with divers Colours, armed with Half-Pikes, Muskets, and Swords, each bearing a Burgardian on his Head, which being to the Number of 500 Men, appeared very pleasant to the Eye.

This Complement was no sooner passed, 1682. than News was brought, That a Skirmish had happened between the Volunteer Adventurers and the *Turks*; but the first being reinforced by the Marquis *Coronati*, with some of his Dragoons, and Soldiers of the *Greek* Nation, the Fight became very warm, but the *Turks* were at length forced to retire with considerable Loss; tho' this Success cost the Life of Colonel *Paul Maeri*, being shot in the Head, who for his Bravery and Deserts having obtained the Honour of Knighthood, was much deplored and lamented by the whole Army.

By this time the Ships under *Venere*, and the main Body of the whole Armata were comeabout, and had doubled the Point of *Karababa*, from whence they received many Shot, but without any damage; so that the Ships and Gallies having taken the several Posts assigned to them, and also four of the Duke of *Tuscany's* Ships laden with Warlike Provisions, and 400 Land Soldiers, being come and joynted to those other Forces belonging to the Great Duke's Gallies, composed a Body of 800 Men; all which being arrived and united to the Fleet and Army, the Doge prepared every thing ready in order to a formal Siege. The General of the Great Duke's Forces was Named *Chigi*, who having made a Visit to his Serene Highness the Doge, the same Ceremonies passed, as were shown towards the General of *Malta*.

Eighteen Days after the Forces were Landed, all the Approaches were finished in sight of the Town; during which Time the *Turks* made not the least Shift to hinder, or disturb the Works, nor did the *Venetians* fire a Gun against the *Turks*, who greatly wondered at so long silence, as if on both sides a Cessation of Arms had been agreed; and all remained quiet, until the 30th of *July*, when the Cannon began incessantly to play about Break of Day in the Morning from the *Venetian* Batteries, with Showers of Bombs and Carcasses, which being thrown into the Town and Outworks of the Enemy, filled the City with Terror and Conflagration, especially the Women, whose Cries and Screams were heard into the *Venetian* Camp.

The first of *August* a Resolution was taken to Attack a certain Fort called *Loppo*, situate on a little Hill, but upon discovery that the place was Undermined, the Design was altered, and Orders given to Bomb the Place with a Palandra, a Vessel made for that purpose, which ruined some of the *Turks* Trenches; howsoever this Attempt cost the Life of two Mariners, and the Loss of the Captain's Arm, who commanded the Palandra.

1688. After which the *Venetians* advanced under the Mills securing their Posts with Earth and Baskets; and the *Maltefes* and *Florentines* endamaged the Enemy very much, by the Bombs and Carcasses which they threw into a small Fort on the East-side, and thereby it was, as it were, totally destroyed and levelled. And as the *Venetians* were diligent in their Approaches, so the *Turks* were not less active to give them a Repulse, and to make frequent Sallies as they did upon the *Maltefes*, of whom they kill'd and wounded about 40, and afterwards retreated, but not without some loss both of Men and Horse. In the mean time the Cannons play'd continually from the Batteries, and Bombs thrown into the Town, one of which falling into the House of the *Pasha*, so affrighted the Women and Children, that with Screeks and Cries casting themselves at the Feet of the *Pasha*, begged and beseeched him to surrender up the Town into the Hands of the Enemy upon Terms of Capitulation; but the *Pasha* inflexible, and refusing to hearken unto such Intreaties, resolved to maintain it to the last Extremity: To which End many Retrenchments were made within the Walls, and Caverns digged under Ground, to secure the People, and Goods, and Soldiers which were not on the Guard, from the Desolation made by the Bombs.

During all this time the *Seraskier*, with a Body of about 4000 Men, remained at a Place called *Petra* in *Livadia*, about six Miles distant from *Negropont*, with design not to adventure his Men, until some unavoidable Necessity happened, or the City was reduced to its last Agony; which as yet was not so far freighted, but that there remained some hopes that it would be able to relieve itself; it being esteemed better Service to keep the Passes free, and an open Commerce with the Town, than to hazard an Engagement with the Enemy, with so unequal a Force, which being overthrown, would prove a certain forerunner of the Loss of the City.

The *Venetians* finding it more easy to proceed on the Attack of the Town, than to lose time in taking the Fort of *Carababa*, they rais'd a new Battery upon a small Rock, at the Entrance of the Port under Command of the Captain of the Gulf, which he effected with his own, and the help of

the *Venetian* Gallies. But what most incommo- dian Camp wail with second).
To Vene-
died the *Venetian* Camp, was the excessive Heats; for tho' the Winds were Northerly, as they commonly are in those Seas; yet passing over the Land, they contracted such Heat, and carried with them such a kind of Noxious, and Sulphureous Vapour, as produced Malignant Fevers amongst the Soldiers, and Officers, that many of them Died, and the Camp became encircled, and much

weakened; amongst which was General *Nijmark*; who being forced to leave the Camp, to go Aboard his Ship in order to his Cure, his Command was committed to the Charge of Major General *Horn of Brunjwick*. The Sicknefs still spreading with Fevers and Tertian Agues, a Sergeant General of Battalia, *Pietro Gaspari*, and Colonel of the *Switzers*, died thereof; and the Count *Palatine* Landgrave of *Hesse*, reduced to the last Extremity; so that many Designs were neglected, which might have gained the City, and all the Enterprises of the Army became faint and languishing. Besides Health there was nothing that wanted; the Island itself being very fruitful, abounded with Wines, and all sorts of Victuals, and Provisions for the Sustainance of Humane Life, and were it not for the Depredations made thereon by Pirates, it would be one of the most happy Countries of the World: The Inhabitants thereof being of an Open, Free, and Cheerful Nature, of a Sanguine Complexion, and Merry like the other *Greeks*, without much Thought, or Care, which renders commonly the Lives of Men very uneasy to themselves and others; and tho' the Country abounded with all things, yet the Neighbouring Islands brought over their Cattle and Fruits thither; which finding a ready Market, caused as great Plenty, and abundance of all things, as could be desired.

On the 10th of *August* the *Turks* made a Sally into the *Venetian* Trenches, whence happened a Skirmish, but without much damage, or hurt on either side; nor had the Enemies Cannon done any great Execution as yet on the *Christian* Camp; which, on the 11th of *August* had perfected all their Batteries. And to spare the Labour of the Soldiers, who had already suffered much in opening Trenches, and raising Batteries, and Fighting; Orders were given to *Seignior Desimo* Provender of the Camp, to gather what *Greeks* he could to serve for Pioneers, and that every Gally, and Gallies should prepare 500 Faggots, with some *Palisadoes*, which was readily effected.

And now about the 13th of this Month, the *Turks* began to show themselves Evening and Morning near the *Venetian* Trenches, but attempted nothing, with design as was imagined, to draw their Enemies into a place which they had undermined; so that for three or four Days nothing happened of any thing considerable, unless it were the bursting of a Cannon, which battered the *Palisadoes* of the Enemy, by which the chief Gunner was killed, and five others were wounded; and another Cannon dismounted by a Shot from the Enemy upon the Wheel of the Carriage.

But

1688. But on the 16th about Sun-set, the *Turks* attacked the Trenches of the *Maltefes*, where a very hot Skirmish began, which continued for the space of an Hour, until Night coming on, the *Turks* retired with considerable Loss, and of the *Maltefes* about 15 were killed, and about 20 wounded: Upon which the *Maltefes* advanced and enlarged their Works, and whilst they were Fighting on that side, a Detachment of 3000 Men Attacked a Fort near the Mills about a Pistol-shot from the Enemies *Palisadoes*, of which after some resistance, they rendered themselves Masters with the Death of above 100 *Turks*, and some wounded.

The loss of this place being of great importance to the *Turks*, by Break of Day in the Morning on the 17th, they fell upon it with great Numbers to recover it, and surprized the *Florentines* and the Regiment of *Atti*, which were the Guard placed there to defend it; which being Sleeping, or found in a negligent Posture, the *Turks* returned with 150 Heads, amongst which were several Cavaliers of *Florence*, and three Captains of the Regiment, and the rest quitted the Fort and fled, amongst which were above 1000 wounded; which Action cost the *Turks* very little.

The Doge being highly enraged at this ill Success, and desirous of Revenge, resolved to Attack the Enemies Trenches; which tho' esteemed by a Council of War, to be a hazardous Enterprize, which tho' it should succeed, would cost much Blood; yet the Doge nothing moved, continued his Resolution to put the Attempt in execution on the 20th of *August*, being well assured, that nothing could be effected on the Town unless first they could possess, and make themselves Masters of the Enemies Trenches. In order unto which on the 17th the Doge, with the chief Sea-Officers, came ashore to take a View, and Survey the Enemies Trenches, the which extended almost three Miles from the Hill to the Sea, the Soldiers there lodged securely, as if they had been Buried; they were very spacious and deep, so that 50 could march a Breast, secured by vast Oaken Beams, over which were Sacks of Cotton artificially laid, and the void places filled up with Earth; and what damage was done hereto by the *Venetian* Cannon, or Bombs in the Day, were by the Industry and Labour of the *Turks* repaired in the Night. These Trenches were likewise defended by five Batteries, on which 26 Pieces of Cannon were mounted, and six Mortar-pieces which threw Stones at such distance, as served not only to defend their own Trenches, but also to offend the *Venetian* Camp.

Whilst the Doge, and principal Officers

were contriving the Attack which was to be executed on the 20th: The *Turks* on the 18th made a Sally on the Regiment of Colonel *Gaspar* an *Athenian*, who was placed to guard the Aqueeducts, but were so bravely received by the Valour of that Colonel, that they were repulsed with the loss of 150 of their Men killed on the place; and 50 or 60 of the *Christians*, amongst which was Colonel *Gaspar* himself, being shot in the Breast with a Musket-Bullet; in recompence of whose Resolute and Valiant behaviour to the general Satisfaction and Applause of the whole Army, the Doge bestowed the Command of the Regiment on his Brother *Demetrio*, with an Annual Pension to his Son, during his Life.

The Morning of the 20th being come every one prepared himself for the intended Assault on the Enemies Trenches. The Marquis of *Corbon* with his Cavalry, was the first to break in upon the Enemies Horse, which he performed with such Success, that he thereby opened a way for the Foot to Attack the Trenches in three several places, which was executed with such resolution, that neither Cannon nor Musket-shot were serviceable on this occasion; for the Fight in the Trenches was so close with the Swords and Handy Blows; that being intermixed one with the other, the Combatants rather appeared like Gladiators than Soldiers fighting in regular Troops. The *Turks* on one side being hard pressed, began to throw away their Arms and fly; but being seconded, and relieved by some Troops led on by the *Pasha* Commander of the place, who at the same time promised Rewards to the Valiant, and threatened Death to the Cowardly, the Fight increased, and the Trenches were filled with the Bodies of Dead and dying Men. The *Venetians* were repulsed twice, and thrice in some places: But at length all the Passes towards the Mountain being forced by the Regiment of *Bonometti*, and the *Venturieri*, (who are Soldiers of Fortune) the *Turks* began to abandon their Posts, and betake themselves to Flight; and other Regiments forcing the Lines in other places, filled all with Slaughter and Confusion; the Horse were the first began to turn their Backs, running with full Career to take refuge in the Town, and to save themselves: But the Infantry fared much worse, for some Thousands of them being pursued by the *Christians*, even to the Gates of the City, about 500 of them were cut off, and their Journey shortened.

Another Party of the *Turks* flying towards the Sea, were killed by the Horse, and others threw themselves headlong into the Water, where some were Drowned, and others killed by Volleys of Musket-shot from

1688. from the Shoar, so that the Sea was dyed with Blood, and covered with the Garments and Bodies of Men; and besides those who were killed and wounded of the *Turks*, many Prisoners were taken. This Fight continued about two Hours, at the beginning of which, the *Turks* Cannon offended much the *Venetian* Troops, but without any disorder, every one giving undoubted Proofs of his Bravery, and constancy of his Resolution. This Action cost the Lives of 200 Men, amongst which *Seignior Giralomo Garzanti* was slain, the Senior of all the Senators then in the Camp; he at first was hurt with a Musket-shot in the Side, but refusing to yield unto that Wound, or to be carried into the Tent for Cure, he continued to fight, until he was cut down by a *Turkish* Scimeter, with which the *Turk* would have taken off, and carried away his Head, but that *Seignior Alonzo Morghini*, covered his Body, and defended it from the Insults and Indignities of the Enemy. Of the *Venetians* about 200 were wounded, amongst which was Prince *Harcourt* by a Shot on his Breast, Prince of *Turkey* in the Arm, but the Prince of *Wirtemberg* mortally. In the Trenches all their Cannon and Mortar-pieces were taken, with great Numbers of Arms, and all their Baggage and Provisions; after which with little difficulty the *Venetians* made themselves Masters of the Suburbs, wherein also they found some Cannon, Provisions and Arms, besides some good plunder.

Aug. 21. The Day following this Action, News was brought by a Detractor, That the wounded Men brought into the Town, were above 1000, and those who were killed, were much more, amongst which they reckoned the Son of the *Seraskier*, and one *Musapha* the Son of *Paspha*, who was Bey of five Gallies, with many other Officers: The next Day the *Venetians* continued to batter the Town with Cannon and Bombs; and the 23d the *Turks* made a furious Sally, but were repulsed with the loss of 150 Men, and 30 killed on the *Venetian* side.

For three Days afterwards nothing happened, besides the continual shooting of Cannon and Bombs, until the 27th; when the *Christians* began to open their Approaches nearer to the Town, which continued until the 5th of September, without the least damage imaginable to the Pioneers, or Soldiers; when the *Turks* to the Number of 500, made a Sally from the Part of the Suburbs on the Quarters of the *Slavonians*, and made themselves Masters of the first Trench; but afterwards rallying again in good order, they drove them out of the Trench, and pursued them to the very Ditch, killing about 40 of them, with the loss only of 14 *Christians*.

General *Konigsmark* continuing sick, and his Fever increasing on him, the Doge substituted the Major of the Troops of *Brunswick* in his place, to oppose the Sally of the Enemies; and tho' this brave Man was also at that time laid upon his Bed, and labouring under the Accets, or Fit of a Fever; yet he arose, and strove against his Natural Weakness, to comply with the Command of the Doge, but so soon as he was gone out of the Door of his Tent, a Cannon-shot from the Enemy stroke his Bed and overthrew it. The Night follow- ing, Captain *Verneda* the chief Engineer, and a Captain of the Regiment of *Wirtemberg*, with some common Soldiers, were killed by Musket-shot as they were advancing their Works towards the Ditch.

The 6th and 7th passed without other Action than firing Cannon on both sides; by which the *Venetians* made a Breach in a Tower on the Sea-side at the end of the Ditch; upon which the Engineer *Rumag- mate*, a Man of resolute Courage, made an offer with 50 Persons, how difficult soever the Attempt seemed, to mount the Breach: This generous Offer being accepted, and greatly applauded, the Doge came ashore in Person, and placed himself in one of the Batteries, to be a Spectator of this Enterprize, and to give the necessary Orders therein, which should be required for seconding to resolute an Enterprize.

On the eighth an Attack was made, and with great courage they mounted the Breach, and planted two Ensigns thereon; but because the Breach was very narrow, without any covert from the Shot of the Enemy, and the descent into the Town very deep and hazardous, they were forced to quit the Post, which they had gained with the loss of six or eight Men, amongst which was one of the Ensigns, whose Colours howsoever were recovered by another Officer: Nor did the *Turks* escape without some loss on occasion of the Attack; for 300 Men being lodged in the Ditch to support those who were to make the first Entrance, did great execution on the *Turks* that appeared on the Breach without any covert, or shelter. There is something very remarkable of a Soldier, who in this Assault received six Wounds on his Head and in his Body with Scimeters, by which falling on the Ruines, was esteemed for Dead, and so remained until the Dusk of the Evening, when rising up, it was not so Dark but that he was perceived by the Enemy, who made many Shot at him; to avoid which, he threw himself into the Sea, bleeding with all his Wounds; and notwithstanding the many Shot aimed at him, of which he received one in his Shoulder, he swam away, and

1688. and got ashore at the Camp, where he was afterwards cured of his Wounds, which made the Doge to give him the Name of the wonderful Man.

The Regiments of Count *Waldeck* and Colonel *Bitz*, belonging to the Troops of *Wirtemberg*, being advanced without any Order for so doing, one to the Bank of the Ditch, and the other to the Foot of the Tower, received an unhappy welcome by several Volleys of small shot, both from the Wall, and from the false Bray; by which two Colonels, seven or eight Captains, twelve or fourteen Subaltern Officers, five Cavalier Adventurers, and about 200 common Soldiers, were all slain upon the place, and as many wounded; which was a discouraging loss to the Besiegers, tho' the Defendants, according to the Report of some Deserters, lost double the number within the City.

Howsoever, the *Venetians* being not dismayed hereat, on the 10th of this month forced an Entrance into the Ditch, where they began to form a Gallery for a more near approach unto the Wall, under which they designed once to form a Mine; but because it would be the work of fifteen Days at least before the Mine could be brought to Perfection, for want of good Engineers, of which many were Dead, and Sick; They raised a new Battery on the other side of the Water, from whence they made a Breach on the other Tower; and with two pieces of Cannon planted on the Bank of the Ditch, they battered the foot of the Courtain between the two Towers.

The Day following, some Deserters from the Town brought Advice, That the whole Garrison within did not consist of more than 3000 Men, and those much affrighted and discouraged by their many losses; only that which supported their Spirits, was the free and open passage by the Bridge, between the *Turkish* Camp and the City; by which every third day they received Recruits of Men, and Supply of Provisions; so that now little hopes remained of taking the City for this year, the Season also being far advanced: All therefore that remained to be done, was to continue the Batteries and to throw Bombs, of which above 10000 having been already cast into the City, few Houses remained standing, but all reduced to a Mass of Rubbish and Ashes.

The *Venetians* being under these discouraging Circumstances, the Attacks proceeded but slowly; nothing being heard in the Camp, but of the Death or Sickness of their great Men; amongst which, News was brought to the Doge, that Signior

Molino and *Delfino* were forced to yield unto their sick Beds; That the Engineer *Ramagnato* was killed with a Musket-shot, whilst he was giving Direction about the Works in the Ditch; That Signior *Aurelio Marcelli* was Dead of a Fever caused by his Wounds; as was also *Mattio Don Parritii*, a Nobleman of *Venice*; And that General *Konigsmark* was Dead of a violent Fever, having Breached his last on the 15th of September, to the great Grief and Sorrow of the whole Army; but especially of his Lady *Carlotta*, who with great Affection and Tenderness, having been his Companion in all this Expedition, was over-wheeled with Sorrow and confused Grief at his Death. His Bowels were Interred the same Night with many thousands of Torches and Lights; but his Body being Embalmed, was afterwards designed for *Strade*, a place in the Dutchy of *Bremen*, there to be Interred in the Burial-place of his Ancestors. The same Night two Engineers were wounded, and one killed, and many common Soldiers killed and wounded by the Enemies shot from the false Bray, whilst they were perfecting their Works in the Ditch.

And now it being the 17th of September, the *Florentines* were the first to Demand a Diffinition from the Camp, and Licenise to return home, alledging that the Season of the year was far spent, and the long Voyage they had to make unto their own Country. The time also appointed by the Great Master of *Malta* unto his General, for the Fleet to remain abroad, being also expired, Licenise was demanded for their return; but the Doge flattering himself with hopes of a speedy Surrender of the place, persuaded that General to stay some few days longer; to which he consented, in expectation of taking part of that Glory which would belong to him by the Conquest of that place.

But it was not the Will of God that this Place should yield to the *Christian* Arms, for that from this present time, until the End of the Siege, nothing but Misfortunes attended the Actions of the *Venetians*. However, The Courage and Constancy of the Generals was such, as that they would not leave one Stone unturned which might tend to the Conquest of the place, resolving not to desist from that Enterprize, whilst any hopes appeared of becoming Masters thereof. In order unto which, the Doge *Moschini*, considering with the principal Captains, what was farther to be done to facilitate this Enterprize; [it was observed, that the greatest difficulty, was, how to convey their Forces under the Wall, for the Ditch was 30 Paces broad, and washed at each

T t end

1688. end by the Sea; to do which, the Engineers found no other means than by a Traverse, which was to be covered on the top, and defended by Gabions filled with Earth, which being confidered, and resolv'd, it was put into immediate Execution, all things necessary for that work being brought to the place, with the Instruments for fixing the Miner to the Walls; but the Waters to encrease in the Night, that the Labour became much more great, and the Design more difficult than was imagin'd, they being forced to Work under the Enemies small shot; by which the Engineers, *Samuel Miller* was killed, and *Renaldo Della Ruë*, and *Antonio* Captain of the Miners, grievously wounded. However, not discouraged from the prosecution of this Design, the Marquis of *Carlon*, Sergeant-General, with some of his Dragoons, undertook that work of the Traverse, which notwithstanding found not the Success expected; he being, whilst he was giving direction about the Traverse, wounded by a Musket-shot, which pass'd his Left-Thigh.

The Turks, who were very vigilant and industrious to destroy the Work of the Traverse; formed a Work in the Falc Bray, by which they to annoy the Labourers upon the Traverse by continual firing, that it was not possible to proceed, until the Enemy was driven out of the Counterfearp; to perform which, it was resolv'd to take a Bonnet which lay in the way, which succeeded according to Desire; But the Besieged having confidered, that that place was of great Importance, they soon Assaulted it, with such Vigour, that the *Venetians* not being relieved by the farther advanced Line, were driven out from thence with much Blood and Slaughter.

Thus all hopes failing of taking the Town, *Comillo Chigi*, Admiral of the Gallies of *Tiscany*, having as we have said obtained his Discharge, fail'd away with his Squadron of Gallies by Night, that the *Turks* might not observe his Departure, leaving howsoever behind him two Ships, and some Troops in the Service.

The *Venetians* resolv'g that the *Turks* should not remain in quiet Possession of the Bonnet, attack'd them again therein, and drove them thence, and fortified it in such manner, that it would be very difficult for them to regain it. Likewise a new Battery was rais'd of fifteen pieces of great Cannon, which shot into the Houses of the Town; and at the same time, a Line of Communication was made for relief of the Bonnet.

During which Time and Actions, Dif-

cases increas'd in the Camp, and Officers, 1688. as well as common Soldiers fell sick, by which, and daily slaughters of Men in the Assaults made, the Army was much diminished. And tho' the Condition of the *Turks* in the Town was rather worse than better, yet their Spirits being supported by the Encouragements given by the Seraskier, who promis'd speedily to relieve them, and to send 2000 Horse into the *Morea* to make a Diversion, they made several Salies out of the Town, which tho' not with much Advantage to themselves, yet it shew'd a Vigour of Spirit, and that they labour'd not under any Fears, or despairing hopes of Defence. On the other side, the *Venetians* fail'd not in their Industry, and assiduous Projects every day, in acting some Enterprize or other, which might facilitate a general Assault, and give that decisive blow, which should put an end unto, and terminate the Labours of that year: But neither the *Traverse*, nor the Batteries, found the Effect desired and expected; wherefore the Engineer *Bafignani*, who had long labour'd under a violent Fever, being now a little recovered, projected a Subterranean Gallery under the Water of the Ditch, to pass unto the Wall; and there underneath to make a Mine, which being sprang could not fail of making such a Breach, as was requisite for an Assault; but in the execution thereof, there was found too much difficulty, and almost an impossibility; for the bottom of the Ditch was altogether Mud for many yards deep; and in sinking the Shaft to the depth required, they met too much Water as wholly drown'd out the Miners and put them by their Work; and *Bafignani* himself, whilst he was giving Directions, was shot by a Musket-Bullet in the Head, which put an end to this Design, which had it been practicable, would yet have required more time than what the season of the year would admit. The *Turks* also on the other side had form'd a Mine under the Bonnet; which being fired, it had not the due effect; by reason that it was not rightly plac'd; howsoever the Defendants were so affrighted with the blow, that they abandon'd the Fort; as did those of the Battery, not far distant from that place.

But what made all things the more desperate, and to look with an ill Aspect, was the Indisposition of his Most Serene Highness the Doge, being not only forced to keep his Bed, but to use such Remedies as were necessary for his Recovery: All'o at the same time, *Matteo Querini* of Noble Extract, Died, after a sickness of a few days continuance.

And

1688. And to the farther Weakening and Disabling of the Camp, the General of *Malta* having obtained his Licence to depart, upon Allegations that he had already transgress'd the time which was allotted him by the Grand Master, set Sail in the Night without Ceremony, or notice of Guns at his departure, which would have animat'd the *Turks* to a longer perseverance in Defence of their Town.

Notwithstanding all which, the Batteries continued to play with so good success, that they made such wide Breaches in the Wall, as gave hopes that the Walls might be yet attempted, and made open to an Assault; in which matter, whilst Count *Raperta*, who was Sergeant-Major of Battalion, was giving Directions, he was wounded in the Breast by a Musket-shot, which was a great loss and disappointment to the whole Design: In like manner, the Marquis of *Carbon*, who was a Sergeant-General, was killed by a Cannon-shot from the Battery of *Carababa*, to the great trouble and loss of the whole Army; there being now much want of good Officers, endued with Bravery and Conduct.

And tho' all things went thus ill, yet the Recovery of the Doge, and his Appearance in the Field, inspir'd new Courage into the Hearts of the harass'd Soldiers: But in regard, the weakness of the Doge was such, as to disable him from taking an exact View of what was acting in the Camp, or what Breaches were made, he was constrain'd to take all his Informations from the Provectors of the Camp, who were Commanded to joyn and concur in all their Resolutions with the Prince of *Brunswick*, who at present was posted in the principal Command of the whole Army; being assist'd with the Council and Advice of Sergeant-General *Flor*, a Soldier of great Esteem for his long Experience in War, tho' much weaken'd and faint by a long Sickness. The Doge depending much on the Bravery and Conduct of these Generals, by whom he was assur'd of the excellent Order and Disposition of all things, resolv'd to appoint the Day for a General Assault: But that an Enterprize of such high Concernment should not be undertaken without mature Advice and Deliberation, a Council of War was call'd, which might discuss all Points of Difficulty; and consider whether such an Action as this might be practicable under the present Circumstances; and the common Safety of the Army, and Glory of the *Venetian* State, not put to Hazard under doubtful Uncertainties. After some Debates in this

Council, a Report was given to his Serenity the Doge, That an Attack was very feasible, and might in all probability succeed, in case the Breaches were made a little more wide and commodious, and that the Mine were ready to be sprang under that part of the Counterfearp which was near the Battery, which would open a passage to the Assaulters over the Ditch; for which purpose, thousands of Faggots, and Sacks of Earth were provided, and all things dispos'd in good order by the Generals, *Brunswick* and *Flor*; and Directions given to the Commanders of their respective Troops, what Rules and Methods they were to observe in the Attack, and in what manner they were to Succour and Relieve each other. And to enforce and enervate this Attack, the Leveens, or Marine Regiments were taken out of the Galeots; and Reform'd, and Mariners from the Fleet; and amongst them 200 choice Soldiers belonging to the Ducal-Galley, under the Command of Colonel *Diffisfeldt*, all desperate Fellows, were ready to attempt the most hazardous Enterprize.

The day following was appointed for that general Assault, which was to determine the Fate of that place; when above 8000 Men were posted in their several Stations, and every thing dispos'd in such manner as was requisite for this great Work; Likewise *Alessandro Bon*, the Captain of the Gulf, was Commanded with his Squadron to enter the Port on the Lar-board-side, and Invest the Fort of *Carababa*, whereby the Garrison therein might be diverted from sending their Forces for succour of the Town.

About Ten a Clock in the Morning the Mine was Sprung under the Counterfearp, which was to be the signal for the Assault; upon which the Troops appointed to storm the Breach began to move, having some Grenadiers in their Front; and at the same time, *Antonio Medini* their Commander, scow'd the Ditch with a Party of his Men, being followed by 1500 Soldiers, who were to Repulse the *Turks*, in case of a Salley from the Town; but this unfortunately succeeded; for being come to the Traverse-Line, which was necessary to be overcome, the *Turks* so vigorously defended it with Volleys of small shot, that many Captains and Soldiers being there killed, a stop was given to their farther proceeding; for not being sustained by the Troops appointed to second them, who halted at the entrance to the Ditch, they were forced to found a Retreat. From this fifth Misfortune several Disorders followed; for whilst a great

T t 2 Body

1688. Body of Soldiers marched unfired through a narrow Passage one after another, they were so raked by the Cannon from *Carababa*, (there being no other Trench opened) that many were killed, and all put into such confusion, that there remained no possibility of entering the place on that side.

All this time, those who had mounted the Breach were in great danger, and many lay Dead thereupon, being destroyed by Sacks with Powder, by which they were blown up. Nor was there any better appearance of Success, or hopes of Entrance on the other side, where, tho' they had mounted to the top of one of the Towers, being conducted by the special Valour of their Commanders, and by the signal Courage of *Busefana* a Major General of the Troops of *Milana*; from which height they discovered such a dismal Defect into the Town, that it was impossible to enter, without throwing themselves Headlong down a Precipice; so that no other was the Sequel of this Attempt, but the unhappy and fruitless loss of the Lives of many brave Men.

Nor was the 4th Attack more successful than the former three; for on this side the Town was inaccessible; howsoever the Troops marched with their Officers leading them forward, and took their Post in the Ditch, without proceeding farther; but this place being neither provided with Bains, nor Flag-gots, nor Sacks of Earth, some of the Soldiers standing up to the Middle in Water, remained exposed to the Enemies shot, who guarded the Traverse; which being thus sustained for several Hours, above 1000 Soldiers, with divers Officers, lost their Lives; amongst which were Lieutenant Colonel *Slade*, and the Captains *Prin*, *Pipam*, and *Gilimon*; and of the Stranger, or Foreign Troops, several were sorely wounded, amongst which were General *Spahar*, and the Prince of *Hermanstadt*, who were the Principal Officers appointed to direct the Assault.

Nor were the Losses on the Sea-side, less than those on the Land. For the Gallies appointed to make the Diversion, were so driven by a Storm of Wind into the Current, that it was impossible to save themselves, but by coming to an Anchor just under the Town, from whence they received many Cannon-shot. *Antonio Nani* had his Main-mast disabled by a Shot of 1000 weight. *Gredevaga* received the like, which carried away all his Poop, besides other Damages: The Gally of *Precaman* was strook with a Stone-Bullet of three Fathom and a half in Circumference, which had almost sunk the Gally: *Alouge Foscari* received a Shot of 50 weight in the Midship of the Gally, and another which carried away his Rudder: *George Marin* had the Poop of his Gally

carried away, and he himself wounded in the Throat by the Splinters. Nor did it pass much better with the Captain of the *Gully*, by a Shot on the Lar-board side of the Galley, by which he received much damage.

In this manner the Gallies drawing off to a further distance, and the Land Soldiers desisting from their Attacks, all hopes of taking the Town began now to fail; so the Commanders assembling at a Council of War, where every thing was debated, and the impossibility considered of making another Assault, in regard to the Fleet, which (as we have said) was much endangered; and the Camp much diminished by Sicknesses, Slaughter, and Departure of some of their Troops; and the Season of the Year advanced to the beginning of Winter, so that it was judged impossible longer to maintain the Siege.

But because much Blood and Treasure, and the time of a whole Summer had been consumed before that City, a Retreat from which, would look something shameful before the Turks, and make an ill noise, and report over all *Christendoms*; it was proposed at a Council of War, not wholly to quit, or abandon the place, but to remain before it during the Winter Season; in order to hinder unto which it was projected to draw a Line of Circumvallation from one Neck of Land to the other, which was not above the Space of an Italian Mile, and the Mould, or Soil being all Earth, it might easily be effected; the which being fortified with a Ditch, and Palisadoes, Redoubts, and Cannon, might make a sufficient place of defence for the Soldiers, and convenient Quarters might be made for them out of those Timbers and Planks which they had saved from the Ruines of the Suburbs of *Negropont*. And that they might be in a condition all the Winter to endanger the Town, and hinder the Turks from repairing their Breaches, the Mount of *Muslekat*, and the Hill of *Vilkhaba*, were to be strongly fortified with Cannon: In fine all things were proposed, and provided as far as Humane Reason could contrive for security of the Camp, and Maintenance of the Soldiery; and for Provision and Sustainance, they promised themselves sufficient from the Inhabitants of the Islands, besides those which might be brought from the other Isles of the Archipelago.

These Matters being thus proposed, and projected in the Council of War, where Enquiry was made into the Mifcarriages of the late Assault, (which was made appear otherwise than was represented) it was ordered, that the Cannon which were nearest to the place should be drawn off, and the manner

A Council of War resolved to desert from the Attack.

A Proposal made to stay all the Winter on the Island.

1688. contrived how it might be executed; and the Night following they began to draw off the covered Cannon, which lay under the Works, the which Attempt was the most difficult of any: To prevent which, the Turks all that Night assaulted the *Bonner* with quantities of Granadoes, and Sacks of Powder; but a valourous resistance being made by the Defendants, the Turks were repulsed with great loss; so that the Night following all the remaining Cannon were drawn off and secured: In which Work *Silveffer* the Admiral of *Candia*, having been very active and adventurous, as he had been in many other doubtful and hazardous Attempts, the Doge honoured him with a Gold Chain and Medal, as an evidence of his good Services, and of the Esteem he entertained of his Personal Courage and Conduct.

Had the Project of Quartering all that Winter on the Island succeeded, it was very probable, and with good reason it might have been rationally concluded, that the City would have been obliged to yield before the Spring; but the Foreign Troops being acquainted with the Design, began to mutiny, and loudly to declare, That they would not Winter on the Island, it being one of their Capitulations of Agreement, when they first Enrolled themselves for Soldiers, that they should at the Season when Armies usually break up their Camp, be provided with warm and convenient Quarters, and with the Spring return again into the Field.

To force the Soldiers to an Obedience in this particular, was not esteemed advisable; but to try how far soft Terms and perfwasive Arguments might prevail upon them, several Noblemen, and chief Commanders were employed to incline the Wills and Consent of the Soldiery thereunto; but the Plot was deeper laid, for tho' the Commonalty only appeared openly therein, yet it was well known, that their Officers had the chief Hand in the Design, and instigated their Soldiers to act that part which was most desired by themselves. But what was most prevalent with the Council of War, was the Report made by Sergeant General *Hor*; That the Soldiers in the advanced Lines, were so far set on a Resolution to Abandon the Siege, that in case it were not done, above 100 of them would desert, and fly to the Enemy. Whereupon the Doge took a Resolution before other Misfortunes arrived, to comply with the Soldiery; and as a beginning thereof, to embark all their Sick and Wounded Men, and Baggage; and that the Enemy should not discover the Design, it was ordered, That the Cannon which were not drawn off from

the Lines, *Bonner*, and Batteries should continue till to play upon the City.

After which, by degrees, All the remaining Cannon was shipped, and many of their Horse embarked; and all things put in order for an entire Desertion of the Island and Siege; which when the *Grecian* Inhabitants observed; who had taken the part with the *Venetians* against the Turks, full of Fear, and terrified Consternation, came running to the Shoar, petitioned to be carried off to the *Christian* Coast, to avoid the Fury of the Turks; for performance of which, all the Boats and Vessels of the Island were taken up at Freight for Service of the Army, and Transportation of the Islanders; of which several of them were cut off by the Turks, before they could reach the Vessels on which they intended to embark. The Turks seeing their Enemies draw off, and committing themselves unto the Seas, had cause sufficient to rejoice; as the *Christians* had to be sad and dejected, when the Rear of the Army was forced to betake themselves to a precipitate Flight with some Confusion and Disorder. Howsoever they all got Aboard on such Vessels, as they could at first come unto, so that the lighter Vessels were overcharged with Soldiers, and with Islanders, until such time, as at the adjacent Islands, where Vessels usually Caren, they could more orderly dispose their Companies, and repair them by a more commodious, and proportionable share unto every Ship, Galeas, and Gally.

From this place Orders were given by the Doge unto *Venier* Captain Extraordinary, to pass into the Archipelago, to collect the Contribution of the Island. Admiral *Zagari* was dispatched with four Ships laden with Provisions and Bisket, to furnish the Fortresses of that Kingdom. The Vessels laden with the Horse, were ordered to disembark them at the first Shoar, and thence to march by Land to *Napoli di Romania*. Some other Companies were Landed at the Forts of *Termizi*. All the Foreign Troops were put into Winter Quarters in divers parts of the *Morea*. Other Companies and Troops Embarked on the Squadron of Ships commanded by Captain *Pisani*, were Transported to *Modon*, *Navarin*, and *Pattai*; from whence *Pisani* had Commission to Sail for *Zant* and *Corfu*, and thence to carry all the Provision and Ammunition which had been brought thither from *Venice* for Use, and Refreshment of the Army. All the Galeasses were ordered unto the secure Port of *Varavanda* under *Cranidi* in *Romania*. The Regiments of *Brunswick*, *Wirttemberg*, and *Hesse*, having completed their time stipulated for Service, were discharged, and permitted to Sail for *Venice*.

Thus

The Siege raised.

The Foreign Troops mutiny, and will not Winter on the Island.

1688. October.

Some dissent.

October 22.

Orders given to the Admirals, and places appointed where to disembark the Soldiery.

November.

1688. Thus all the Troops being dismissed, and sent into their Winter Quarters, the Doge intended himself to Land at *Napoli di Romania*; but being taken short by the Wind, he could only fetch the Port *Tolon*, where the next Day he Landed, and went to *Napoli di Romania*, but in an ill condition of Health, caused partly by the Hardships of the Siege, but chiefly by the Troubles and Affliction of Mind for the Loss and Disgrace he had sustained before the City of *Negropont*; a great cause of which being attributed to the Misfortune of some Officers, who performed not their Duty in the last Attack, he ordered a Process to be made against them, and their Tryals to be managed at a Council of War.

But here we will leave the *Venetians* for this whole Winter, and return to the Wars in *Hungary*, transacted in the Year 1689; at the end of which, we shall recount all the Actions performed by the *Venetians* during that Campaign. But Procurator *Girolamo Cornaro* was more fortunate and successful in *Dalmatia*, and *Albania*, where he Commanded the *Venetian* Army: For having Landed his Forces at *Scardona* on the 24th of *August*, they speedily marched towards *Clin*, with design to invest that place; and on the 27th, the several Troops took their Posts, and began a Line of Circumvallation, fortifying the same with several Redoubts. The next Day Summons were sent to the Garrison, which being answered with Volleys of small and great Shot, the Night following the Trenches were opened, and in the Morning the Cannon and Mortars began to play upon the Town with great execution.

In the space of two Days a considerable Breach was made in the first Wall, which the Besieged labouring to repair, the Cannon quickly ruined their Works. So that by the 11th of *September*, the *Venetian* Trenches were advanced so far, and the Breach made so wide, that it was resolved to give an Assault, which was accordingly executed on the 2d of this Month, and performed with such Resolution, that the *Venetians* notwithstanding the Vigorous Opposition of the Enemy, mounted the Breach, on which having lodged themselves, obliged the Defendants to retire within their second Wall, or Retrenchment.

On the 3d and 4th, several new Batteries were raised, from whence the Enemy was greatly annoyed; and a Bomb falling into their Magazine of Powder, blew up, and killed many of the Inhabitants; however the Defendants still continued to maintain their Castle and the Lower Town, with great Resolution. At length it being observed by General *Cornaro*, that one side of

the Town was naturally fortified by Water, without other Guard or Defence; he ordered, that the Regiments of *Carlow* and *Sebenico*, should pass over, and strengthen the Enemy on that side, the which they cheerfully performed; for most of them being practised Swimmers, they carried their Swords naked in their Mouths, and swam over to the other side; which when the *Turks* observed, fearing to have their Retreat cut off from the Castle, they quitted the defence of the Breach, and retired some within the second Retrenchment, and others into the Castle. Thus the *Venetians* without farther opposition, entered the first Retrenchment, where they found some pieces of Cannon, 50 Horles, two Camels, some Mules, 100 Head of Oxen, some Corn, and a good quantity of Hay.

The *Venetians* having gained the first Retrenchment, appointed Marquis *Borro*, and *Francisco Grimani*, to maintain the Ground they had gained; which they performed by throwing up Earth for shelter of their Men, whilst on the other side they cut off the Pipes, and ruined the Aqueeducts which conveyed Water to the Castle. The want whereof, and the blowing up of the Magazine of Powder, greatly funk the Courage of the Defendants; howsoever the *Venetians* continued still to throw their Bombs and Fire into the Castle, and batter the Walls of it with their Cannon, by which they had now made the Breach so wide, that an Assault might be made thereon: But the Provocator-General well considering that the *Turks* could not long subsist without Water, deferred for some few Days the Assault, until he saw the Effects which the Extremity of Thirst would constrain them unto, the which speedily happened out according to expectation: For on the 12th of *September*, the Defendants spread a White Flag on the Walls, desiring to Capitulate, and that in the mean time a Cessation of Arms should be granted.

Hereupon the *Pasha* of the place, sent two Aga's, who being conducted to the Tent of General *Cornaro*, they offered the Surrender of the Town and Castle, upon License given them to march out with their Arms, and Baggage, as is usually granted to Valiant Soldiers. But *Cornaro* answered, That their Behaviour had not merited such kind and honourable Usage: And growing angry at their Discourse, he told them plainly, That he expected they should immediately yield at Discretion, without further Argument, or Capitulation. The *Turks* astonished at this peremptory Resolution, desired time to propose the same to the Garrison, and to the Inhabitants; but no more time would be allowed than four Hours; during

1688. during which, in case they did not submit, they threatened them with the last Extremity. Within the space of four Hours, the same Aga's returned again, declaring their necessity to submit to the hard Conditions of the Conquerors; and soon after they were followed by the *Pasha Atlagick*, attended with his Son and Nephew, and with *Cernigick* the Sangiack, and five Aga's, with 50 other *Turks* of Condition; who being conducted to the Tent of General *Cornaro*, they were received by him in quality of Slaves; howsoever to demonstrate the Generosity of the Conqueror, an Allotment was assigned them in a Tent provided for them, where they were treated with all Conveniences, both of Victuals and Lodging.

The Day following in the Morning, about 900 Women and Children came forth, and about 400 *Turks* capable to bear Arms, with Countenances full of Sorrow, and dejected Looks, which showed the inward Grief which oppressed their Spirits. These were followed by a Troop of 150 poor *Christians*, who having hereby regained their Liberty, and Freedom from Slavery, changed the Scene of Sorrow into another of Joy and Festivity. 22 Pieces of Brass Cannon were found in the place, 200 Horle, great quantities of Provision and Ammunition both for War, and Sustainance for Life.

Clin being in this manner surrendered, the Provocator *Girolamo Cornaro*, General in *Dalmatia*, designed to take *Narenta*, an ancient Port for all sorts of Merchandize, brought thither in former Times from *Thrace*, *Servia*, *Bosnia*, and *Macedon*, and several other Provinces; but first it was esteemed necessary in order thereunto, to become Masters of a small Tower called *Narino*, built about three Years before, by the *Pasha of Bosnia*, who had furnished it with some Guns, and encompassed it with a double Palisado. In pursuance of this Resolution, the General embarked at *Spalatro*, all his Troops, Provisions, Cannon, and other Military Appurtenances; with which having loosed from that Port, they were so crossed by contrary Winds, that the Fleet was forced to put into divers Harbours, and the Winds continuing long in that Quarter, they spent some Weeks without any Action. At length the General being wearied with longing Desires to act something, the Season of the Year also spending apace, and the time approaching both for the Fleet and Armies to draw into Winter Quarters, he resolved to proceed from the Port of *St. George de Lesina* with the Gallies, Gallies, and lighter Vessels only, leaving Orders with General *St. Paul*, to follow him

with the Ships, and Gallies, as soon as 1688. Wind and Weather should serve him: And being by force of the Oar come to the Mouth of the Port of *Narenta*; at the Point of which, the Forts of *Narin* was situated: *Cornaro* Landed some Troops both of Horle and Foot; upon whose approach, the *Turks* of the Garrison of *Narin*, to the Number of 150, finding themselves battered by Cannon from the Galley called *Queen*, they quitted the Fort, and betook themselves to a hasty Flight, in hopes to escape with their Liberty; but being pursued by the Horle, and some *Morlacks* who were good Footmen, they were either cut to pieces, or taken Prisoners, amongst which was *Alainch Carnaro*, their Commander in chief. The *Venetians* being encouraged by this Success, the General marched to a certain Village, called *Metrovich*, where he remained some Days in expectation of the Fleet under the Command of General *St. Paul*; and of being thereby reinforced with Men, Artillery, Provisions, Ammunition, and all things necessary.

By this unexpected Invasion, all the People of those Countries being greatly alarmed, and in much Confection, provided to save and put themselves into a posture of defence. Howsoever the General *Cornaro* having made several Detachments of *Morlacks* to waste the Country round, they had the Fortune to surprize divers Villages and People, which they having first Plundered, put all to Fire and Sword, and returned with a considerable Booty both of Cattle, Captives, and Heads.

But the Winds still continuing opposite to the Ships of Burden; and by Rains, and blustering Weather according to the Season of the Year, which was now far advanced and improper for Action, General *Cornaro* having secured the Country and Forts which he had conquered, embarked the remainder of his Forces, and returned to *Spalatro*, where he disposed his harassed Troops in Winter Quarters, there to refresh and take Breath against the next Campaign. After which, above 1500 Inhabitants of the Country about *Narenta* came in, and put themselves under the Protection of the Republick.

And now after all these Actions, and Martial Exploits both by Sea and Land; of which the *Turks* have had little cause to boast in all the course of the past Year, unless in their defence of *Negropont*; it will be time for us to conclude this Years History, and proceed to the Transactions of the following, being the Year 1689.

The Successes of the

GERMANS,

AGAINST THE

TURKS in Hungary,

In the Year 1689.

1689. **T**HIS Year begins with the Surrender of the strong City of *Sigbet*, to the Clemency of His Imperial Majesty, not being subdued by Arms, but by Famine, having almost for the space of two Years endured extreme Want, and Scarcity of all things necessary for the Support of Life. At length common Reports flying, That *Sigbet* was upon Capitulations reduced thereunto by extreme Want, and a thousand other miserable Sufferings; the News thereof came confirmed to *Vienna* by the Duke of *Holslein*, on the 21st of *January*, and that the Surrender was agreed on Articles, not much differing from those of *Alla Regalis*; after the Example of which, one or two Commissioners were appointed in behalf of the City to carry the Particulars unto *Vienna*, there to be signed by His Imperial Majesty; for which Affair, the Person deputed was *Hassan Bei*, Lieutenant Governour of the place; who on the 28th Day of *January* arrived at *Vienna*, desiring that the following Capitulations might be confirmed and corroborated by the Imperial Signature, which were expressed in this manner.

I.

THAT so soon as *Hassan Bei* shall be returned to *Sigbet*, the Governour, and Garrison therein, shall faithfully deliver up into the Possession of the *Germans*, the Castle and City of *Sigbet*, with all the Powder therein without spoiling it, or maliciously suffering it to be made wet, as also all other things belonging to Military Services. That upon the Surrender, the *Turks* shall retire to such place in the Lower City, as shall be assigned for their Quarters to lodge in, and there protected by a Guard of Imperial Soldiers; there to remain until the rigour of

the Winter Season is past, and the *Drave* become Navigable, by Thawing of the Ice; and in the mean time Waggon and Boats shall be provided for their faithful and secure Transportation; and till such time the Arms which belong to them in quality of Soldiers, shall be deposited in some safe place, and be thence returned to them upon their Departure. All things belonging to the Castle shall remain, as upon Delivery: And because it is uncertain, when the River will be open, and become Navigable, so soon as the Ice is Thawed, and the Carts provided, a fixed Day shall be set for Departure of the *Turks*, after which they shall not stay longer than 24 Hours: And in the mean time they shall lodge quietly in the Lower Town free from all Molestation, Damage, or Inconvenience of the Soldiers.

II. All Prisoners in the Hands of the *Turks*, without concealing any, or Persecutions, Allurements, or Promises to stay, shall be set at liberty, be they of what Age, Sex, or Quality forever.

III. That all Conveniences and Necessaries shall be allowed to the *Turks* for their Money, as well in their Journey, as in the time of their present Abode.

IV. That no Violence shall be offered to any upon their Departure.

V. That Carts, or Waggon shall be provided, as well for the Old, as for others, to carry them to the Water-side.

VI. All those who became Renegades before this War began, shall have Licence to depart in Company with the *Turks*; but such others as have denied their Faith,

1689. *January*.

The Success of the Germans in their War against the Turks.

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1689. *January*. since the beginning of these Wars, shall not be permitted to depart with the others, but shall remain still in the City: And whosoever shall desire to stay behind, and live at their former Habitations, shall be left to their own Wills and Arbitrement, to do as they shall think fit.

VII. A sufficient number of Waggon shall be provided to carry all the People to the Water-side; where in like manner a sufficient number of Boats shall be furnished, to Transport the People, under a secure Guard to the Confines of the Ottoman Dominions.

All these Articles being subscribed by His Imperial Majesty, a strict charge was given to all Officers, and Soldiers, and Subjects whatsoever, to observe religiously the Contents thereof: But before the same had passed the Imperial Signature, the Vice-President of the Council of War, summoned *Hassan Bei* several times to Audience; and at length upon Delivery of the Capitulations into his Hands, he made a most Elegant Speech, exalting the generous Piety and Clemency of the Emperour; who having all the Inhabitants and Soldiers of *Sigbet* in his Hands, and at his Disposal, as either to put them to Death, or make them Captives, was yet pleased, out of a Natural Principle of Mercy, to consider their Distresses, to spare their Lives, and give them Liberty. In sense of which, *Hassan Bei* acknowledged the truth of what had been uttered, and in token of Thanks to the Vice-President, in the Name of the Pasha, and People of *Sigbet*, with Eyes full of Tears he received the Capitulations, and kissed them with profound Reverence and Submission.

So soon as *Hassan Bei* had received these Capitulations he departed with all speed by the Post towards *Sigbet*, being fully satisfied with the obliging Entertainment he had received during his stay at *Vienna*, where he was sumptuously lodged in the House of Marquis *Ferdinando Obizzi*.

Hassan Bei being returned with the Articles subscribed, to *Sigbet*, no time was lost to put them into execution; for all things being prepared, and the River open about the beginning of *February*, the *Turks* quitted *Sigbet*, leaving one of the chief Fortresses in the World, esteemed both by Nature and Art to be impregnable, in the Hands of the Emperour.

For *Sigbet* hath both a Castle and a City fortified after the ancient manner, with Earth lined with Brick; hath four very fair Towers encompassed with a very deep Ditch

full of Water, and environed round with Fens and Marly Grounds, which make the Town inaccessible. So that it seems no wonder, that *Solyman* the Magnificent Emperour of the *Turks* should have spent three Years in taking thereof; and not being able to take it in his Life time, his Grand Vizier afterwards subdued it by Storm, with the loss of 36000 Men. The *Turks* took it on the 7th of *September* 1666, after a most valiant Resistance made by *Nicholas Ejdin* Count of *Serini*, Great Grandfather of the Famous *Nicholas Serini*, who vanquished the *Turks* in many Battels, and died in the Year 1664.

The Town hath three Gates, one called *Quinque Ecclesiae*, another *Siclos*, and a third *Canisha*, because they lead to those places. The Castle is fortified with three Walls, and a treble Ditch, and is the Capital City of that Province so named: There are three Moschs, all stately Buildings, and covered with Lead: The Country round is Pleasant and Fruitful; especially one Hill about two Miles from the City, which the *Turks* call *Turbe Doggi*, which was rarely planted with Vines, and all sorts of Fruit-Trees, and is famous for Cherries of an extraordinary bigness, of which there are none so good either in *Hungary*, or in any part of the Ottoman Dominions; the Ponds and Lakes are filled with Fish, and the Woods yield store of Deer, Hares, Partridges, and all sorts of Game; so that no place in the World can afford greater plenty of all things to support Humane Life, or to furnish the Tables of the greatest Monarchs.

Howsoever *Canisha* refused to follow the Example of *Sigbet*, being not as yet it seems reduced to such a Condition of Famine, as to oblige them to a Surrender, for living in hopes that the *Turkish* Ambassadors would be able by their Negotiations to obtain a Peace, they suffered the utmost Extremities of Want, with much patience; that in reward thereof they might preserve their Dwellings and Lands, and obtain the Honour due to the Constancy of good Soldiers, and the Praise and Commendation of their Prince.

In the mean time the *Turkish* Ambassadors pressed with much Impunity to be admitted unto Audience, that they might deliver their Credentials, and execute the Commands of their Master: But the Imperial Ministers were not, it seems, so much in haste, intending first to deliberate in what manner they were to be received, and what Answers were to be given to their submissive Requests for Peace, a Matter unknown before to the *Turks*, who since the beginning of their Empire, had never before

1689. *February*.*Canisha refuses to surrender.**The Turkish Ambassadors desire audience.*

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1689. fore been acquainted with the manner of supplicating for Peace. But the Fortune of the World being now changed, and the Game running high on the Emperor's Hand, Expedients were contrived rather to return a plausible cause of denial, and a justifiable ground for continuing a War, than how to form and project advantageous Articles for a Peace. However the Resolutions being taken what to do, it was judged necessary to admit the Ambassadors to Audience, for by the Law of Nations that could not be refused; and so accordingly it was agreed, That on the 8th of February an Audience should be given them: In order unto which, two Days before, the Ambassadors were conducted from the Castle of Pottendorf, into the Suburbs of the City, and lodged in that Street called *Londe Strafs*, being attended by two Regiments of Foot: The Day appointed for the Audience being come, they were brought with a Party of Horse to the Gate of *Carinthia* about Two a Clock in the Afternoon, and there consigned up to the Guard of the City, from whence they proceeded to the Emperor's Palace in the manner following.

The solemnity observed at the Audience.

In the first place two *Turkish* Chiaufes on Horseback led the way, with Staves in their Hands denoting Peace or Amity, after whom came two led Horfes, followed by the Secretary of the Ambassadors carrying the Credentials made up in Purfes of Cloth of Gold, holding them up in his Hand, that they might be seen by the People who flocked in great Numbers to see this Entry.

After these followed several Attendants with led Horfes, all richly Harnessed, and covered with Embroidered Cloths: Then came *Zulfigar Effendi* the Ambassador in the Emperor's Coach accompanied with *Alexander Maurocordato* a Greek, Associate to *Zulfigar*, and Interpreter to the Grand Seigneur, together with *Lacovitz* the Imperial Interpreter. On the right side of the Coach walked the Ambassador's Footmen clothed in Green, and on the left those of *Maurocordato*, to being *Russians* with Liveries of Yellow; all which were followed by a numerous Train of Attendants belonging to the Ambassador, amongst which there was one Coach with the Ambassador's Kinsman, and Senior *Tartars*, chief Interpreter to the State of Venice at the Ottoman Port, who were likewise attended with led Horfes and Footman.

In this manner being come to the Gate of the Palace, it was permitted only to the Ambassadors to enter into the first Court-Yard; the others alighted at the Draw-bridge, and walked on Foot to the Stairs; whence the Ambassadors, with the Secre-

ry carrying the Credentials before them, 1689. were conducted between the Guards of Archers and Halberdiers, to the first Antichamber, being followed by great Crowds of People.

In the mean time, whilst they were ascending the Stairs, His Imperial Majesty came out of his private Apartment, and entered into the Chamber of Audience, and seated himself under a rich Canopy of State opposite to the Entrance into the Chamber, having the chief Princes and Ministers of State ranked on each Hand according to their several Degrees and Qualities. They were the Ambassadors admitted in, without other Attendance than their Secretary, who carried the Credentials before them; they were then conducted to the Foot of the Throne, the Turk wearing his Turbant on his Head, and *Maurocordato* carrying his Cap in his Hand, with his Head uncovered after the *Christian* manner. *Zulfigar Effendi* having made three very low Bows in his approach to His Majesty, took the Credentials into his Hands, and with another profound Obedience, was offering to present them; when His Majesty making a Signal with his Hand, they were laid on a Side-Table near the Chair of State; and then both one and the other knelt a little, and kissed the Hem of the Imperial Mantle: After which retiring at some distance back, *Zulfigar Effendi* made his Speech in the *Turkish* Language to this effect.

The Emperor seated on his Throne.

They are admitted to his Presence.

The Ambassador's Speech.

THE Most Puissant, and Great Emperor of the Musselmen, the Highest Monarch of the Universe, Sultan Solymhan Han, Son of Sultan Ibrahim Han, our Lord and Master, hath sent us to you, who are the Most High, and Most Glorious Emperor amongst the Christian Kings and Princes, to deliver this His Imperial Letter to You His Friend: The Summary Contents of which, is to signify unto You, His Exaltation to the Throne of his Ancestors, which hath happened in the Year, or Hegeira 1099. on the 2d Day of the Month Meherem: And also to put you in remembrance of the ancient Friendship, and mutual good Correspondence which passed between his Progenitors; and Your famous Predecessors with all Sincerity. And hath commanded us his Servants, to signify unto You His Great Friend, the High Ressel he bears in His Imperial Breast to the ancient Friendship which intervened between the Progenitors on both sides. May the High God inspire, and insill into the Hearts of both Monarchs, that which is profitable and best for the Devout Servants of God.

To

1689. To this Speech His Imperial Majesty did not vouchsafe to return an Answer by Words from his own Mouth; because that as yet no Treaty was begun, nor the least step made thereunto; and likewise because that the Persons who brought these Letters were not qualified with the Character of Ambassadors, but rather of Messengers sent to prepare the way, in order to a stricter and closer Treaty; and therefore the Baron de Herbert, a Gentleman of the Emperor's Bedchamber, and Councillor of State, by Command of the Emperor, returned an Answer in the manner following.

An Answer return'd by Baron Herbert.

THE Most August, Puissant, and Invincible Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Arch-Duke of Austria, &c. Our Gracious Lord hath heard and understood what hath been most humbly proposed to His Sacred Cæsarean Majesty, in the Name of the Most Serene, and Most Powerful Prince Sultan Solymhan, notifying by You His Exaltation to the Throne. And whereas You have made mention of the ancient Friendship which intervened between the Ancestors of both these Sublime Monarchs; You are to reflect and consider, That it never entered into the Thoughts of His Imperial Majesty to trouble, or dissolve that friendly Correspondence; but would rather most sacredly have continued the same until this very Hour, had he not been most Unjustly Attacked, against the League, and Articles stipulated, and Sworn by both Monarchs, by which the Effusion of much Human Blood would have been spared. Of all which, the Most Just God being Witness, hath Crowned the Peaceable Mind of Our Most August Emperor with Wonderful Success, and Glorious Victories. Howsoever the Mind of His Imperial Majesty being still inclined to a Peace, he resolves so soon as he shall have read the Contents of the Letter, to give Order unto His Ministers to receive and consider what farther Proposals shall be given thereupon, and to enter into the Particulars of a Treaty; which is all that I am Commanded by my Imperial Master to say in this Matter.

To which *Zulfigar Effendi*, made this short Reply.

The Ambassador's Reply.

THAT tho' many times most grievous Wars have arisen between Great Monarchs, yet frequently, even in the heat thereof a Peace hath unexpectedly ensued. And

whereas they had been employed and dispatched from the Ottoman Port, on a Work so beneficial and happy to a great part of Mankind, they did not doubt, but upon the Treaty and Conferences such Expedients would be found, as would bring all Matters to a happy Conclusion. And farther he said, That he had another Letter from the Grand Vizier directed to the President of War, beseeching His Majesty that he would be pleased to behold the same with a Gracious Eye.

The Audience being in this manner ended, which lasted about the space of half an Hour, the Ambassadors (for so they were called in *Turkish*) returned from the Palace, in the same Form as they came thither, and conducted to their Lodgings, where at the Charge of the Emperor, a most sumptuous Dinner was provided for them, sufficient to entertain a Hundred Persons.

Tho' the Ceremonies observed at this Audience, and the Honours and Treatment given to these Ambassadors, were much inferior to those, which had at other times been shewn to Persons dispatched on the like occasions from the Ottoman Port, yet the Concourse of the People, who are fond of new Sight, was not less numerous; all the Streets, Balconies, and Windows, being filled with Spectators, who came to behold the mean Reception of the dejected Turks, who never came before to beg Peace, but with a proud and haughty Behaviour to give the Conditions of it.

The next day the Ambassadors, much in the same manner, were conducted to Audience of Count *Staremberg*, and in his Coach, who was Marshal, and Vice-President of the Supream Council of War, in the absence of Prince *Herman* of Baden, who resided at *Ratisbonne*, in Quality of Plenipotentiary for his Imperial Majesty at the Diet. The Ambassadors being introduced into a Chamber of his Palace, and caused to Sit down at a Table opposite against him, they delivered the Vizier's Letter to him; which being Read, after some Complements which passed on both sides, they returned again to their Lodgings.

The Letters being afterwards Read, and Observed, contrary to the Custom of that Proud Nation, to contain unusual Expressions of Submission, and earnest Desires for Peace, the Emperor appointed Four Commissioners to Treat with these Ambassadors; Namely, Count *Kinnich* Great Chancellor of *Bohemia*, Count *Straatman* Great Chancellor of the Court, the Commissary General Count *Caraffa*, and Marshal Count *Staremberg*.

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1639. These Commissioners being assembled together, with Baron Razinsky, Envoy Extraordinary from Poland, and the Cavalier Frederico Cornaro, Ambassador from the Republick of Venice to the Imperial Court, with his Secretary Capello, the Turkish Ambassadors were called to hold a Conference with these Ministers of the Allies, at a Palace belonging to the States of the Province of Austria; the which beginning about Ten in the Morning, lasted until Three a Clock in the Afternoon: After which, several Conferences were held, at which Maurocordato was the chief Speaker, expressing himself in Latin, and sometimes in Italian; but in fine, Debates ended without making the least step towards the Conclusion of a Peace; for the Turks, instead of yielding to any Proposal in favour of the Allies, required some of the Conquered Places to be restored to them; that Transylvania should pay a Tribute to the Ottoman Port, as formerly; and that the Blockades should immediately be taken away from before Canisfa and Great Waradin; so that the Letters from the Grand Seignior and Grand Vizier containing nothing but General Terms, which testified their Desires of Peace, and their Negotiations, and Proposals far from any particular Condescensions, their Actions looked, as if they designed nothing more than to gain time, and to hear, and observe what progress the French made by their Arms in the Palatinate, and other parts of Germany.

Nor indeed were the Turks deceived in these Measures, being supported by the French Promises, and Arms, and without which the Turks would have Condescended to any Conditions which the Emperor and his Allies might have offered: Notwithstanding which, the Faith of the French was so low in the Esteem of the Turks, that had the Emperor in that Conjunction proposed some little Advantages, which might have kept up the Credit of the Ottoman Power amongst their own People, a Peace would certainly have ensued, which some Years afterwards by the Wiles and Artifices of the French could not be obtained, nor the Turks inclined thereunto by foul or fair means, by overthrows in Battle, and loss of Towns, and a long continued Train of Misfortunes; nor by the Mediations of England and Holland, offered by their respective Ministers to the Port, as may hereafter be declared; so that it is an unaccountable piece of Policy, the blame of which the World is apt to Charge on the Clergy, and the secret Partisans of France hidden in the Imperial Courts, there being at that time no ap-

parent Reason why the Applications and Overtures of the Turks were not Embraced, and improved to a Peace; For at that time the French had entered the Palatinate with Fire and Sword; and their Armies committing all sorts of Hostility, had entered the Archbishopsricks of Mentz, Cologne, the Dukedomes of Juliers, Berge, and other Places of Sualia; so that now it was manifest, the Emperor had the Wars of two mighty Powers to sustain, which had soon overwhelmed all Germany, had not a firm Alliance been made between England, Spain, Holland, and most of the Princes of Germany; which was brought about by a most miraculous Providence; which not being the Subject of this History, we shall turn our Discourse towards the Wars against the Turks; the Treaty with whom breaking off, the Hostilities on both sides were carried on with the same Fierceness and Cruelty as before.

The Turks contrary to their Natural Temper, were become extremely humble, and Suppliant, debasing themselves to so low, and mean a Degree of Submission, that the Imperial Ministers suspected that some Design lay covered under their fawning Expressions, and over-acted Humility: All which would have appeared real, had not the French encouraged the Divan with Presents, and Promises of recovering all Hungary back, and something more, if they would only reassume their Ancient Courage, and patiently support the Inconvenience of a War for a few years longer to incline them whereunto, the French tell the Turks a Minute Account of all the Victories they had obtained over the Germans, what Cities and Towns they had destroyed, what Devastations and what Incursions they had made into the very Heart of Germany, with Fire and Sword; by which they had already rendered all those Provinces on the Rhine, so weak and miserable, that it was impossible for them to resist the violent Course of the French Arms, much less, when united with the Puissance of the Ottoman Empire. And to facilitate this Work, several Engines were employed to Tamper with the Peasants and Ambassadors sent to that King; one of the King of Poland, who was Brother to the Queen of Poland, and to quicken, and give life to this Negotiation, vast Sums of Money were sent, sufficient to blind and corrupt the Mind of an Avaricious Prince; and tho' these means were not productive of a Peace, yet they begot such cold Motions of War, as looked something like a Truce, or an indifferent Neutrality: And indeed, several

1639. veral Campaigns after this were carried on with so slow a pace, that the Arms of Poland came not into the Field until it was almost feasonable to retire from thence; and such Negligence was practised in their Martial Discipline, that they were commonly surprized by the Tartar, and defeated: And so little care taken to provide the Army with necessary food for Horse and Man, that in the year 1691, (as may hereafter be made appear) all the Horses of the Army died, even in the very Stables of the King, who was forced afterwards to return home in a Waggon drawn by Buffalo's and Oxen.

Howsoever nothing was omitted on the part of the Emperor to carry forward two such important Wars, by several ways. And in the first place, to secure the New Conquests, it was thought necessary, to encourage the Bulgarians and Rascians, who had made a Defection from the Turks, and submitted themselves intirely to the Service of the Emperor; and as a means to secure those People, Count Marfigli, the Chief Director and Surveyor of the Fortifications, was dispatched to erect a Fortrefs in some Place or other, the most convenient for Defence and Protection of those People; for which no place could be situated so advantageously as that of the Iron-Gate; which would very much have secured the Christian Conquests, and been a good Frontier, between which and Adrianople there was not the least Fortification in all that vast Country; nor from thence to the very Walls of Constantinople.

Tho' the Emperor was greatly burdened by a War against France, and at the same time against the Turk, yet all Care was taken both in one and the other. The Imperial Chamber issued out vast Sums to Recruit the Militia in Hungary, to Remount their Artillery, and provide all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions for the next Campaign, with which the Magazines both in Servia and Sclavonia were supplied; as also Carriages, Bridges, Boats, and all sorts of Warlike Preparations, which were carried on by the great Industry of Count Caraffa, Commissary-General.

In the mean time the Turks made continual Incursions into Bosnia, along the sides of the Rivers Unna, and Celpa, but without much Success; they being on all sides freightened in their Quarters, and Marches by the Germans. For Piccolomini having notice, that the Pasha of Bosnia designed to over-run all the Country near the Save, detached some Parties of Hungarians and Germans from the Garrison of Prout, to discover the Actions of the Turks; and being in the night time advanced some

Leagues into the Enemies Country, they surprized the Town of Lissa, and set Fire to it, and killed all the Garrison, consisting of 500 men, some few only excepted, which they carried away Prisoners.

But the Confusion at the Ottoman Court was much greater, by reason of a new Rebellion in Asia carried on by Tede a famous Robber in that Country, and Partner with Teghen Pasha, whom we mentioned in our Treatise of the last Year; the which continued for some time before it was appeased, and Tede cut off: But before we touch upon that Story, it will be necessary to declare the Fate of Teghen, who had forced himself upon the Government, and obliged the Vizier to Create him Scarskier, which happened in this manner.

After that Teghen had fled from Belgrade, he quarrelled with Noradin Gulga, Son of the Tartar Chan; upon which, Noradin being a Man of a high Spirit, called him Coward, and pitiful, mean spirited Rascal, fit for nothing but to Command a Band of Thieves and Robbers; at which Teghen, who looked on himself as Scarskier, or General of the Army, was so enraged, that shaking his Topuz at him, (which is a kind of Iron-Mace, carried by the Turks on the side of their Hories Saddle) cautioned him to be Strangled before the Eyes of many of the principal Men belonging to the Tartarian Court.

The News of this Affront and Outrage committed on the Son, the very hopes of the House, highly enraged the Chan his Father; who studying Night and Day a Revenge, wrote to the Grand Signior and Grand Vizier, in the most resenting Terms possible against Teghen, urging, that that insolent and unhumane Robber was to be destroyed, without which, the Cause of the Musselmenn could not be Blessed, nor any Fortune be expected against their Enemies.

But the Grand Vizier thinking himself under some Obligations to Teghen, who had the Year before saved his life before Nissa; when the Janifaries mutinying for want of Pay, (he being then Janizar-Aga) conspired to Strangle him: In remembrance of which, being now advanced to the sublime Office of Grand Vizier, he endeavoured to sweeten the matter, and render the case of Teghen as plausible as might be. But such was the Misfortune of Teghen, that the Tartar Chan coming in Person to Adrianople, to consult on such Measures as were necessary to be taken for the succeeding Campaign, he fell on his Quarrel with Teghen, who had put

1689. his Son to Death, urging to the Divan, that there was an unavoidable necessity for putting *Teghen* to Death, as the Cause and Fomentor of all the Mutinies in the Army, and the Rebellions in *Asia*.

Teghen being advised by his Friends, and Correspondents, of which he had many at the Ottoman Court, of the Complaints and Endeavours of the *Tartar Chan* against him; found himself not only thereby defeated of his expected Confirmation in the Office of Seraskier, but in danger of the Evil which the Wiles and Accusations of an irreconcilable Enemy at the Court might bring upon him. Wherefore

abandoning himself to Despair, he began again to practice all sorts of Villainy, to rob Villages and Towns, entertaining all sorts of Robbers, Murderers, and People accustomed to Spoil, arrogating to himself a power of creating *Palhas*, and exercising all sorts of Violence and Cruelty upon the Inhabitants of *Romelia*, or *Grecco*. And moreover he wrote to his Friends and Acquaintance in *Asia*, particularly to *Tedic*, to Declare in favour of his Cause, which was also supported by the Authority of the Grand Vizier.

But the Grand Seignior and the Divan entertaining Sentiments different to those of the Vizier, consulting the necessity there was of gratifying the Chan, issued immediate Orders to the *Palha* of *Sofia* to suppress the incursions of *Teghen*, and to call to his Assistance the *Nesiran*, which are like our Trained-Bands, or Militia of the Country, to seize, and take, either Dead or Alive, this *Teghen* *Palha*, who had violated the Laws of their Prophet *Mahomet*, and encouraged and fomented all the Rebellions in *Asia*.

This dismal News struck *Teghen* with a sudden Amazement, so that not knowing where to find any safety in the Parts where he remained, all the World conspiring his Destruction, he resolved to retire into *Albania*, and betake himself to the Aid and Protection of his old and faithful Friend *Mamoot Bei Oglu*; it having been suspected for some time, at the Port, that this *Teghen*, whenever he should be driven hard, would endeavour to shelter himself in *Albania*, under protection of this *Mamoot Bei*; means were contrived before-hand, with a thousand fair Promises made to *Mamoot Bei*, that whensoever *Teghen* should come for Refuge under his Command, that he should do that Service to the Sultan, as to betray him, or cut him off. Accordingly *Teghen* putting himself into the hands of his ancient Comrade, *Mamoot*, was received by him with outward Joy, and the most Endearing

Terms of Love, and real Sincerity, that could be expressed, and desiring him to continue with him for some days, he promised him all security, to join with him in his Adventures, and to run with him all the hazards of his Fortune; and so continued to Comfort and Encourage him, until all his Troops being got together, when one Night being in Consultation with *Teghen*, in what manner they might with most Advantage annoy the Port, Orders were privately given to the Domestic Servants to fall upon him, which was accordingly executed, and his Head on a sudden taken from his Shoulders, with the Heads of many of his Followers, which were immediately dispatched by *Mamoot* to the Port, for a Testimony of his Fidelity to the Sultan, and in Reward thereof to Challenge the Promises which had been made him.

In the Month of September last, as we have already related, News was brought to the Port, that the Disorders in *Asia* increased, where the Robbers appeared in great Bodies, Commanded in chief by *Tedic*, and encouraged by *Teghen*, who sent Commissions over to his Kinfolks, by which such numbers of Robbers assembled from all Parts, that all the Country was spoiled and laid waste by them; and the People being fled, there was nothing but Rapine and Violence in all Places. To suppress these Disorders, Commands were sent by the Vizier, to the *Palhas* and Governors; but these Officers were so far from being able to Execute them, that they returned back stripped and plundered. Whereupon new Measures were taken to pacify these Mutineers or Robbers rather, with Promises, that *Teghen* should be created General of the Army, and that these Troops now in *Asia* should be passed over into *Hungary*, there to Fight under the Command and Conduct of their Beloved *Teghen*, where they all hoped to be made *Palhas*. But whilst these Mutineers were preparing to march into Europe, News came to the Grand Signior of the Death of *Teghen*, with many of his Followers; the which was confirmed by the undoubted Evidence of their Heads, which were laid at the Feet of the Sultan. This particular Addition changed the whole Scheme of the Turkish Councils; and all the soft Promises made to *Tedic*, were changed into Vengeance and Punishment, Orders being given to the *Chimacac*, not only to oppose and hinder the passage of the *Asiaticks* into Europe, but to Fight and Defeat them in their own Country. By this time a great Party of these Rebels were come very

1689. very near to *Scutari*, and scattered in the adjacent Villages, where remaining with all security, not having as yet received the fatal News of the Death of *Teghen*; when

By Order of the *Chimacac*, some of the Ottoman Troops quartered on the side of *Scutari*, fell upon them, and by surprize, entirely defeated them, some of which were drowned in the Sea, and others killed by the Sword: Those who were already passed over to *Constantinople*, hearing of this Disaster, and the Fate of *Teghen*, retired back into *Asia*, and recounted those unhappy Stories to *Tedic*, who was upon his March to follow his advanced Troops. Upon this News, *Tedic*, and his Companions, despairing of all hopes of Pardon, declared themselves more openly Rebels than before; so that assembling all the Scum and Rascality of the People, to the number of about 6000 Men, they marched towards *Prusa* in *Bithynia*, pillaging, destroying, and ruining all in the way before them: So that there was no passage for any, unless Emirs or Green-Heads, mounted on Mules and Asses with Pack-Saddles.

The Ottoman Court, which lately by the Death of *Teghen*, and the Defeat of so many Troops near *Scutari*, thought all things now safe and secure from the *Asiatick* Rebellion, were again strangely surprized with a Conternation to hear that the Rebellion increased, and grew hotter than before; to suppress which, a *Palha* was sent to raise the *Nesiran*, who had the Fortune at first to Defeat a considerable Body of the Enemy; but being a Person of no Experience in the War, and ignorant of Martial Discipline, he unfortunately engaged with a more expert Body of the Rebels, by whom he was defeated, and made a miserable Sacrifice to the Fury and Revenge of *Tedic*; who killed and made Prisoners, all the Forces of the *Palha*.

Tedic being encouraged with this unexpected Success, caused himself to be Proclaimed, King and Sovereign of *Anatolia*; and by his Arbitrary Power, laying Impositions, and exacting Contributions from all Cities and Towns of that Country, he laid Siege to *Angora*, a rich City, famous for the Trade of Grogam Yarn, who would not submit it self to the Tyranny and Plunder of *Tedic*: Of which the English and other Merchants at *Smyrna* took such an Alarm, not knowing but that the Rebels, encouraged with the Riches and Openness of the Town, without any Walls or Fortifications, might march thither; they Packed up all their Goods, and put themselves in a readiness to fly

on Shipboard when any Danger approached, 1689. where they might remain out of all danger or Violence either to their Persons or Estates.

The People of *Angora*, being in a Condition not long to withstand a Siege, and Despairing of all Relief from the Ottoman *Angora* Port, made their Composition with *Tedic*, and Ransomed their Town from Plunder, by the Payment of 80 Purfes of Money, each Purfe containing 500 Dollars.

This unhappy State of Affairs, suggested upon the Turkish Governors their old Methods of fair Promises, and smooth Words to work upon the Affections of *Tedic* and his Complices, assuring them all of Pardon and Reward in case they would return to their Duty: But their being a sort of rough Villains, bred up in Rapine and Violence, who were Conscious that they could never merit a Pardon, and had transgressed beyond all Hopes of ever being trusted, they no sooner heard the fawning Words of the Grand Seignior's Grace and Favour pronounced towards them, but with one Consent they cried out loudly against it, saying, That they had learned not to be Cheated and Betrayed like *Teghen*, and their Brethren near *Scutari*. And that their Rebellion might carry a good Face, and some Reason with it, *Tedic* and his Complices declared, That they took not up Arms for Spoil, or Disaffection to the Grand Seignior, but out of pure Zeal to Religion, and true Profession of the *Mahometan* Law, which the present Governors had miserably corrupted: In Defence of which he Summoned all the People and Inhabitants of *Anatolia* to come in under his Standard, and join with them to Reform the Abuses of the Government and State.

These Traiterous Practices of *Tedic* being made known at the Port; it plainly appeared, that there was no other means and expedient left, to reclaim the Practices of such Robbers, and suppress the dissolute Lives of Rebels, but only force and dint of Sword; to which end the *Palha* of that Country honoured with the Title of *Tef*, which is as much as an Inquisitor, who in the Times of Peace, is every two or three Years ordained to enquire into the State of *Anatolia*, and make enquiry into Robberies, Breaches of the Peace, and Abuses of the Government committed by the Kadees, Aga's, and other Officers: For execution of which, the *Palha* is commonly attended with 500 Men, and authorized with such an unlimited power, that he may act and do what he pleases with as uncontrollable an Authority, as the Sultan himself. I have known this sort of *Tef* in the

A Party of his Soldiers defeated.

Tedic marches to *Prusa*.

Disorders in *Asia* by *Tedic*.

And defeated the *Palha*.

Declared King of *Anatolia* by *Angora*.

Defiance given to *Tedic*.

The Rebels are all of a sort of Villains.

The Nature of a Turkish *Palha*.

1689. the Summer time having pitched his Camp near some great Town, immediately to call for the Kadi, or Judge, and the Imaum or Priest of the place, and to demand of them the Names of the Lewd and Disorderly Young Men of the Place, and the Villages adjacent; and in case the Pasha, or the Imaum especially, shall give an ill Report of any of them, as of such, who come not constantly to Prayers, or frequent the Moschs, his Business is done for him; and for as many of them as come under his evil Report. For the Tefish Pasha concluding all such for Thieves, requires no farther Testimony or Proofs against them; but sending for them, Condemns them, and Hangs them up on the next Tree.

In this manner the Business of *Tedie* and his Complices, was committed to the care and conduct of *Tefish Achmet Pasha*, whose first step was rightly to inform the People of the pernicious Designs of *Tedie*, who fought against the Sultan and the Laws of the Prophet *Mahomet*, of which the People being once persuaded, withdrew themselves from that Party, and turned their Arms against *Tedie*, and his Villainous Accomplices; by which means the Tefish having increased his Forces to such a considerable number, that he might with all security promise himself Victory, he marched against the Enemy, and after two Days, he came in sight of their Camp, and found them drawn up in good order, according to Martial Discipline. The Pasha readily attacked them with 3000 select and brave Men, and well mounted, and with such Resolution, that at the first Onset they put the Van-guard of the Enemy into disorder, and with a Shower of Arrows from the whole Army, they put them all to flight; so that their Leader *Tedie*, trusted all his safety to the swiftness of his Horse; notwithstanding which, the Tefish pressing for an entire Victory, pursued him so hard, that having inclosed him in the midst of two Squadrons, *Tedie* himself, with many of his chief Captains and Commanders, were either killed, or made Prisoners. The rest of the Common Soldiery seeing themselves deprived of their Chief, submitted to the Tefish Pasha, desiring to be enrolled under his Banner; but the Pasha having no good opinion, or hope of getting any benefit from an Union with such a sort of Rabble, and Scum of the People, who had been bred up, and nursed in Robbery and Violence; resolved to make no use of such corrupted Companions in his Army, but dismissed them all with License to return to their Countries, and respective Habitations, and afterwards proceeded to reform the Abuses and Disorders of those ill-governed Provincs.

The Port having now entirely suppressed those two desperate Rebellions, the most dangerous of any in such a time of a decaying Militia, and a victorious Enemy, began to be at leisure to prepare for their War in *Hungary*; and in the first place *Regeb Pasha* was created Seraskier, or General, in the place of *Teghen*: But first to extirpate all that Party entirely, they seized on the Nephew of *Teghen* in *Philippopolis*, and put him to Death, with 40 of his Followers; as they did also the Governor of *Widra*, whom *Teghen* had put into that Place the last Campaign, being a Favourite and Creature of his.

The Turks to encourage their People to prosecute the War in *Hungary*, did not only cause a Report to fly about, That the Sultan had resolved to appear this Year at the Head of his Army against the *Christians*; but the Sultan did really march from *Adrianople* towards *Sophia*, with an Army of about 30000 Men, together with a Train of Artillery, consisting of 90 Pieces of Cannon, and 6 Mortar-pieces of a very large size, the which being joyned afterwards to a Body of 40000 Men under the Command of the Seraskier *Regeb Pasha*, formed a considerable countenance of an Army; but being all raw, and undisciplined Men, would, as was supposed, be inspired with new Courage at the presence of their Sultan.

On the 22 of April, the Grand Seigneur April. began to move from *Adrianople*, at which time a very great Earthquake was felt both in that City and *Constantinople*, which was so terrible, that several Houses, Towers and Towers were overthrown. At which time the *Tungia* and *Meritz*, Rivers which glide on a Sandy and Gravelly Soil near the Walls of *Adrianople*, overflowed their Banks with so violent an Inundation, that they Drowned all the Fields and Meadows round, and forced the Turks to remove their Camp, and pitch at some farther distance; the which Accidents were diversly discoursed by the Learned Men, and the Turks being naturally Superstitious, did generally interpret them as sinister Omens for the succeeding Campaign. Howsoever Sultan *Solyman* marched forwards to *Sophia*; where according to the Custom of the Turkish Army, they soiled their Horse, giving them Grafs, and remained in expectation of the arrival of the *Asiatick* Troops, and other Forces not yet come up; and here it was that the Sultan entertained himself in the Army, not intending to proceed nearer to the Enemy.

In the mean time great Conferences and Consultations were held at the Imperial Court, for carrying on two mighty Wars against France, and the Ottoman Empire; to which

1689. which end the Forces were divided; those which were to serve in the Empire against April. France, were committed to the auspicious Conduct of the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Duke of *Lorraine*: Those which were intended against the Turk in *Servia*, were to be commanded by that Valiant and Fortunate General Prince *Lewis of Baden*; and under him as Field Marshal by the Duke of *Croy*, General of the Artillery was *Marquis Parrella*, Lieutenant-General was Count *Veteravi*, and Major-Generals were the Counts of *Hoffkirchen*, Duke of *Holheim*, with the Princes of *Hanover* and *Heijler*: And on the other side in the *Upper Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Bosnia*, and *Sclavonia*, the Command was lodged in the Hands of the Counts *Alpremont*, *Piccolomini*, *Trautmanndorff*, *Guido* of *Staremborg*, *Herbeville*, and Baron *Herbeville*; whose force consisted of 11 Regiments of Cuirassiers, nine Regiments of Dragoons, and 20 Regiments of Foot; together with the several Independent Companies of *Hungarians*, *Croatians*, and *Refugians*, who had lately taken up Arms against the Turks.

In the mean time *Tekeli*, to keep up his Credit and Reputation with the Turks, caused a Report to spread abroad at the Ottoman Port; that by his Spies, and by his Letters of Advice, he had certain Intelligence, that the French had so distressed the Empire, that it was impossible for the Emperor to spare at that time above 10000 Men to carry on the War in *Servia*; and that all his Measures in *Transylvania*, and the *Upper Hungary*, were entirely broken.

And indeed by the Plots of *Tekeli*, and the Contrivances and Intrigues of the French, whose emissaries began now to spread in all the great and considerable Towns, as well in *Hungary* as in *Germany*, Towns and Countries were burnt, and vast Devastations committed thereon. The City of *Cronstadt* in *Transylvania*, was in the Month of May totally destroyed and consumed by fire, which was kindled at the four Angles thereof; which in a few Hours, by the help of a strong Wind, was reduced to Ashes, notwithstanding the Endeavours of Colonel *Baron de Pace* to extinguish it; only by the help of his Soldiers he preserved the Castle, and the Ammunition therein, notwithstanding the Flames, which by the forcible Winds were carried to the very Walls of it. At the same time the like Misfortune befel the Forts of *Honot* in the *Upper Hungary*, and the Citadel of the Jews at *Prague*, so that both one and the other were in a few Hours miserably reduced to Ashes; all which was suspected to have been done by Treasonable Practices, and not by Chance, or Accident; and that which gave undoubted Assurance

thereof, were certain Sacks of Powder found at the Gates of some Houses in *Vienna*; and a Fire breaking out in a House adjoining to the great Hospital of the City, being kindled at a time when the Wind was very high, put all the City into a great Combustion; but by the Vigilance of the Magistrates, and the activeness of the Soldiers, it was soon extinguished: The which horrid Practices were some Days afterwards discovered to have been acted by certain Frenchmen, who being convicted by course of Justice, were sentenced, as Incendiaries, to be cast into the Fire, and committed to the Flames. The which Tryals and Proofs being produced, and laid before the Council of State, extorted from the benign Nature of His Imperial Majesty, a severe Edict for Banishing all the French out of his Dominions, unless such as had been Naturalized, or for the space of 10 Years past, could prove their Abode, or Residence with their Wives, established in some City, were all, without any exception, to depart in the space of 14 Days. The which Edict, how severe soever it might seem at another time, was in the present Conjunction no less than necessary, when the French Nation was crept into every City and Country, and entertained for *Vollets de Chambre*, Pedants, Dancing Masters, Cooks, and such like in most of the Houses and Families of Princes, and Nobles of principal Quality; where they served for Spies, and Traytors to the Empire: But the Wars in *Germany* not being the Subject of this History, let us proceed to the Affairs of *Turkey*, where it was reported, That the Turks were assembling all the force they were able to recover the City of *Belgrade*; and that the Seraskier was already in the Field, and had prepared Bridges to pass the *Morava* above *Jagodina*; and began to march to fall, as if he intended to force *Belgrade*, before the Grand Vizier was joyned with him, the noise whereof caused some Contemner at *Belgrade*; but at the appearance of Prince *Lewis of Baden*, sent thither with Commission of General of the Imperial Forces in *Hungary*, all the Fears of the Soldiers vanquished; and every one reassumed his Courage, and at the Command of the Prince, fell to work about the Fortifications; the which Work being by direction of His Highness put into a way of dispatch; he proceeded forward to the Army.

And on the 14th of June, being arrived June. at *Semendria*, he made it his business in the first place to enquire, and inform himself of the true State of the Affairs of the Enemy, who according to common report of the Spies, were said to be very near, being encamped in the Plains of *Jagodina*, the Num-

1689. Number of 40000 Men under Command of the Seraskier, the greatest part of which were *Alaticks*, raw, and Undisciplin'd Soldiers, to which very speedily the Grand Vizier was to join with 10000 *Turks*, and a considerable Train of Artillery, which was already on the way from *Sophia*. The Prince being alarm'd hereat by reason of the small force he had with him, dispatched an Express away to the Counts of *Veterani* and *Piccolomini*, with Orders to hasten their March what was possible, and come to his necessary reinforcement against so formidable an Enemy; and in the mean time, the heavy Baggage was sent to *Belgrade*, with about 50000 Inhabitants of that place, who for their better security, were ordered to pass the *Sava*; But for the more certain Intelligence of all, the Prince dispatched an Express to *Hussan Pasha Palanca*, where Count *Hoffkirchen* was Quartered, to know of him what News he had received there from the Camp of the Enemy. At this *Palanca* I lodged one Night, as I remember, which is no other than a small Fort built of Stone in a Woody and a Desolate Country, at the Charge of one *Hussan Pasha*, with intent only to cover a Chan, or Inn for Reception of Travellers, and their Goods, from Spoilers and Robbers, which often infested that place, where notwithstanding by means of this Fort, Garrison'd by 60 Soldiers, Strangers may sleep, and remain secure from Robbers.

The Messenger being returned from *Hoffkirchen*, brought Intelligence that the *Turks* were neither so numerous, and strong, nor so near, as common Fame reported: And they only appeared sometimes in Parties on the River *Morava*, but with some Care, and Caution in apprehension of the *Germans*, whose Numbers tho' they knew not, yet they were sensible enough of their Valour and Vigilance. This News, and the Conjunction with the Militia of *Veterani* and *Piccolomini*, greatly encouraged, and animated the Prince; and more especially, because that *Piccolomini* had pass'd a Bridge over the *Sava*, between *Belgrade* and *Sauze*, for the more commodious Transportation of Ammunition, and Victuals, which came from the Parts of *Hungary*.

In the mean time *Tekeli* did not remain idle, but made several Incursions, with design to relieve *Temefvar*, *Giula*, and *Waradin*, which were freightly blocked up by the Imperialists: In which, tho' he did not succeed, yet having joined with the *Pasha* of *Silistria*, he fell upon *Fertissau*, a Garrison of the *Rajicans*, which after a stout defence for 12 Days, and having no hopes of succour, they were forced to yield at Discretion, and being made Prisoners, several of

the principal Men, with their Colours, were sent in triumph to the Grand Seigneur, who in recompence thereof, sent a *Scimitar*, a Velt of Sabres, and some Money unto *Tekeli*, (with an *Asterum*) or *Tan* have well done, and do still better. *Tekeli* having put a Garrison of 1000 Janizaries into *Fertissau*, he marched to *Orfaua*, a place which *Heister* had lately deserted and demolished, which he possessed, and delivered it into the Hands of the Prince of *Walachia*, to be Garrison'd, and made a place of Arms, and a Magazine for divers sorts of Provisions and Ammunition expected from *Nicopolis*; and which, if well fortified and provided, might be considered, as the Key of the Upper *Hungary*.

About the same time, Count *Corbelli* made a Detachment of 1000 *Heydukes*, from the Blockade of *Waradin*, who approaching near the Walls with intention to carry off the Castle which were feeding thereabouts, they were so furiously attacked by the Enemy, that before they could retreat, they lost 300 of their Men, and amongst the rest Captain *Tugnoch*, a Valiant Soldier, who the last Year had signalized himself on various occasions against the *Turks*.

This Loss was soon afterwards recompensed by the Success which the *Croats* gained upon the *Turks*; who having formed a Body of about 8000 Men, intended to spoil all the Country round about *Costonovitz*, near the River *Unna*. On the other side the *Croats*, to the Number of 2000 Men, under the Command of Count *Drafovitz*, marched against them, with design rather to view the Countenance of the Enemy, than to give them Battle; took their March through certain Woods and Mountains, and unfrequented Ways; when happily near a place called *Czrin*, they met a strong Party of *Turks*, who were come out also to discover the Enemy; and having espied the *Croats*, and believing them to be of greater Force, than they really were, they betook themselves to Flight; but being pursued by the *Croats*, several of them were taken Prisoners; and by them it was known, that 8000 *Turks*, or thereabouts, under the Command of *Sar Mustapha Pasha*, lay encamped not far from that place.

Upon these Advices the Count and his *Croats* resolv'd bravely to attack the whole Camp; which being performed without other Hesitation or Delay, and taking a short Turn about some little Hills, they charged the *Turks* with such Fury, that they being surprized with some Conflagration, the *Spahes* betook themselves to Flight, leaving 2000 Janizaries open and undefended, who all yielded themselves Prisoners at discretion; of which some intimation having

1689. June. being given to the *Croats* on the Confines, they marched with such haste, that they met the *Spahes* in their Flight; and the Bridges being broken down, the greatest part were made Prisoners, besides many who endeavouring to swim were Drowned in the Waters; in which Action the *Croats* took 11 Colours, and much Booty. In this Fight the Flower of the Militia of *Bosnia* was cut off; and the Ways were covered with dead Bodies for the whole length of an *Hungarian* Mile; of which many of them by the finery of their Clothing, were judged to be Persons of Quality: The Commander in Chief, called *Sar Mustapha Pasha* Kaja, with the Bey, or the Lieutenant-General, were taken Prisoners; and according to the Report of those who came to enquire after some who were missing, there were 6000 Men killed and scattered: In which Action very few *Croats* were killed, or wounded.

Count *Corbelli* having intelligence that the *Turks* of *Jeno* and *Giula* intended to fortify *Fechedebator*, in revenge for his late Misfortune, resolv'd to use his Endeavours to surprize the Castle, and thereby save the *Turks* the trouble of their intended Fortifications; and in order therunto he mounted the Regiment of *Gondola* on Horseback, and with 500 Hussars, and 100 Musqueteers, and about as many *Heydukes*, which he had mounted on Waggon, he pass'd the River *Gerefeh* in sight of the Garrison of *Waradin*, which had drawn out about 2000 of their Men into the Field: But to amuse the Enemy, *Corbelli* march'd to and again the whole Day; and at Night he detached two great Bodies of Hussars before, to take cognizance of the place; and being come near to *Fechedebator*, they took two *Rajicans* Prisoners belonging to the place, by whom they understood that there were not above 50 armed *Turks* in the place, besides some few *Rajicans*; for the greatest part of the Garrison were gone to *Jeno*, to solemnize the Marriage of a certain Person of chief Quality in that Country; upon which intelligence the Party sent to discover only, without farther design, meeting this Opportunity, and resolving not to lose it, sent immediately a Summons to the Castle to surrender; to which the *Turks* returning an impertinent and scornful Answer; and saying, That when he brought the Keys of their City with him, meaning *Giula*, *Jeno*, and *Waradin*; upon taking of which, they should be forced to surrender, that then they would open their Gates to them; until which time they craved their excuse, intending to defend themselves to the utmost Extremity. At the same moment that this Answer was returned, a *Russian* who had

made his Escape out of the Town, advised that there was a great Division arisen amongst the *Turks* in the Castle, of the which *Corbelli* desirous to make use, he caus'd the Regiment of *Gondola* to pass the River on Horseback, and the Foot on Ferry-Boats and Floats, and being on the other side, he drew up in order of Battle in sight of the Forts, threatening them, that in case they did not surrender in the space of one Quarter of an Hour, that he would give no Quarter to any Person whatsoever.

The Governor of the Castle being terrified with this sudden Demand with such affrighting Menaces, he requested the respite but of one Day only; which being denied, he then Capitulated to have 30 Carts allotted to them, and to be Conveyed with their Arms and Baggage to *Waradin*; but *Corbelli* refusing that also, they were conducted to *Jeno*, a place infected with Sickness, and starved with Famine. Accordingly the *Turks* came forth to the Number of 40 Soldiers, 14 Young Men with Arms in their Hands, with about 80 Women and Young Children, who were all carried to *Jeno*.

In the mean time *Corbelli* entered the place, and found the Castle in good repair, encompassed on one side with a Ditch full of Water, fortified with Palisadoes, and on the other side with the River *Gerefeh*; the which place, tho' in it self small, was yet considerable for its Situation, being seated in a convenient place to cut off all Communication between *Waradin*, and the Towns streightned by Blockades; and for that reason *Corbelli* put a Garrison into it of 200 Hussars under Command of *Comlochi* a stout and valiant Soldier, and after this Action returned to his Camp.

In the mean time Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* had discovered that the Design of the Seraskier was to avoid a Battle; and that the Report he gave out of his March to *Belgrade*, was only to amuse the *Germans*, and cause them to draw their Troops on that side, whilst he encamped his Forces near the Banks of the River *Morava*. Wherefore the Prince having reinforced the Garrison of *Belgrade* with 2000 Foot, and fortified *Semenaria*, he moved with the whole Body of his Army, and towards the end of *July*, encamped near the *Morava*; where Boats being provided, the same Night by help of the Moon, a Bridge was call'd over the River; over which 2000 Horse were Commanded to march under the Command of Colonel *Straffer*, to observe the Countenance of the Enemy; who upon the News of the *Germans* Advance, had made their Retreat. Whereupon Prince *Lewis* having rais'd a Fort, and put a Garrison into it,

1689. 6000 Men to secure the Bridge, he marched his whole Army on the 2d of August over the fame, with design to pursue the Enemy, and either force them to a Battle, or to abandon all their Magazines at Nissa. The Turkish Army under the Command of the Seraskier, did not then consist of above 40000 good fighting Men, and disciplined Soldiers, the rest were raw and unexperienced Fellows, fit rather to follow the Plough, or Plunder, than to fight a Battle. The Army of Prince Lewis consisted of about 12000 Germans, and 6000 Hungarians and Hussars, besides some of the Country People, who were got into a Body in hopes of Booty and Plunder, being animated thereto by the Success of the *Cajarean* Arms. Notwithstanding this great disadvantage in Numbers, the Germans being Spirited with Desires of farther Glory, and the meaner sort of them with hopes of Prey and Booty, and all confiding in a continual Course and Run of Fortune, boldly proceeded on their March, having the Turks in Contempt, whom they had to often overthrow and defeated.

The truth is, the Turks were in a bad Condition both at Home and Abroad; the Grand Vizier himself durst not appear in Person in the Field, least his Enemies at home should suggest Matters to the Sultan in his Absence, which might cost him his Head, or the Loss of his Office: And indeed the Army was so inconsiderable this Year, that it seemed beneath the Dignity of a Grand Vizier to appear in the Field, with other than a Royal Army, which was ever reckoned at 100000 Men; to which it was much inferior, and scarce did arise to half the Number. For the *Tartar Chan* excused his joining with the Turkish Army this Year, by reason of the Alarms given them by the *Muscovites*, who in vast Numbers threatened their Country, and were on the Frontiers ready to enter with Fire and Sword. The Militia also of *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, *Arbekier*, and others of the more Eastern Countries of *Asia*, which always compose a great Nerve of the Ottoman Arms, began to mutiny for want of Money, not being able longer to support and maintain themselves: Upon their Remonstrance of which to the Grand Vizier Answer being returned, That the Royal Treasuries were empty, and exhausted, and that they were obliged by the Constitutions of the Empire, to maintain themselves out of their Timarluks, or Lands given them for that Service: The Reply was so displeasing, that great Disorder would have followed, had not the Torrent of the Soldiers Anger been seasonable stopped by paying the Spahies, or Timars, five Dollars a

piece, which qualified, and appeased the Mutiny, and Sollevation which was ready to break forth into an open Rebellion.

Whilst Prince Lewis was on his March, News was brought to him, that *Heissler* had demolished *Orfousa*, and retired to some other Quarters; of which the Turks having received Advice, they entered into it, and having strengthened it with some Palisadoes, they put a Garrison into it. At which Prince Lewis was so displeased, that he sent immediate Orders to that General, that he should forthwith return thither, and endeavour again to recover the place; and with all possible speed repair the Fortifications, and conserve that Post, as the most convenient Situation, whereby to transport Victuals and Ammunition, and cut off all the Succours, and Correspondences on that side, by which the Turks might bring in Succours and Relief to *Temejwaer*, and other places, which had been for some time freighted by Blockades. But in regard that General *Heissler* was much indispensed by Sicknefs, *Heissler* and forced to retire to *Hermanliad*, for recovery of his Health, Orders were given to the General Count *Herbeville*, to execute that part which was to be acted by *Heissler*, and accordingly having dispatched *Sempst* with his Hussars in the Van, it was his Fortune to encounter a Party of Turks, from whom he carried 30 Heads, made 25 Prisoners, and took three Colours. The General following with the rest of the Army, and being come near to *Orfousa*, another Party of Turks appeared, which had newly passed from the other side of the *Danube* in small Boats; and these being attacked by *Herbeville*, between the Fortrefts and the River, the whole Body was in a moment either cut to pieces, or Drowned, or made Prisoners; of which 50 Horse were taken, and one Standard.

After which the gross Body of the Imperial Army being advanced under the Fortrefts, the place was observed to be well fortified; and on the other side of the River they discovered an Army in their Trenches, well defended and guarded with Cannon; and on the Shoar side many well armed Gallies, and 100 Vessels laden with all sorts of Ammunition and Provisions; the which, according to Report, was said to be the Army of *Tekey* joyned to the Forces of the Palha of *Silistria*, and another Palha. Howsoever the General being desirous to make trial of his Fortune, advanced with his Forces near the place, and having posted themselves under shelter of Banks and Sacks of Earth, to take a view of the Enemies State and Condition, they were so warmly receiv'd by their Cannon and Granadoes, that they were forced

1689. forced to retire towards *Caranfeses*; and at the same time News came that *Tekey* had killed 100 *Rajicians*, and taken some Boats with the Hussars which were in them, and advanced with resolution to carry Succours and Relief into *Temejwaer*.

In the mean time Prince Lewis was on his March towards *Nissa*, but finding the way very bad, and difficult by reason of the thick Woods, and Marshy Grounds, and much Rain, so that it was almost impossible to draw their Cannon and Waggon laden with Provisions, which began already to be wanting, it was resolved to retire to *Semen-dria*.

And here it was that Prince Lewis altered the Course of his March; and being come into the Parts of *Ressava*, the Foot advanced a Day before, and the Horse following them the next, they joyned at *Gabrovitz*, where a Survey being taken of the Situation of the Place along the Banks of *Morava*, by several Engineers, and particularly by Count *Marfigli*, they fixed on a place the most commodious for casting a Bridge over the River, which was effected in a few Hours, and the same secured with 16 pieces of Cannon, mounted on a Redoubt which they newly raised, and defended by 500 Men.

The Germans having passed all their Forces over the River, a strong Detachment of the Enemy appeared, and surprized the Centinels and Out-guards, of which the *Tartars* killed some, and pursued the others, until the Imperial Troops, (who were always ready upon the first Alarm) gave a flop to the Career of the *Tartars*, of which they killed some, and took two Prisoners; from whom they received intelligence, that a great Body of *Turks* and *Tartars* under Command of Sultan *Galgas*, Son of the Chan of *Targary*, had passed the *Morava* near *Jagodina*, with design to attack the Germans on that side of the River near *Paffarowitz*. And moreover that the Seraskier was on his March with an Army of 50000 Men towards *Paffarowitz* and *Semen-dria*, with design so to environ the Imperial Army on all sides, as to cut off the Provisions from coming to their Camp; the which Resolution was formed upon the Report of some French Fugitives, who had deserted and fled to the Turks; and given them intelligence, that the Germans were in great want of Provisions, which was the cause of their Retreat to *Semen-dria*.

Prince Lewis being well assured, that he was able to march securely to *Paffarowitz*, notwithstanding a Thousand Difficulties which were presented before him; and tho' a Body of *Turks* and *Tartars* were not far distant, and the whole Army of the Sera-

skier encamped not above an Hour and half's March from the *Christian* Forces; yet trusting to the good Conduct of his General, and the Bravery and Courage of his Soldiers, he resolved to dislodge the Camp of the Seraskier, and thereby open a free Communication between the *Palanca* of *Haffin* Palha and *Semen-dria*, whereby the Magazines would be maintained, and the Reputation of the Imperial Arms supported.

Hereupon on the 25th of August by Break of Day in the Morning, the Prince commanded two Regiments of Dragoons, with all the Quarter-Masters, and Foragers, and a Party of 500 Horse to ascend the rising of a Hill not far distant from the Bridge, to cover and secure the March of the Foot, which were sent before under Command of General *Heissler*, and Count *Guido* of *Starenberg*, who were appointed to secure the Baggage in passing the River *Ressava*: And at the same time the Prince himself, with his Cavalry, advanced towards the River, keeping the rising Hill on his right Hand, and the Plain to *Ressava* on his left; marching always in a Line, the better to withstand the Enemies Horse, which ran on all Quarters to find out where they might best annoy and break in upon them. And here it was that Prince Lewis very wisely, and with much Policy commanded the Horsemen to dismount, as if they intended to lodge there, for securing their Baggage: But in regard the sole Design of the Prince was to fight the Enemy, and drive them to the other side of the River, he commanded Colonel *St. Croix* with some Hundreds of choice German Horse, and the Generals *Cziacchy*, *Diach*, and *Badiani* a Captain of *Strigonium*, with their *Hungarians*, privately to pass the River, and with their Hussars to hide themselves amongst some Woods and Bushes in a certain Valley, opposite to the Horse; upon which *Veterani*, and *Piccolomini*, and the Hussars, advanced in full Career against the Enemy, whilst the Prince, with the rest of his Cavalry, followed upon an easie Gallop.

At the first the Turks did not believe that the Design of the Prince was to advance so far upon them, or to force them to a Battle; and therefore they retired very easily with their *Tartars*, keeping a Reserve of 12000 Horse, with 500 Janizaries mounted behind, which they embosked in a Wood to attack *Veterani* and *Piccolomini*, which they looked upon only as a handful of Men: But so soon as they discovered the whole right Wing moving through the Plains under *Veterani*, and the left commanded by *Piccolomini*; and the Prince following with the main Body of the Army, directly marching, and pouring upon them, they made more

The force of both Armies.

The Germans cut down their Enemies.

The Grand Vizier durst not see the War.

Commanded by Pr. Lewis.

Harbeville ordered to recover the place.

The defeat of a Party of Turks.

August 27th and 28th.

A Bridge made over the Morava.

The Design of the Turks.

Pr. Lewis refused to attack the Seraskier.

And Retreats from Orfousa.

1689. August.

1689. more haste in their Retreat than before, and being attacked on all sides, both from the Hills, Mountains, and Vallies, they made a hasty March away for the space of four Hours; but being closely pursued to a narrow Pass, where they were forced to make a Stand, they were so furiously assailed by the Troops of *Veterani*, and afterwards seconded by those of the Prince, that in a short time they were defeated, and dispersed in the Woods; in which being pursued, and hunted for the space of an Hour and a half into the Plains on the other side; the *Turks* were so beaten, that above 400 of their best Horfe, both *Turks* and *Tartars* were killed, and many Prisoners taken, amongst which was the Commander in chief of the 500 Janizaries, with 12 Standards and Timbals which are the Musick of Pathas.

In this Confusion many of the *Turks* took their Horses, and betook themselves to their Heels through Bushes and Thickets, and the adjacent Hills and Mountains; but being pursued by the *Heydukes* and *Hussars*, who were acquainted with the private and secret Ways and Conveyances of the Country, many of them were killed and taken: Others of them, who to make themselves more light for Escape, threw away their Arms, and whatsoever else might incommber them in their Flight; so that all the Ways were strowed with Lances, Turbans, Boots, Caps, Cloaths, Vests and Arms, all which became a welcome Booty and Spoil to the Victorious Souldiery.

This Success so encouraged the *Germans*, that Prince *Lewis* to improve this Advantage to an entire Victory, resolved to defeat and thwart the Designs of the Son of the *Tartar* Chan, (who lay encamped on the other side of the River) by falling upon him before he could come to joyn with the *Turkish* Cavalry lately beaten: And tho' the Imperial Horfe were much tired and harafed with the Fatigue of that Days Action, he returned notwithstanding to the Bridge, where after three Hours March, about seven a Clock in the Evening he arrived.

The Cavalry being here refreshed, and set up for a while, the Prince went in person to visit the Infantry, which he found well encamped out of all danger, and every thing perfectly well disposed, and in good order by the Care and Conduct of those two brave Generals, *Veterani* and *Piccolomini*.

After which some Scouts were sent to discover the Ways, and observe the Ground on that side; upon whose Report that there was only a very narrow passage through a rough and thick Wood, about half an Hour

March in length, by which there was an Entrance into a small Plain, which if the Enemy should possess, they might easily defend the Pass, and make an Attack on the *Tartars* difficult and hazardous. Prince *Lewis* and the Generals, being well assured hereof, detached Count *Solara* with 500 Men to secure the Passage into the Plain, but the Enemy having intimation thereof, with 3000 Janizaries, and a good Body of Horfe, not only gave a stop to his March, but caused him to retire with the loss of several Men: But General *Hessler* coming seasonably in to their succour, so advantageously posted himself within the Woods and thick Bulshes, that he maintained the Pass, until such time (which was next Morning by Break of Day) that Prince *Lewis* coming on with his main force in a thick Fog, posted himself before the Wood, being sheltered on the right Hand by Thickets and Bushy Grounds, almost unpassable, extending his left Wing to the side of the *Morava*; and being thus advantageously drawn up, immediate Orders were dispatched to the Cavalry, which were refreshing themselves at the Bridge, to hasten unto the Foot; but before they could come up, the Fog clearing away, unexpectedly the whole Body of the *Turkish* Army appeared (the most part consisting of *Moors* and *Arabs*) drawn up in order of Battle, just fronting the Imperial Infantry, which the *Turks* assailed with such unusual Fury, and sudden Violence, that Prince *Lewis* had scarce time to draw up his second Line into a posture of defence. The Imperialists howsoever stood the Shock with great firmness and constancy, and received the Fire both of their great and small Shot; and tho' the *Chevaux de Freese*, were of great use to them at this, as on other occasions, yet many of the *German* Foot were at that time cut to pieces by the *Turkish* Scimitars.

And now the Fight became very hot on both sides, and continued so for the space of two Hours within Pistol-shot, by which time General Count *Casselli* being come up with his Cavalry, and sounding without the Wood with his Trumpets, Hautboys, and Kettle-Drums, the Enemy were put into such a Fear and Consternation, that they began to retreat into the neighbouring Wood; by which Prince *Lewis* having gained both Time and Ground, drew up his Horfe behind the Foot; and whilst he remained in this posture, a *Bavarian* Soldier, (who had been taken Prisoner at the Siege of *Buda*) having made his Escape, came and reported, that the Enemy was retired to another Plain behind the Wood; where for their better security, they had thrown up some Earth, and made new Trenches: Upon

1689. Upon this Intelligence the Generals were in great hopes of gaining an entire Victory, if they could handiely come to Charge the Enemy in the Flank; to perform which they designed to open a passage by their Musketeers; but it seems there was no need of so much Labour: for Count *Guido* of *Starcenberg* being commanded to advance before with a Party to discover the Countenance and Disposition of the Enemy, he found a way sufficiently open and wide for a March, and not above 500 paces to the Plain, where the Enemy was retired not far behind their Trenches.

Upon this News the Prince immediately detached 500 Horfe, and a Battalion of his own Regiment, and another of Count *Strassers* under Command of that Count, to seize that Post, which succeeded so happily, that the *Turks* upon their first appearance, cowardly abandoned the place, and fled; which the Imperialists possessed, whilst another party of Foot came in to their Assistance; and then the Cannon on both sides fired with mutual damage, the which continued for the space of an Hour and half; during which time several *German* Soldiers were killed and wounded, as also four Captains killed, besides Lieutenants and Subaltern Officers who were wounded.

And here it was thought fit to take Breath a while, and enter into Consultation, whether it were advisable to prosecute the Victory farther, or not, and pursue the Enemy, who had again posted themselves with more advantage in another Trench about 3 or 400 Paces behind the former, and which was much stronger, being encompassed with a deep Ditch of Water, and only accessible in one place, which the *Turks* continued to fortify without any fear or apprehension of danger.

Upon due consideration of the strength of the place, and the Difficulties of an Attack, it was concluded that an Attempt was to be hazarded, and that with all expedition, and without loss of time: Accordingly the Prince ordered that the first Trench should be levelled for the more easy passage of the Horfe; and that Count *Piccolomini* (to whom the Command of the Vanguard was that Day committed) should advance with some Regiments of Horfe, and some Battalions of Foot, and put himself into Battalia before the Trench; and Count *Janitz* with his Regiment of *Heydukes*, was ordered to take the left Hand by way of the Wood, and to sound all his Drums, and Hautboys, and other Instruments, making the greatest noise he was able in the Wood, and to give an Alarm, as if some great Body were in motion, to Attack them in the Rear, which would serve to put

them into greater Consternation and Disorder.

Matters being thus wisely ordered, *Piccolomini* began to advance in Battalia, and the Enemy endeavoured to repulse him with their Cannon; but when they observed that the *Germans* without fear of their Fire, advanced still resolutely upon them, and gained ground; and that the *Heydukes* came on desperately to the left; so fearing to be engaged in the middle, they abandoned their last advantageous Post, and with great Disorder marched through thick Woods to their Camp at *Potofchin*.

This Cowardly Flight of the *Turks* inspired new Courage into the *Christians* to pursue them to their ultimate Retirement; which they had done to the entire Destruction of the Enemy, but that the Way was so narrow, that they were forced to break their Ranks, and march one after the other, which lost much time, and gave the *Turks* means to escape, and the Janizaries having Horses ready Saddle, notably advanced in their Flight; but Baron *Zant* having Orders to pursue the Rear-Guard of the Enemy, being joyned with the Regiments of *Sarau*, and *Kisel*, they overtook many of them in the Woods, and pursued the rest to their very Camp; after which, these Colonels not having Orders to follow the Enemy farther, who were 2500 strong, besides those which straggled in the Woods, they betook themselves to the rising of a Hill, where they halted until Prince *Lewis* came up to them with the gross Body of his Cavalry, and then the *Turks* fled with Disorder and Precipitation, as the *Germans* pursued with greater Heat and Courage; and had not the Woods been thick, and the *Germans* ignorant of the Ways and Passages, they had made a most terrible Slaughter, to the entire Defeat and Destruction of the *Turkish* Army. Howsoever Prince *Lewis* continued the Pursuit with some Parties of Horfe, under the Command of Colonel *Zant*; who gave so frightful an Alarm to the *Turks*, that forsaking their Camp with Fear and Consternation, they left all their Cannon, Ammunition, and Provisions to the Disposal of the Enemy.

In the Camp they found 105 pieces of Brass Cannon, and three Mortars, with great Numbers of Bombs, Granadoes, Powder, and all sorts of Warlike Ammunition, and Provisions, with their Camels, Oxen, Buffalo's, and Tents; and in short all their Baggage became a Prey to the Victorious *Germans*, whilst the timorous *Turks* fled in much Confusion towards *Jagodina* and *Krakolovetz*; and many of them were taken up on the Way by the *Hungarians*, *Hussars* and *Rascians*.

Great

1689. Great was the Joy of the Generals and Soldiers for to signal a Victory, and having lodged one Night in the Enemies Camp, with much Pleasure and Festivity, the Day following early in the Morning they sang Praises to God for his Mercy and Blessings of Victory; and as a signal of Triumph, made the Camp to resound with three Volleys of Shot, with Drums, Trumpets, Timbals, and all sorts of Warlike Musick.

After Thanks were returned to Almighty God, who is the God of Hosts, and Giver of Victory; the Imperial Generals thought it reasonable and necessary to give some repose and rest to the wearied Troops; and to augment their Commons and Refreshments, Orders were given to the Commissaries to distribute amongst the Army the Provisions found in the Enemies Stores: In the mean time the *Hussars* and *Hungarians*, who had pursued the Enemy for some Days, returned the 3d of September to the Camp, bringing home Colours, and many Prisoners with them, together with 36 pieces of Cannon of the largest size.

And thus the Victory being compleat, Prince Lewis permitted the Courier, whom the *Turkish* Ambassadors had dis-spread from Vienna to Constantinople, to proceed; he had been detained for some Weeks at Semendria, so that now besides the Dispatch from the Ambassadors, he carried another from Prince Lewis to the Grand Vizier, giving him to understand, that the Imperial Armies having advanced so far within the Bowels of the *Ottoman* Dominions, he would now proceed forward to meet him, and save him the trouble of a tedious March; but in case his Company, and coming should be unwelcome and displeasing to the Sultan, they might thank themselves for the trouble of such unacceptable Guests; which might have been avoided, had they hearkened to the Propositions which His Imperial Majesty and His Allies made to them for a Peace, which they having unadvisedly rejected, had brought upon themselves all those Misfortunes which had attended them in every Action of this last Campaign.

In the mean time the Blockades of *Canis* and *Great Waradine*, were daily more streightned, and all the Corn and Grains burned up in those parts which were neighbouring to those Cities; and tho' they suffered much Want and Penury of all things, had received the unwelcome News of several Defcarts given to the *Turks*; yet supporting and comforting their Spirits with hopes that a Peace would speedily infuse, at least in the Winter Season, they resolved not to surrender until the last Extremity.

Prince Lewis having refreshed his Forces

with several Days of rest, and plenty of Provisions taken from the Enemy, and reinforced his Army with some Troops coming from *Belgrade*, he prepared for a new Enterprize, and began his March towards *Nissa*, about 20 Leagues distant from the Camp at *Patzschin*, the most part of the way Woody and Mountainous; but nothing was now difficult, or insuperable to the exalted Courage of the *Germans*. The *Turks* on the other side, tho' somewhat abated and mortified, yet supported themselves with the Comfort, That tho' they had lost their Camp, with their Cannon, Tents, and Baggage, yet most of their Army was still in being; That the *Tartars* had beaten the *Muscovites*; That the Troubles in *Asia* were pacified, and the Discontents in *Albania* with *Mamut Oglu* Bey, composed. Moreover a Reinforcement of 20000 Men were sent to the Seraskier, with new Tents, and all the necessary Appurtenances for War; and likewise it was reported abroad, That the Grand Vizier would come himself in person, and in despite of the preceding Misfortunes, would yet put an Honourable end to this Campaign.

Prince Lewis little regarding the Talk, and the Reports with which the *Turks* comforted themselves, committing the charge of *Patzschin* to a Sergeant Major, with 100 Horse to cover the Artillery, and to guard them on their way to *Semendria*, he dis-spread some *Hungarians* and *Rascians* to take a Survey of the Country, and of the State of the *Turks* Affairs; who accordingly coasting the Country, brought News, that the *Turks* were not only fled out of all those parts, but had likewise abandoned *Nissa*, having for their easier passage built a Bridge over a Marshy Ground near that Town. Whereupon the Prince having fix'd his Boats on Wheels, Convoys by a Party of 500 Horse, he took his March *Nissa*, with the whole Army on the 11th of September, and arrived that Night at *Jagodina*, after a hard March through Woods and Marshes; and to make a passage for the Boats which were designed to make a Bridge over the *Morava*, a new Way was made through the Woods, where being arrived, they happily met some other Boats from *Passarowitz*, with some quantities of Flour, which came seasonably for relief of the Army.

At *Jagodina* News was brought that the *Turks* had quitted *Nissa*; whereupon Prince Lewis detached 50 *Heddukes* of *Palz*'s Regiments, and 10 *Dragoons* on Foot to *Crafs*, to break down the Bridge there, and conserve that Post; and for passage of the Army at a more convenient place, another Bridge was made with Boats, and to cover it

1689. it Colonel *Strasser* with 2000 Men, made a Redoubt on the other side of the River.

And here to great was the Mortality of Men and Horse, and want of Forage, that it seemed almost impossible to advance farther; but News being brought, that the *Turks* were in great Consternation in their Camp, and that the Soldiers deserted by Hundreds every Day; and the Dukes of *Croy*, and *Holstein* coming about that time to the Camp with some Recruits, animated Prince Lewis to come to one Battle more with the Seraskier; and having raised two Forts at the Bridge, he passed over with his Horse on the 16th, and the Day following with his Foot. The *Turks* had just then received a Recruit of 10000 Men, and strongly intrenched themselves by the side of the River near *Nissa*.

The Prince being ill provided with Victuals in his Camp, had no time to lose, and therefore marched so fast, that on the 22th of September, he pitched his Camp within a League distant from *Nissa*, near a little Stream which falls into the *Nissa*; from whence he took a prospect of the Countenance and Situation of the Enemy, and their Camp; and having observed every thing, and in what place the Enemy might most commodiously be attacked; on the 23th they marched forward in a cote, and well ordered Battalia; but nothing happened that Day besides some small Skirmishes of little importance; but that Night before the Evening was quite shut in, the Prince made as if he intended to make a Bridge over the River to pass to the *Tartars*, who were posted on the other side; but in the Morning he took another Method, possessing himself of the sides of the Hills, over the Enemies Camp; which when the *Turks* discovered, they detached a Party to engage with them, and with 2 or 3000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, they attacked the Rear-Guard of the Right Wing, by which Count *Venterani* was forced to keep a little behind with the two Regiments of *Hanover* and *St. Croix*, which formed the second Line of that Wing, and were appointed to guard and cover the Baggage, which was always placed in the Rear of the Army: This slow motion of the Cannon and Baggage, which could not be avoided, retarded the motion of the advanced Troops, which ever and anon made a Halt, so that it was five a Clock in the Evening before they could reach the Foot of the Hill, where both Armies came in sight of each other.

And because it might rationally be conjectured, that the *Turks* would before the Morning, fortify their Camp with some Trenches, and Parapets of Earth; the Prince

resolved without giving them so much time, to advance upon them with all the Courage and Fury imaginable; extending his right Wing towards the Foot of the Hill, and his left along the Plain to the Banks of the River *Nissa*; which being orderly disposed, resolutely attacked the Enemy, according to the Methods and Measures designed.

The *Turks* with their accustomed Cry of *Allah, Allah*, caused the greatest part of their Cavalry which was drawn up on the declivity of the Hill, to charge the Infantry of the left Wing, Commanded by Count *Guido de Staremberg*, and the Regiments of *Rifel* and *Sarau*; which when the Prince observed, he caused some Cannon to be brought on that side; with which, and a Detachment from these Regiments, the whole left Wing advanced towards the Enemy; the *Turks* seeing this, retired with their Body of Horse, and wheeled about towards the right Wing, and attacked them at the Foot of the Hill on the Flank, which could not well be secured; which produced some Fear and Confusion amongst the *Hussars*, but being succoured by the Regiments of *Holstein*, and *Nourcharmes*, which *Pico-lomini* Commanded, and by a Party of brave *Hungarians*, they did disorder the *Turks*; but tho' they had been put in an open Flight, had they not been flown in their Career by some of their own Troops, who met them and fired upon them: By this Accident the Enemy still maintaining their Ground on the side of the Hill towards the right Wing of the *Germans*, gave opportunity and time to the Cavalry to rally again in the Plains: But Prince Lewis incessantly riding and giving Orders in all places of the Army, commanded the main Body, which was directed by Baron *Heister*, to attack the *Turks* on the Hill, which they performed so effectually, that after a long Conflict, they gained the top of the Hill; and then drawing all the Battalions into an equal Line, both the right Wing and the Baggage were both secured from the Attempt of the Enemy.

On the other side the Duke of *Croy*, who commanded towards the River, being assisted by the Prince, that the right Wing was distressed, and hardly beset by the Enemy, he presently resolved to advance to the top of the Hill in a direct Line towards their Succour, to give a greater Diversion to the Enemy, and to gain the top of the Hill; the which being effected, the Situation thereof proved to advantageous a Post, that in a short time they drove the Enemy from thence with a considerable Slaughter. Notwithstanding which, the *Turkish* Horse rallying again in the Plains, made another Vigorous Assault on the left Wing, but

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1689. were received by them with so much Bravery and Resolution, that they were once more on their Flight, when the Janizaries who were making new Trenches, Fired upon them, and forced them to stand another Charge; which they steadily performed, and with great Vigour against the *Hussars*, but they being succoured by the Regiment of *Cespara*, forced the Enemy entirely to quit the Field, and pursued them with great Fury to their very Camp.

Whilst the left Wing had thus gloriously acquitted themselves, another Party of the Enemies Horse Attacked them in the middle of their Body, but being succoured by Count *Guido de Starenberg*, with some Battalions of his own Regiment, and of the *Hussars* of *Palsi*, they discharged such terrible Volleys upon them, that great Numbers of the Turks fell Dead on the Ground; and the others so cowed and affrighted, that losing all hopes of Conquest, when they saw their Trenches possessed by the Prince, and shut up on all sides by the right Wing, they took themselves in good earnest, to a confused and disorderly Flight; and tho' the Night came on, yet the Victorious Germans pursued the Turks so long, as they could have the least glimpse or appearance of the Enemy; so that many of them to avoid the Sword, threw themselves headlong into the *Nissava*; where by the depth of the Water, and rapidness of the River, they miserably perished. And here, as well as during the whole course of the Battle, the two Brothers *Charles* and *August* Princes of *Hanover*, with their Regiments, behaved themselves with great Bravery; and in the heat of the Action, could scarce be withheld from following the Enemy into the Water; but only by the Persuasions and Injunctions of General *Peterani*, they gave a stop to the Pursuit.

Thus the Night put an end to the Victory, and the Slaughter of the Turks, who abandoned the City tho' fortified with a good Ditch, and some Palisades, after the Turkish manner, tho' irregularly planted; the same Night Prince *Lewis* put into the Town, several Battalions to converse it from being burnt, as the Turks intended to have done. In the Morning Provisions and Forage were found sufficient to subsist the Army for three Weeks. In short, all the Cannon being 30 pieces for Battery, became a Prey to the Germans, as also many Thousands of very fine Tents, (amongst which was that of the Seraskier, which the Grand Seigneur had lately sent him) with divers Standards, particularly that of *Mamut Oglu* Pasha of *Albani*. The Horse-Tails were also taken.

The Numbers slain on the Enemies side, with those Drowned, were computed to be

10000, amongst which were 3000 Spahies, whose Horses and Mules, with rich Furniture and good Lading were brought to the Camp, where for that Night it remained, and next Morning was distributed amongst the Imperial Cavalry.

This Victory was so much the more Glorious and Wonderful for having been achieved by 15000 Germans tired and harassed by Marches, Countermarches, Skirmishes and Battles, as before related, against 80000 Turks; and what is still more miraculous, there was not on the Christian side above 300 killed and wounded, and none of any considerable Quality, besides the Sergeant-Major of the Regiment of *Sturum*, and Count *Vellen*, the which great Success is entirely to be attributed to the Almighty Hand of the God of Armies.

This second Victory being in this manner obtained against the Seraskier on the 24th of September, the whole Army continued in Arms all that Night; and in the Morning Quarters were regularly set out for the Soldiers within the City of *Nissa*; and on the 26th all things being settled in good order, *Te Deum* was solemnly sung in the Seraskier's Tent, with three Salvoes of all the Cannon, and Volleys of Muskets returning Thanks to Almighty God, for this Wonderful Victory, which none but the Powerful Arm of the God of Hosts was able to bestow.

Afterward Prince *Lewis* having visited the City, observed that it was fortified only with a single Ditch and some Palisades; howsoever it was judged very convenient for Winter Quarters, and therefore ordered that it should be something better fortified, by the Work of 2000 Foot, which were drawn out of several Regiments to labour on the Fortifications, which in a short time was brought to that condition, as to render it capable of being the head Quarters for the whole Winter, where Provisions were accordingly laid up in Store-houses for Subsistence of the whole Army. And to discover the Countenance and Condition of the Enemy, Count *Piccolomini* gave Orders to Detach a Party of 1000 Horse to enter farther into the Country, to view and observe the Quality and Situation of all places, as far as *Sophia*, and to possess all the Passes which the Enemy had abandoned.

This Party being returned, brought News to the General, that tho' they had proceeded above half the way towards *Sophia*, they had not met, or seen, so much as one Turk on the Road, having found divers Places and Castles without People, and deserted; amongst which, *Mustapha Pasha Palanca*, a Fortrefs, as

1689. I remember, raised by a Pasha of that Name, to cover a *Caravansere*, for Travellers to Lodge with their Horses and Goods in security, from the frequent Attempts of Thieves and Robbers, which in that desolate Country gained great Spoils and Booty; and that they might be better protected, a Garrison was put into it of 60 Men; for maintenance of which, this Pasha had given a Revenue sufficient for it's Subsistence: And in this place I slept one Night as I remember, without any Care or Fears.

From this place a small Party of German and Hungarians were sent as far as the *Dragomun*, about four hours Journey from *Sophia*; which gave such an Alarm all the way, that the Turks every where forsook their Dwellings, and so affrighted the Inhabitants, that hundreds of them ran to the Mountains, but suddenly returned, so soon as it was known, that the Party was small which gave the Alarm. Howsoever, the Conternation was so great, that the Soldiers contrary to the Commands given to make their Rendezvous at *Sophia*, fearfully deserted, and fled to their own Dwellings.

The News of this Defeat was first brought from *Sophia* to *Constantinople*, on the first of October, by one called *Mustapha* Aga, whom *Zulficar* the Turkish Ambassador at *Vienna* had freed from Captivity, and afterwards dispatched him with some Letters to the Ottoman Port; but on his way, Prince *Lewis* had stopped him for some Months at *Semendria*, until the last Victory was obtained against the Turks; after which, he discharged, and suffered him to proceed, to carry his state Packets from the Ambassadors, and fresher News from the Turkish Army, which was now entirely defeated, and dispersed in the most shameful manner that ever was recounted in any History.

The News hereof struck all the Ottoman Court with confused Conternation, none knowing what to say, or what to Counsel, much less to Act; but all wished that the Measures and Resolutions taken at *Sophia*, by the Grand Vizier, presently after the Battle of *Patschbin*, had been put in Execution, whereby the last defeat before *Nissa* had been avoided, and an end put to the War with more Honour and Advantage than could now be expected. For the Grand Visier had on the 17th of September, a thing not usual, Convened a General Council at *Sophia*, of all the Grand Officers and Ministers of the Empire; such as the *Nakib Effendi*, who is the Chief of the Green-Heads, or those of the Kindred of *Mahomet*, the Mufti, the

two Kadislers or Chief Justices of *Romelia* and *Anatolia*, the Generals of the Spahies and Janizaries, with many other principal Officers of the Army, and Civil Government. At which Council, the Proposals for a Peace made by the Emperor and his Allies were publicly Read, and with much Attention hearkened unto by this Grand Assembly; which though judged in the Opinion of all there present, to be very severe and dishonourable, and unknown before to their mighty Empire, which was used in former times to give rather than to receive Conditions of Peace; yet considering the present unhappy posture of Affairs; it was unanimously concluded by them, to Embrace the Offers made, lest God who had punished them for the Violation of their last Truce or Peace, should punish them yet farther, if they should refuse to accept the Conditions now proposed to rescue them from Destruction.

The Articles being drawn up in Paper, were presented to the Grand Signior for his Approbation, who having Read them, gave Answer, That he desired to return to his Throne at *Constantinople* in Peace. And having signed them, they were committed to *Mustapha* Aga to carry them to *Vienna*; for which Journey he had received 3000 Hungarian Ducats from the Treasurer. The Articles were as follow, inclosed in a Letter to *Zulficar* Aga, one of the Turkish Ambassadors in the Castle of *Pattendorf*.

Offers of Peace by the Turks.

I. That he should use his utmost Endeavours to Conclude a Peace, so much desired by all the People; who notwithstanding the many Arguments, Allurements, and fair Promises of the French to the contrary, would not trust to that Nation, which had been false to them in all Ages, and now also endeavoured to entertain them with a thousand false Hopes.

II. That he should labour by all means possible to persuade the Emperor to quit *Belgrade*, and to make that place the Limit of their Dominions; and the *Save* to Terminate the Frontier on both sides. And if any scruple or difference should arise thereupon, that then in lieu thereof he should offer *Canisla*, or if that should be taken, then to propose *Giula*, *Temeswar*, or *Great Waradin*.

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October.

III. As to the *Polesians*; to Content them, a Proposal should be made to demolish *Raminie*; and if that would not satisfy them, that it should be surrendered.

Lastly, As to the *Venetians*, They should Enjoy and Keep all that they had taken; and that no mention should be made of *Negropont*.

Now whilst *Mustapha* Aga was ready to depart with these Articles, the unhappy News was brought to the Grand Vizier, That the *Turks* had received a total defeat before *Nissa*, with the slaughter of many thousands of *Turks*, and with the loss of all their Cannon and Ammunition, together with the City of *Nissa* itself: And that the Vizier *Kija*, or Deputy, with the Treasurer of the Army, had made his Escape out of the Battle to *Sophia* with great difficulty; and that the remainder of the scattered Army went wandering through the Woods and Mountains; it not being known as yet, who was killed, or taken, or alive.

So soon as this Report was made known to the Grand Vizier, he immediately posted the same by the Messenger who brought it, to the Grand Seigneur, then at *Adrianople*; and all the way he rode, he gave Orders in all Places to raise the *Nefian*, or the Trained-Bands of the Countries, by which all things were in such Constriction, as if the *Germans* had been at the very Gates of *Sophia*.

This Change of Affairs gave a stop to the Expedition of *Mustapha* Aga, until new Resolutions should be taken by another Divan, or some other Assembly of Council; the which being again met, they confirmed the former Resolution, and dispatched away *Mustapha* Aga, with the former Propositions of Peace; And an Express was dispatched before him from *Sophia*, to obtain from Prince *Lewis*, a Passport and Safe-Conduct unto *Vienna*: The Prince readily granted, and ordered him a Party of 25 Horse to Convey him safely so far as *Pyrath*. And here Prince *Lewis* gave a Period to the Proceedings of this year's Campaign: For considering, that the Season was entirely spent, the distance far from the *Danube*, the Difficulties of so long a Communication, and the uncertainty of subsisting the Army in the Enemies Country already wasted, and ruinous, he thereupon judged it most secure to return back to the *Danube*; and accordingly marched away on the 4th of *October*, having committed the Government of *Nissa*,

and of the Conquered Countries, to the Care and Conduct of Count *Piccolomini*, with some Regiments of Horse and Foot, and some *Rascians* under *Paul Dietz*, placing a good guard on the Mountain *Hemus*. But because the Prince was very desirous to defeat Count *Tekeli*, the great Partisan of *France*, who was encamped near to *Widin*, he judged it of great importance to fall into his Quarters on his way to the *Danube*; and accordingly, on the 6th of *October*, he encamped near the Castle *Saverlick*; and the next day he quartered at the foot of the Mountain of *Temach*, which he passed on the 8th, through so narrow a freight, that a single Cart could scarce pass; and moreover, the ways were to very rocky and incommodious, that the Baggage was greatly retarded; wherefore the Prince commanded some *German* and *Hungarian* Troops to advance towards *Widin*, and on the way by such Prisoners as they should take, to inform themselves of the State of *Widin*, and of the Enemies Camp. These Troops had not been on their way above two hours, before they returned with two *Turkish* Prisoners, who informed them, That *Orfous* and *Fetislaw* had been burnt on the first of this Month, and abandoned by the Enemy; And because they feared, that some sudden Attack would be made upon them by the *Germans*, they had carried away from *Widin* all the Provisions of that place, and were gone farther by Water into the more distant Places of their Country; And that about 2000 *Turks*, and others of *Tekeli's* Troops were encamped near the River to cover the Boats on which their Baggage was to be laden; and that their Camp consisted of about 200 Tents: So Prince *Lewis* lodged that Night in the Country and Plains of *Bergfeld*.

Upon these Advices, next Morning by break of Day, being the 13th of *October*, the Army then with the Prince, consisting but of some few Regiments, proceeded on their march towards *Widin*, desirous to arrive at the place early next day; and because the *Hungarians* returned with the News, that the Enemy quartered near the City with all security, not suspecting the approach of the *Germans*, having refreshed their Horse for some few Hours near *Drenova*, they marched all that Night, and came about 11 a Clock in the Morning within sight of *Widin*, where they first discovered the Camp of the Enemy; and having taken a view of the situation of the place, and the several Avenues thereunto, they found that they must necessarily pass Three Bridges, or take a round through

Designs to surprise Tekeli.

Orfous and Fetislaw burnt.

Pr. Lewis marches to Widin.

1689. through some marshy Grounds, which perhaps were unpassable, at least very hazardous, without a faithful Guide or Pilot. Wherefore taking the opportunity, when the Janizaries and People were in the Mosch at Prayers, they caused the Horse to pass the Bridges, which having done without any Opposition, they trotted directly to the Enemies Tents, and entered into them about Three a Clock in the Afternoon: This unexpected Enterprize so alarmed the *Turks*, that part of them, with affrighted Precipitation, betook themselves to the Boats, and others mounting on Horseback, drew out with the Janizaries, to the number of 12000, ranging themselves in posture of Battle.

Prince *Lewis* (advancing with some of his light Cannon in the Front) committed the Conduct of the Right Wing to Count *Veterani* and *Trautmanndorf*, and the Left he commanded in Person, with which some Countermarches were made to spend time until the Infantry could come up, gaining still some ground upon the Enemy. However, the *Turks* made a stand, and fought with such Resolution, that the Victory seemed dubious for a while; but the Dragons of *Veterani* dismounting, which were used to do Miracles, threw themselves with their Swords drawn into the Ditch of the Town, killing and slaying all that came in their way; which, when the *Turkish* Infantry observed, part of them came to their assistance; but the Right Wing, Commanded by the Prince, soon relieved them, and came thundering on them with such furious Resolution, that they put all to the Sword, excepting those who were retired into the Castle, or made their escape by Water: The greatest part of the *Turkish* Cavalry (unless those belonging to the Baggage) fled by the way of the Moor or Marshy Ground (with which they were acquainted) towards *Sophia* and *Nicopolis*, leaving the Mountains on the Right Hand, and the three Bridges on the Left; and all their Camp, with their Tents and Baggage both within and without the City, for a Prey and Booty to the Victorious Christians: Many Colours, four Horse-Tails, some thousands of Horses, and other Beasts, were taken, with great quantities of Forage: Above a thousand *Turks* were killed on the place, with many Prisoners: In short, the plunder of the City was given for a Prey to the wearied Soldiers, who had well deserved it for a Reward of their Valour, and indefatigable Labours, and for an Encouragement to future Services.

The *Germans* gained greater Honour by this Action than by any other of this

1689. Summer's Expedition; for their Forces were few, and the Enemies fought with more Resolution and Bravery than they had done in any former Engagement; For none were more killed, and wounded than in this. Count *Veterani* received a Wound with a Musket-shot, and Count *Trautmanndorf* with a Scimitar, and both in the Head; and Baron *Orlich*, a Lieutenant Colonel, was killed on the place.

But as yet the Castle of *Widin* held out, for which reason the Soldiers kept a watch about it all Night, that the Defendants might not have an opportunity to make their Escape.

The next Morning the Castle was summoned, but no Answer being given, the Prince sent a *Turk* to the Commander, to let him know, That unless he did Surrender up the Castle and Garrison that very Day, he was not to expect any Quarter, or Conditions of Mercy. It was not long before the *Turk* returned from the Castle, with a fierce Answer from the Governor, That he and his Companions were resolved to defend the Castle to the last drop of their Blood. Prince *Lewis* was not a little displeased at this Answer, because for want of Provisions he was in some haste to remove his Camp; but not to leave such a necessary Work as this imperfect, he immediately dispatched away to *Semendria*, for Cannon, Mortars, and Ammunition; And having raised on the 16th of *October*, a Battery, he plied the Castle so hard, that the *Turks* spread a white Flag and came to Capitulations, which were soon agreed, upon Terms, That the Garrison and People therein might march forth with all their Goods, for Carriage of which, 30 Boats were to be assigned them; but in regard Boats were not to be procured, 200 Carts were provided in the place thereof: So that on the 19th of *October*, 2559 Soldiers, all Armed, with about as many Inhabitants, marched out of the place, which were Conveyed by 200 Dragons towards *Nicopolis*; and the Hostages being committed to safe Custody, five Companies of the Regiment of *Dungen*, were placed therein for a Garrison.

Upon the Report only of the march of the Imperialists towards *Widin*, *Tekeli* abandoned the City, tho' he had a flatly Hout therein, and very well furnished; yet so debased was he in his Courage, that he fled before the Battle towards *Nicopolis*; from whence he came with a sad Countenance, and Tears in his Eyes, to meet the Garrison and People expelled from the Town and Castle: Howsoever, he showed a courteous Aspect to the

German

The Turks took a flight from the Prince.

The Turks took a flight from the Prince.

The Turks took a flight from the Prince.

The Prince's army is at Vienna.

The Campaign ends.

1689. German Soldiers, who were appointed for Convoy to the People of *Widin*, and in a Friendly manner treated them with Wine, and a plentiful Entertainment.

As *Widin* was a great loss to the Turks, to it was of high advantage to the successful Arms of the Emperor; for by taking this place, all the Conquests made by the two last Victories, namely the Territory of *Nyfta*, and other Places possessed on the Way to *Sophia*, were all covered, and the Way secured for importing Forage and Provisions, and all Necessaries for support of the advanced Troops under *Piccolomini*, posted for guard and defence of the Conquered Countries, and free Communication and Correspondence with the Neighbouring Principalities: And on the contrary the *Turks of Temeswar*, and other Garrisons maintained in the *Upper Hungary*, were all greatly frightened and annoyed thereby, without any hopes of being succoured, or relieved; and thereby *Tekeli* also was dislodged from those Parts, in which he had persuaded the People by his fair Words and Promises, to remain constant and faithful, and stand by the Grand Seigneur with their Lives and Fortunes.

It being now towards the end of *October*, it was judged high time to give refreshment and rest to the wearied Soldiery, by putting them into warm and commodious Quarters during the Winter Season. The Province of *Walachia* was a Country near to them, abounding with all sorts of Provisions, and there it was intended to Quarter a great part of the Army.

Upon which Resolution Prince *Lewis* dispatched to the Prince of *Walachia* the following Propositions, requiring an immediate Compliance therewith, otherwise that he would do himself Reason with his Sword, giving him only six Days time to return an Answer.

The Propositions made to the Prince of *Walachia* and the States of that Province, dated the 28th of *October*, were as following.

Propositions made by the Prince of Walachia.

WHEREAS it hath pleased Almighty God to give many signal Victories unto His Imperial Majesty, whereby several Cities, Countries, and Provinces have been recovered out of the Barbarous Possession of the *Turks*, and thereby the *Walachia* secured from Servitude and Slavery; in consideration whereof, it was demanded from the Prince and States, that Winter Quarters be given for

the space of seven Months for 15000 Men Horfe and Foot, according to the Rules and Proportions which have been settled by the Imperial Decrees in former times, both in *Hungary* and *Transylvania*: That is to say, from the first of *November* 1689, to the last of *May* 1690, in the manner following.

I. That two Pounds of Bread shall be provided for every Man per Day, with a Pound of Fleish, and a Measure of Wine, besides his Bed, Salt, Candle, Wood, and all other Necessaries for support of Humane Life. That four Buifels of Oats a Month, eight Pounds of Hay a Day, with two Bundles of Straw a Week, shall be allowed for every Horfe.

II. That the Prince and States shall pay unto the Soldiers 800000 Florins within a certain time.

III. That the Prince and States shall find 1500 good Horfe, to mount those Cavaliers who have lost their Horfes, and also shall find them Armour within a certain time, according as hath been practised in Hereditary Kingdoms and Provinces; the Arms for Cuirassiers shall not be valued at more than 30 Dollars for every Horfeman, and 25 for every Dragon, the which shall be defalked out of the Sum of the ready Money which is to be paid.

IV. That the Deputies sent by the Prince and States, shall return to them again; and in the space of six Days, shall come back to the Imperial Camp, with the positive Resolution of what shall be performed in this Matter, and shall bring with them Commissaries, who shall allot to the Soldiers their respective Quarters.

V. That the Prince and States shall appoint and ordain Hostages; namely, two Barons of the chief Nobility in the Province, who shall remain with the Imperial General as Guarantees for performance of the Treaty, and that the Prince may have liberty to change and relieve them every Month (if he pleases) with two others.

VI. That in case the Prince and States shall punctually comply with these Propositions, they are hereby assured in the Name of His Imperial Majesty, That neither the Emperor's General, nor any other Officer, or Soldier shall bind, or oblige them to any other Conditions, nor shall they in the least manner be farther oppressed, or damaged, but to the contrary

1689. tary they shall be succoured, defended, and protected in the free Exercise of their Laws, and maintained in their Rights, Privileges, and Possessions.

Given in the Imperial Camp under Felittau, the 28th of *October*, 1689.

Signed,

Lewis of Baden.

About this time the Express which Prince *Lewis* had dispatched lately to *Piccolomini*, returned back with this following Letter.

Count *Piccolomini* to Prince *Lewis*.

IF Your Most Serene Highness shall be pleased to return me back all Your Army, I can here give them Quarters and good Satisfaction. The Albanians of *Clementa* have sent their Deputies to me, with Proposals to submit unto the Emperor, with whom I am now in Treaty. The Albanians under the *Turks* have done the like, and have offered to surrender unto me all their Castles. I have summoned all the Greek Communities to come unto me; and I have sent the Draughts of the Imperial Escutcheon, or Arms, which I brought painted from Vienna to be affixed and set up in every Town and City: And I hope speedily to bring all the Countries from *Scutari* to *Novibassar* under subjection. Upon these Successes, I hear that *Mamut Palha* is fled, and I have sent to seek for his Horfe-Tail which the *Vizier* gave him. The City of *Prisferen* being abandoned by its Inhabitants, I intend to make use thereof. Ten Thousand *Rascians* with Arms in their Hands are come in to me without any Head or Commander, with intention to rob, and live on Violence and Rapin. I know not what to do with these Wild Beasts, for upon pretence of coming in to us, I know not how to restrain them, tho' they ruin and spoil all the Country, and put me into some Fears and Apprehensions for them, whilst their Outrages afflict others from coming in. To dismiss them out of our Army, I fear something worse, and to keep them, is to suffer them to destroy all. I am going to the Pass of *Cavinigh*, intending to secure myself on every side. How I may succeed at *Ukopia* I do not as yet know. Our People lately discovered great Numbers of *Turks* assembled together in the Castle of *Novibord*, which is upon the Mountains, who upon our Summons surrendered at discretion. I have many Irons in the fire, but too weak a force for execution of any great design, howsoever I will do what I can, as becomes

Your Highness, &c.

Count *Piccolomini*.

Upon these encouraging Advices, Prince *Lewis* resolved to detach Prince *Charles* of *Hanover*, with three Regiments, viz. of *Sarav Hanover*, and the Infantry of *Croy*, to reinforce *Piccolomini* at *Procopia*, where was a Magazine replenished with Hay, Oats, Flour, and every thing for the Subsistence of an Army. With these Recruits *Piccolomini* on the 14th of this Month marched from *Procopia* towards *Ukopia*; and the Day following came to a narrow Passage which the *Turks* call *Dervent*; where meeting with a Defecter from *Sophia*, they were advised by him that the *Turks* had a design upon *Nissa*, for which reason retarding their March, until the 17th, they learned within that time that those Informations were only the Lyes of *Greeks*, who are naturally false, and haters of the Western *Christians*; whereupon they took their March for two Days through the Mountains, on which are the two Counties of *Clementa* and *Ressatawa*, which had never paid Taxes, or Contributions to the *Turks*, but rather the *Turks* unto them. In these Countries they made no stay, but halted with all expedition possible towards *Prisferen* and *Cina*, where they had underfoot from the advanced Guards, that 6000 *Armenians*, with 1300 Carts, and many Thousand Head of Cattle remained in expectation to join with the *Germans*, and to oppose the *Turks* with all the People of the Country, and to yield themselves Subjects and Vassals to His Imperial Majesty. Being arrived at *Prisferen*, they concluded a Treaty with those People; and on the 23th they proceeded to a certain little City with a Castle called *Kazianech*. Upon the News of this Approach, the *Turks* fled the Night before; but a Party of Horfe pursuing after them, they happily encountered within the Mountains near a Bridge, with 300 *Turks*, which were coming from *Scopia*, to reinforce the Castle of *Kazianech*, which was already taken; and tho' it was Night, yet they attacked them, and killed 19, taking some Horfes, 4 Colours, and 11 Slaves: And here it was necessary to make a Halt for a short time to secure a Pass which was in the middle way, which was so rugged and narrow, that the Cannon not being able to pass, they were remained back to *Kazianech*, with all the Carts of heavy Baggage.

In two Days time more they marched through this narrow Pass, and entered into a large Plain, distant about three Hours from *Scopia*, where they received different intelligences of the State of Affairs in that City, some reported that the *Turks* were resolved to defend the Place unto the utmost Extremity; others, that those People who

1689. the Night before had escaped from the At-
 tack, had given a terrible Alarm to the
 Town, inasmuch that the *Turks* and *Greeks*
 had abandoned the place, and had joyned
 themselves to *Mamut* Pasha, who with
 10000 Men was encamped in a Valley.
 Nothing could come more joyful to the
Christian Army, than to hear that the *Turks*
 had quitted their Walls, and places of De-
 fence, to draw into an open Plain; with
 which they were so animated, that they
 gave a Salvo with the 10 pieces of Cannon
 which they had with them, and with such
 Shouts of the Soldiers, as if the Victory
 had been already in their Hands: At the
 found whereof, the *Turks* were put into such
 a Confonation, that they quitted their
 Camp and fled for refuge and shelter into
 the Neighbouring Woods; but being pur-
 sued and hunted by the *Hussars*, and some
 few *Germans*, many *Turks* were killed, and
 2000 *Turks* belonging to the Country Peo-
 ple, were set at liberty, who the *Turks*
 had pressed for their Service, to carry away
 whole Families of Men, and Women, and
 Children into Slavery: Moreover some
Christian Slaves were recovered, together
 with a considerable Booty, besides above
 100 *Turks*, and as many *Jews* were made
 Prisoners.

In this manner the Way being made open,
Piccolomini marched into the adjacent Coun-
 tries of *Scopia*, in which he found the an-
 cient Seat of Count *Ladislaus Cziachy*, which
 was of a much more capacious and large
Czichy extent than it was supposed to be; how-
 ever without a Wall, Ditch, Cannon, Peo-
 ple, or Money; howsoever there was in it
 a large Magazine, filled with all sorts of
 Grain, Flour, and other sorts of Provisions
 and Merchandise; but according to the Re-
 port of the Inhabitants, much infected with
 the Pestilence: There was also an anti-
 quous Castle, conserved only for its Antiq-
 uity. *Piccolomini* not giving much credence
 to these Reports, went in person to visit the
 place; where having considered the Situa-
 tion of it, and the difficulty to maintain it,
 he gave it over to the plunder of the Sol-
 diery, and afterwards putting Fire to it in
 several places, the Houses were all in a short
 time reduced to Ashes together with several
 fluted Moths and Fountains.

Upon these Successes *Piccolomini* retired
 back towards *Kazianetz*, which he had left
 defended with a strong Garrison, the Peo-
 ple flocking thereunto in great Numbers to
 be protected, and received for Subjects of
 His Imperial Majesty.

At this place having divided his Army,
 he detached a Party under Command of the
 Prince of *Holstein*, with a Regiment of Cui-
 rassiers belonging to the *Hanover* Troops,

to march towards the Mount *Hemus*; and
 with the remainder of the Forces, he went
 himself to *Lippian*, and thence he detached
 Colonel *Strasser* with his Regiment of Foot,
 and six pieces of Cannon towards *Bosnia*,
 to drive the *Turks* out of the Castles of *Zwet-
 zey* and *Panza*. And tho' the Sickness of *Piccolomi-
 ni* fck, *Piccolomini* increased upon him, which some
 People termed the Plague; yet his active
 Soul struggling with the Distemper, he took
 a March with his own Regiment, and that
 of *Strum*, with two pieces of Cannon, to-
 wards *Albania*, to discover and inform him-
 self what his Lieutenant Colonel the Baron
 of *Hebersburg* had acted in *Prissen* with
 his *Albanians*: Whilst he was in this March
 his Fever increased, so that he was con-
 strained to rest a while with his Army at
Capuschmit, where he received advice, that
 Lieutenant Colonel *Mauersberg* of the Re-
 giment of *Strum*, had possessed himself of
 the Castle of *Panza*; but that the other of
Zwetzey, being situate on a Rock, refused
 to Surrender, unless compelled thereto
 by Fire and Cannon.

Tho' the Disease of *Piccolomini* increased,
 yet he could not be persuaded to take a
 longer rest and repose, which is necessary
 in Fevers; but being full of Zeal, and de-
 sire of Triumph, he marched with his Re-
 giments towards *Panni*; on the way to
 which, Advices came to him, That the
 Commander of *Pyrath*, with a Party of *Ger-
 mans*, and 800 *Hussars*, had taken the Field
 in the Enemies Country, where at the first
 they had the good fortune to defeat a Party
 of 1500 *Turks*, which they found encamp-
 ed near *Dragoman*, a place distant about six
 or seven Hours from *Sophia*, where they
 had posted themselves, to observe the Mo-
 tions of the Imperial Forces; but that soon
 afterwards the *Turks* being Alarm'd in all
 their Quarters near *Sophia*, they appeared
 in several Bodies on both sides of the Moun-
 tain, with Reserves both of *Turks* and *Tar-
 tars*; and having with their Numbers sur-
 rounded the *Germans*, after a great Slaugh-
 ter on both sides, the *Christians* were forced
 to give back, and betake themselves to
 Flight.

To repair the damage, and prevent the
 ill Consequences of this Surprise, *Piccolomi-
 ni* without any delay dispatched positive
 Orders to Colonel *Strasser*, to desert from
 his Enterprises in *Bosnia*, and return to *Nis-
 sa*, lest the Enemy encouraged by this
 Success, should adventure to make an At-
 tempt upon that place.

In the mean time *Piccolomini* continuing
 his March, on the 6th of this Month came
 early in the Morning under the Walls of
Prissen, where he was met by the Arch-
 bishop of *Albania*, and the Patriarch of *Cle-
 menta*.

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 was painted, and followed by 8000 *Armenians*,
Greeks of *Albania*, *Turks*, and *Christians*,
 with other Natives of those Countries;
 who having given their Salvoes with three
 Volleys of Muskets, they joyned with the
Germans, declaring their Resolutions to
 live and die with them in the common
 Cause.

Count *Piccolomini*, tho' in a languishing
 Condition, was yet much relieved by such
 a surprising appearance of People, who came
 with humble submission to devote them-
 selves to the Imperial Sovereignty, but be-
 ing acquainted with the unfixed and volu-
 ble Temper of that People, he knew not
 what to think of this sudden Revolution,
 until he had first satisfied himself by the
 Archbishop, and some of the Officers, (who
 were the first of those that were come in)
 that this People would prove obedient, and
 constant to the Emperor's Interest; with
 which Report *Piccolomini* remaining satisfac-
 ed, he caused all the Soldiers to be lifted
 under his Banner; with this Temperament
 howsoever, that all those who were desirous
 to retire, and live like orderly Citizens
 within the Walls of Towns, or in the Fields
 to cultivate the Ground, should have a free
 liberty so to do, and be protected by the
 Imperial Arms: But as to those who were
 willing to follow the Camp, and be formed
 into regular Troops, should be obliged to
 take the Military Oath, binding themselves
 to all Obedience and Respect towards their
 Commanders, and to live according to the
 rigour and exact Rules of Military Disci-
 pline.

So soon as *Piccolomini* had made this De-
 clARATION, and given this Charge to the new
 Soldiery, his Disease increased upon him,
 of which being sensible, he sent to the
 Archbishop to perform all those Offices,
 which were to be done in the time of the
 last Agony; which being administered with
 great Devotion, this brave General expired
 his last, to the unexpressible Lamentation of
 the whole Army, and Sorrow of the Impe-
 rial Court.

The Command and Government of all
 the Conquered Countries, having been pro-
 mitted to General *Veterani*, upon News of
 the Death of *Piccolomini*, he prepared to
 take possession thereof; but in the mean time
 that the Army might not be destitute of a
 General, the Conduct thereof was commit-
 ted to the care of the Prince of *Holstein*, to
 maintain and support the Conquests of
 those parts, until *Veterani* should come and
 take possession thereof.

Thus ended the Campaign of 1689, glo-
 rious in the whole progress thereof to the
 Imperial Arms, the Victories whereof over

the *Turks* being scarce to be numbred, filled
Vienna, and the Hereditary Countries with
 Joy and Triumph. And here it had been
 happy for the Empire, and all *Europe*, had
 the *Germans* fixed the Conclusion of the
 War at this period, before the Air of For-
 tune, which had blown for some Years with
 a prosperous Gale in favour of the *Ger-
 mans*, had changed her Kindness, which we
 shall find in the following Year inconstant
 and favouring the Enterprize of the *Turks*.
 It is a most unaccountable Infatuation, That
 the Imperial Court, observing before their
 Eyes the vast Preparations of *France* to at-
 tack the Empire, should not have endeav-
 oured to quench the Fire of War on one
 side, an Opportunity for which so fairly of-
 fered it self, by the Arrival of *Mulapha*
 Aga, sent with Letters from the Ottoman
 Port to the *Turkish* Ambassadors detained
 in the Castle of *Püttendorf*, to renew the
 Treaty, which had for some time been laid
 aside.

The Imperial Court was at this time at
Ausburg busied in the Election and Coro-
 nation of the King of the *Romans*; and
 therefore the Emperor appointed Count
Quintinus Terger, Knight of the Golden-
 Fleece, and Counsellor of State, and Lord
 Lieutenant of the Hereditary Countries of
Austria; together with Baron *Dorff* Secre-
 tary and Counsellor of War, to enter into
 Conference with the *Turkish* Ambassadors;
 to whom also was joyned the Cavalier *Gi-
 rolamo Venier*, who was Ambassador to the
 Emperor from *Venice*, and there attending
 the Interest of that Republick, in regard to
 this Treaty. But before the *Turks* would
 enter into the Particulars, they dispatched
 a certain Bey to the Congress, with some
 Considerations and Reflections which might
 represent the State and Temper of the *Or-
 toman* Empire, not to remain in so vile and
 debased an Estate, as to beg a Peace; but
 that they were still able with their Swords
 in their Hands to Treat, and in case of fail-
 ure of an Agreement, to maintain a
 War. The Considerations offered were these.

Considerations Offered by the Turks.

I. THAT they should conceive a right
 Notion of the great Power of the
 Ottoman Port.

II. That the *Christians* favoured rather
 by Fortune, than by the strength of their
 own Power, had gained all those Victories
 of which they now Triumph.

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III. That all the Insurrections in *Asia*, and Civil Commotions amongst themselves were now appeased.

IV. That the Sultan had diminished much of his Expences, and reduced the Number of useless Officers in his Seraglio, whereby vast Sums were spared for Maintenance of the War.

V. That the Taxes on the People, were raised from five Dollars on every House, unto a hundred.

VI. That it might now be hoped, that the Anger of God being appeased for the Sins of the Believers, the *Christians* turn would shortly come, when they also should be punished for their Offences.

VII. That the *Ottoman* Empire was still powerful, both in Men and Money.

VIII. That the Sultan would in lieu of *Belgrade*, which upon the Peace must be surrendered, that the *Save* might be made the Confines of both Empires, yield up to the Emperor some other Fortresses, as an Equivalent for that important City.

These preliminary Suggestions were generally turned into Ridiculous Interpretations, and Commentaries thereupon; so that in Answer thereunto these following Reflections were drawn up, which evidenced the Scorn and Disdain, the Imperialists at that time conceived of the *Turkish* Power.

Answers to the Considerations Offered.

TO the First it was reply'd, That the *Ottoman* Power consisted more in Numbers than in Force; an Evidence whereof appears to the World, in that the *Turks*, who for the Space of 300 Years had waged a War in *Hungary*, do now scarce possess a Foot, or Palm of that Kingdom, unless in some few Cities, which are yet so streightened by Blockades, that they are ready to perish with Famine, and offer themselves up to the Mercy of the Emperor. Witness also the Success before *Vienna*, when Besieged by 300000 *Turks*, were not yet able to render themselves Masters of the same, but were forced to fly, and ignominiously to turn their Backs to a quarter part of their Number, and forced to return without other Glory, than that only of burning some Villages, which might have been done by a Rabble of People, or 100 Incendiaries.

To the Second it was said, That with the Divine Assistance, the *Christian* Troops, tho' much inferior in Number to those of the *Turks*, had won divers Battles during this War, and made themselves Masters of many Towns, and Castles; and particularly of *Buda* and *Belgrade*, the Capital Cities of great Provinces, which were not subdued by long Sieges, but by Storms, and dint of Sword.

To the Third it was said, That the Troubles in *Asia* still continued, and their Civil and Domestic Seditions, not as yet appeased, and were yet likely to increase higher, by reason of their Tyrannical Government, which the oppressed People would not longer endure.

To the Fourth it was said, That the Discharge of the Women, and Officers, to the Number of 4000 out of the Seraglio, was an evident Token of their want of Money to sustain the War.

To the Fifth it was said, That the heavy Burden of Taxes, from five to a 100, was the ready means to move the People to a Rebellion, of which there are frequent Examples in all Histories.

To the Sixth, that howsoever the *Turks* might flatter themselves with the pacification of God's Anger against them, they would yet find the contrary, and prove the just Revenge of the Just God, whom they had provoked by the Breach of their Faith, and Oppressions of those People whom they had subdued.

To the Seventh, That there was great difference between Soldiers and Incendiaries, in the latter of which the *Turks* ought rather to be reckoned, than amongst the former.

To the Eighth, which concerns the Surrender of *Belgrade*, it was replied, That the Emperor would sooner surrender *Newstadt* in *Austria*, or the Gardens about *Vienna*, than that City, with which this Conference was concluded.

Amongst all the foregoing Particulars, we find nothing solid or material, or under any Dispute, unless that point of exchanging *Belgrade* for some other place or places, not as yet Conquered in *Hungary*; that to the River *Save* might be the limit and confine between the two Empires: Nor was it probable, that the *Turks* would have broken off the Treaty on this Point only, had they

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they not hearkened to the Promises of the *French*, who now being sensible how useful, and necessary the Alliance of the *Turks* would be to them, were resolved not to lose the Benefit of so helpful an Associate; and therefore used all their persuasive Arguments to continue the War, which were inculcated with mighty Presents to the principal Officers of State, and Assurances that with the next Spring they would not only enter the Empire with such vast Armies, as should oblige the Emperor to withdraw his Forces out of *Hungary*; but also assist them both with Money, and with able Engineers and Officers to carry forward the War.

And indeed tho' in the following Year of 1690, we shall not find any great matter warmly acted by the *French* on *Germany*, pursuant to the Promises they had made unto the *Turk*; yet we shall find them in a Year or two afterwards entering *Germany* with Fire and Sword; and in the Year 1693, besides the Conquests gained in *Brabant* and *Flanders*; we shall hear of the burning of *Heidelberg*, and all the *Upper Germany* in danger of an entire Desolation: All which might easily have been prevented, had the Emperor hearkened at this time to the Offers of the *Turks*, who came prepared to accept of any Condi-

tions, that in reason could have been imposed upon them. But this Opportunity being let slip, Fortune changed its Course, and the Exploits of War were acted with various Successes; and tho' afterwards the Emperor sought for Peace by Interposition of Mediators, the *Turks* were so far engaged with the *French*, and so encouraged by their Successes, that they would now hearken to nothing under the Surrender of *Buda*, and all the Conquests in *Hungary*.

The Loss of this Opportunity for gaining a Peace, may be attributed to the Infatuation of the Minds of the *Germans*, which the blinded for punishment of the Sins of *Christendom*. No doubt but the *French* Faction in the Imperial Court, availed much in the defeat of this Design, as did also the power of the Papal Court, in which at that time *Alexander* VIII. reigned; who hearing of the Overtures of Peace treating at *Ausburg* and *Vienna*, dispatched away from *Rome*, Cardinal *Colonitz*, with Instructions about the Affairs of *Hungary*, who after having assisted in divers Consultations, and Conferences thereupon, the whole Treaty broke off, and the Ambassadors dismissed from all farther Negotiations, of which we shall very speedily bewail the fatal Effects.

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THE Venetian Successes In Their WAR against the TURKS, In the Year 1689.

1689. **I**N the preceding Year we made a Relation of the Venetian War against the Turks, maintained in the Island of Negropont, and against the chief City thereof known by that Name. The Enterprize was of great Importance, and the Preparations for the same agreeable to so mighty a Design, which had it succeeded, would not only have settled and established the Venetians in their Conquests of the Morea, but rendered them Masters of all the Coast of Romania; but the Venetians instead thereof, being compelled by Sickness, and unfortunate Attacks upon the place, in which they lost many of their brave Officers, to quit the Island with some Confusion, and as it were stealing off in the Night, for fear the Enemy should fall on their Rear, Cannon and Baggage; but the Turks being desirous to be rid of such Guests, were willing to have made a Bridge for them, rather than to have administered the least Retardment, or Hindrance to their Departure.

All the Auxiliary Gallies, as those of the Pope, Alalta, and Florence, being retired (as we have said) to their respective Countries; the main Body of the Venetian Armata entered into the Port of Nizian East of Napoli di Romania, with design to Winter there, so as better to Command the Ar-
The Venetian Armata entered into the Port of Nizian East of Napoli di Romania, with design to Winter there, so as better to Command the Ar-
Romania chipelago, and to be near Negropont, so as to be ready to obstruct the Turks in case they should Attempt to repair those Works, it being intended to make another Attack on that place early in the Spring; and to that end Orders were sent to Venice to dispatch away the Recruits for the Land Forces, with all Necessaries for the Fleet, and Provisions for the Winter, of which there was so great want, that both the Land and Sea Forces had much difficulty to subsist, to melancholy a Countenance was put on through the whole Camp,

that nothing but the prevailing Authority of their Doge and Captain-General could restrain them from a Mutiny; but that which a little comforted the Soldiery, was that the mildness of the Winter, which gave a cheerful green colour to the Fields, which yielded Herbs, and Winter-Fruits in much Plenty; and because the Buildings of the Town had been much destroyed and ruined by the Bombs, and Cannon, they raised little Huts and Cottages for shelter, and Lodgings for the Soldiery; to which the Athenians, who had no great desire to return to their own City, had greatly contributed, having Buil divers Houles at their own Cost, and with their own Labour.

But what most dispirited the Army, was the Sickness of the Doge Morosini, who long had laboured under a violent Fever, in such a manner, that the Physicians themselves despaired of his Life; for Conservation of which, solemn Prayers and Processions were appointed to be made, both at Venice, and in all Places under that Dominion.

At length, after a tedious Expectation, the Convoy arrived, to the universal Joy and Consolation of all the Forces and Country round about; which began to give new Life to all Motions and Enterprizes, and to inspire the Soldiers with a new flock of Courage; for all People having been supplied both with Money and Provisions; the Carpenters fell heartily to Work on the Vessels; and Gallies to repair and make them fit for the next Voyage, and the Soldiers remained ready to Embrace any new Enterprize; But the Doge continuing sick, and reduced to a great weakness and debility of Body, put a damp on the Spirits of the Soldiery, and much retarded the proceedings of all Designs.

For

1689. For that the Captain Extraordinary Venetian, was Commanded with his Ships to watch, and guard one side of the Channel of Negropont, and Captain Valier Commander of the Great Alexander to attend the other; yet the Captain Palha broke into Negropont, with ten Gallies, and there landed 500 Men, promising them by Order of the Sultan, in a short time, a much greater force, with which they should be supplied very speedily: and that in the mean time, they should labour with all possible industry to repair the Works which the Enemies Bombs and Cannon had ruined; so that the Venetians were not able to obstruct the Turks from giving Relief to Candia, but instead thereof, had the Misfortune to lose two of their Gallies by Storm, and were forced to return back again to Napoli di Romania, where their chief Comfort was, that the Sickness began to decrease, which had for some time raged both in the Fleet, Army, and Countries round the City.

The Spring coming on, the Doge began to recover his Health and Strength again, to the great Joy of all the Soldiery, so that he could now attend to Business, and give Orders to the Armata, which had been so well repaired, and Careened, as that the Gallies were in a Condition already to put to Sea: Notwithstanding all which, the Turks were not obstructed in their passage to Negropont, where four Gallies belonging to the Beyes arrived, bringing Spades, Shovels, Pick-axes, and several other Instruments for repairing the Breaches made last Year by the Enemy; on which, their Slaves, being disenchained from the Oar, laboured Day and Night with all diligence; and Mistr Ogli, with some Gallies, was also arrived, being sent to forward that Work; for the Turks had an Opinion, that the Venetians would make another Attempt thereupon, and which should be the Work of the following Summer.

But the Venetians had suffered so much the last Year before Negropont, that they esteemed themselves in no good Condition for a second Enterprize, they having not as yet licked their Wounds whole, nor recruited their Army, which was much more weak than it was the Year past, and unable to undertake an Enterprize in which they had already been foiled. However, not to sit idle, and look about them, their Aim was on Malvasia, to reduce which, ten Gallies, and 12 Gallies were dispatched by the Captain-General to assist in the Building of two Forts near the Bridge entering to the Town, on which the Mainotes, whom the Captain-General

had armed, were labouring to finish, being of great importance towards a Blockade, and to hinder all Vessels from bringing Provisions to the place: And farther to proceed in this Design, the whole Armata was Commanded to Sail to Forte Parra, appointed as it was the last Year, to be the Magazine for Arms, Provisions, and Ammunition for the War; where being arrived, they attended the Duke of Guadagne, with his Troops for Reinforcement of the Army; and in the mean time, the Bridge was broken, and the two Forts before Malvasia were finished, and a great number of Boats, Feluccas, and Palandras, lay before the Town to hinder all forts of Provisions and Succours from being brought into it, by which the place was entirely blocked up on all sides, both by Sea and Land; for the situation of the Town being on a Peninsula, there was no Communication could be had with the Country but by the Bridge, and a narrow spot of Land.

Whilst Matters remained in this Nature before Malvasia, a certain Greek, called Liberachi, lay encamped near Xeromero alias Missilonghi, with about 100 Turks, 150 Liberschi Scavonians, and some Defectors from the Venetian Army. This Liberachi or Lilerio, was a Mainote by Nation, a Fellow bold and subtle, and did great Services for the Venetians, until he was taken Prisoner by the Turks and carried to Constantinople: He had not remained any long time there, before he gained such Credit with the Turks, that by his fair Words and Promises, they were periwaded that he could draw all the Mainotes to their Party, and cause them to Revolt from the Venetians. Upon which Opinion, they set him at Liberty, and entertained such Confidence of him, that they gave him the Title and Charge of Bey, that is, Lord of the Mainotes; whereby many Defectors from the Venetian Camp came in to him; And some Propositions for joining Forces passed between him and Ensign Boffina, who in the Month of October 1687. with most part of the People called Ultramarines, had Deserted and lifted themselves under this Boffina, who styled himself Commander in Chief of the Defectors; and having his Head-quarters at Carpenizi, towards the Confines of Lepanto, he exacted Contributions from the Villages and Countries round about: With him joyned some other seditious Captaims, and a certain Ensign called Vito of Captain Rado's Company, a Fellow of a bold Spirit, without Faith or Honesty; and with him he debauched several dissolute Soldiers to forsake the Camp and joyn with Boffina.

The

1689. The Troops of *Liberachi* being greatly increased by this Conjunction, the *Venetian* Generals consulted in what manner they might give a Stop to this Desertion, and cut to pieces *Liberachi*, *Bossina*, *Vito*, and their Followers: In the first place it was resolved to declare, That ten Zechins should be given for the Head of every Deserter, or for any that should be brought alive to the Camp; the which produced an excellent Effect; for hereupon many of the *Albanians*, who had designed to be of the Conspiracy, changed their Minds, and having possessed themselves of the narrow Passes from *Theles* to *Petra*, *Negropont*, and *Vola*, seized on many of them, and brought them back to the Camp, where they sustained the Punishment which their Treachery deserved; by which means the Conspiracy was broken, and many of those who watched an opportunity to Escape, contained themselves within the Limits of their Duty.

But the manner how to Ruin *Liberachi* was much more difficult, and some Considerations were held thereupon: At length it was concluded, That the only way to Effect this Stratagem, was either by alluring him into the Hands of the *Venetians*, or by sending him suspected to the *Turks*; who upon the least Jealousie were ready to apply the Bow-string to his Throat. To this purpose, a certain Captain, called *Jula Dambli*, offered himself, a Person of great Bravery and Conduct, and a good Soldier; one who spake *Turkish*, *Greek*, and *Italian*, and was very well versed in all the Manners, Ceremonies, and Customs of the *Turks*; and above all, that which made him the most proper Instrument for this work, was, That he had been a most intimate Friend of this *Liberachi*; for having been a Fellow Slave with him, and linked in the same Chain at *Constantinople*, they became sworn Brothers, and made Proclamations of mutual and unviolable Friendship ever to continue; and that after they should be eased of their Chains, yet the same Bonds of Faith and Affection should never be dissolved.

Nor was *Dambli* only his Friend; but the Doge *Morsini* had been *Liberachi's* Godfather, a Relation much endearing in that Country; and therefore the Title both of Friend, and Godfather, had great Charms with the generous Temper of *Liberachi*; who upon the first notice given him by *Dambli*, that being at *Lepanto*, nor far from *Vracori*, was very desirous to make him a Visit, he instantly dispatched a Pais, or Salvo Condotta to him, inviting him with all the kind Terms imaginable to come to him without the least scruple or fear imaginable.

In Confidence of *Liberachi's* Fidelity, 1689. *Dambli* departed from *Lepanto* in Company with two Friends, and two Servants; and in two days time arrived at *Vracori*, where he was received with all the Ceremony and kind Treatment that could be expected. Upon the News of a Stranger's arrival in that Town, the *Turks* were curious to know who he was, which *Liberachi* freely declared, saying, That he was come from the *Venetian* Armata, on no other Design, than as an old Friend, to see him, and tell old Stories of what Troubles and Miseries they had sustained together. The *Turks* supposing that he might be come over to their side, bid him kindly welcome; as did also one *Marco Stifichi*, Captain of a Galliot, whom the Captain-General had for his many Pyracies committed to the Gallies; howsoever, in respect to the *Oltamarines*, had set him at liberty; but he, ungrateful for the favour received, fled to *Liberachi*, intending to side with the discontented, or rather licentious *Mainotes* under his Command. After some Discourses over a Dish of Coffee and Sherbet, according to the *Turkish* Treatment, the *Turks* and *Stifichi* withdrew; and then *Liberachi* began to unbosom himself to *Dambli*, That the Obligations he had to the Captain-General, who in the year 1657, had Answered for him at the Holy Fent in *Calamata*, were such, as called for all Respect and Duty to him; and moreover, he could not but be sensible, that his most Serene Highness, could not but be displeased, and troubled to see one, whom he had made a Christian, to side with the Enemies to that Religion; and therefore he did not doubt, but that he had sent him, that is, *Dambli*, to endeavour to get him back to the right way from whence he had swerved: *Dambli* hereupon confessed the same, and assured him from the Captain-General of Favour and Promotion, in case he would return, and bring over with him the Revolted *Mainotes*, which would be a good Example for *Bossina*, and his *Oltamarines* to follow. To *Liberachi* which *Liberachi* made this Reply; That he would most readily comply, were not his Obligations too great at *Constantinople*, where he had not only a Wife and Children, but two Friends engaged for his Fidelity to the Grand Seigneur, and which would most certainly suffer with the Ruin of their Families, should he Prevaricate from the Faith he had given to the *Turks*; moreover, he had Married the Widow of the late Prince of *Moldavia*, with an Estate of 20000 Crowns; in which Match, the Grand Vizier had been instrumental; so that his Sin of Ingratitude would be the more

1689. more notorious, should he make a Revolt after to many Kindnesses he had received on all sides. By this time Dinner was brought in, which was with great Plenty both of Dishes and Wine, well dressed, and very sumptuous; at which there was none present unless *Liberachi* himself, *Dambli*, and his Priest. After Dinner, the same Discourse was carried on, and *Dambli* persisted to urge him with all the Arguments which Reason could suggest to return unto his Duty; but *Liberachi* still persisted, that his Obligations to his Wife and Children were so great, that they out-weighed the Duty to his Prince; for that the Laws of Nature and Faithfulness given to those, who had been Bail, and Security for his Fidelity, ought upon no Considerations in the World to be violated, and therefore he desired his Friend to press him no farther upon that Point. At the end of this Discourse, one *Ali Bey*, sent with Money from the Seraskier to pay the Soldiery under *Liberachi*, came in, and demanded who this *Dambli* was; and being informed, that he was an Ancient Friend known to him at *Constantinople*, and came now to him from the *Venetian* Armata, for no other Reason than to make him a Visit: *Ali Bey* desired, that he might have him in his Custody, to carry before the Seraskier, promising upon his Faith to return him back again in Safety: But *Liberachi* refusing so to do, saying, That he had pawned his Word already that he should return back without Hindrance or Molestation; *Ali Bey* departed, but with some Threats, that he would make this Denial known unto the Seraskier, and how he had given Entertainment to a suspected Stranger. *Dambli* fearing some stop or trouble from hence would immediately take leave of his Friend, who just at his departure, desired him, that so soon as he should be arrived in the *Morea*, that he would kiss the Feet of his most Serene Highness, and return him a thousand Thanks for the great Goodness and Favours which he had by many instances demonstrated unto him; giving him to understand the Reasons and Causes which debared him from enjoying the true Felicity of those many Offers of his most precious Grace and Favour: Howsoever, he gave him Assurances of doing all Services possible to his Highness, by advising and informing him of all the Motions and Designs of the *Turks*; but because the practice hereof might be dangerous by Letters, which were subject to be intercepted; he desired that his Highness would direct the way, and manner of such a Correspondence; And in the mean time,

he pray'd *Dambli* to inform him, That the Seraskier was at *Zittuni*, with 4000 Soldiers, amongst which were 1200 Horse: That his Orders from the Grand Seigneur were, That in case the *Venetians* should make a second Attempt upon *Negropont*, and that he had force sufficient, that then he should give them Battle, and not suffer them to Inrench before the City: But if on the contrary, the *Venetians* should be too strong for him, that then he should endeavour to make a Diversion, by falling into the *Morea*, wasting and consuming the Country; and that he, *Liberachi*, was ordered with his Forces, Being about 2000 Men, to join with the Seraskier in this Action. And farther he desired him to acquaint the Captain-General, That in *Negropont* they had made a Pallade round *Carababa*, about a Musker-shot distant from the Town, which was of great Defence to the place. Likewise, that *Liberachi*, who Commands in *Negropont*, had declared, That in case the Seraskier at Land should not assist him in the Defence of *Carababa*, it would be impossible to maintain and conserve the City; That they were making other Outworks to cover the place; That the Seraskier was ordered not to depend upon any Succours from *Constantinople*, but received Commands to raise what Men he was able in the Parts where his Army was, as far as to *Larissa*; and that the Garrison of *Negropont* consisted of no more than 3000 Men: And that the Orders which he himself had received, were to bring all the Country under Contribution from *Salona* to *Santa Moura*; which he was resolved to do with great rigour, by forcing them to pay ten Dollars a Head; by which means they would be constrained to fly for Refuge into *Morea*, which he thought would be of some Advantage to the *Venetians*. Discouraging farther upon these Matters, *Dambli* desired to know what was become of Captain *Bossina*, who Commanded the *Oltamarines*, which had deserted from the Army; to which he gave Answer, That they were in the Villages of *Carpenizi*.

In this manner, the Discourse being ended, *Liberachi* would accompany *Dambli* on some part of his way, and brought him four Miles with 70 Horse, and some Footmen, commanding also two of his Captains with some Men, to give him Convey to far as the River *Lepanto*; to which place being conducted with safety, he was admitted with all readiness to the presence of his Serene Highness, who much applauded the punctual Relations and Services of *Dambli*; hoping from thence, that the Plot could not fail that he had

laid

1689. laid for *Liberachi*; for either he would be forced thereby to leave the Service of the *Turks*, with many of his Followers, or otherwise falling into the Jealousie of the *Turks* by this free Conference, it could not but prove fatal to him; so that take it which way they would, *Liberachi* was under a necessity with his Men of seeking Refuge under the Protection of the *Venetian Arms*.

The Troop
embarked.

These Circumstances being well considered, were a sufficient motive to Embark the Troops, and to order some Ships, and other Vessels to sail forthwith to *Malvasia*, and to direct Orders to *Gradenigo* Provéditeur-Extraordinary, to march with the Horse into those Parts. But whilst the Doge was in a readiness to Embark, there arrived an Express with Letters from *Demetrio Gaspari*, an *Armenian*, dated at *Culuri*, advising, That he, and those Inhabitants had received Intelligence, That several Gallies belonging to the Enemy, were coming upon them, and therefore in all Humility, they supplicated, that they would come to their Assistance and Succour; whereupon Orders being given to the Gallies, Ships, and Gallies to sail for *Malvasia*, the Doge with the Gallies took his Course directly for *Culuri*; but before they could come thither, labouring against the Winds by force of their Oars, the *Turks* had been there, and transported from thence 350 *Greeks*, for the most part Women and Children; for the Men had secured themselves in the Mountains; but great Instances being made for their Transportation to some more secure place, and that they might be set ashore on the Island of *Egessa*; it was ordered, that three Vessels should attend, and carry them to what Place they should determine; and then the Doge proceeded to the Island of *Spécie*, and the day following to *Malvasia*.

The Doge
sails for
Culuri.

And here having Intelligence, That several *Barbarosse* Ships infested the Coasts of *Zant*, and *Sapienza*, and had already taken a Patach belonging to *Zant*; the Doge began to be in some fear for the Convey expected with Money from *Venice* for Subsistence of the Army, under the Command of *Girolamo Cornaro* Provéditeur-General of the Sea; the which being debated at a Council of War, and the importance of the Matter well considered, it was resolved to dis-patch away immediately, the Provéditeur of the Armata, *Augustino Sagredo*, with twelve Gallies, and *Lorenzo Venter*, Captain-Extraordinary, with six Ships, with Orders to sail as far as *Corfu* to meet the aforesaid *Cornaro*, and to bring him and the Ships under his

Some fears
for the
Convey
coming
from Ve-
nice.

Convey, laden with Money and other Necessaries, in security to the Fleet. In which matter, both the Commanders of the Gallies and Ships having received their Instruction, and having provided themselves with all things necessary for their Voyage, they set sail in few hours before Night.

In the Morning the Ships were observed to be at some distance from the Shore, and at least ten Miles from the Gallies, which were making their way to Cape *St. Angelo*, the which gave some Trouble to the Doge, by thinking, that in case these two Divisions, were so far separated at the beginning, what would become of them before the end of the Voyage; Whilst the Doge thought of these things, a great Fleet appeared Steering directly to that Port, which coming nearer was found to be the Fleet which brought the Duke of *Guadagne*, Serjeant-General Baron *Spaer*, and several other Officers, with 333 Foot Soldiers.

The Duke
of Guad-
agne
brought
the Duke
himself.

About this time arrived the unhappy News of the loss of two *Venetian Gallies*, one Commanded by *Pietro Dona*, and the other by *Henrico Pappafava*, both *Venetian* Noblemen, taken by the Corsairs of *Tripoli* on the Coast of *Sapienza*. This Advice was very surprizing to the Doge, it being a loss which had not happened with so much Disgrace for many years to the *Venetian Arms*; and the more strange it was, in regard, That *Francesco Dona* was on Board the Galley, a Person of great Experience in Maritime Affairs, and yet suffered himself to be deceived by two white Streamers or Pendants which the Enemy had put forth, to be esteemed *French*, by which the Gallies were decoyed to near, as to be out of all possibility of Escape.

A Relation
from the
State of
the Fleet.

The Doge having laid Siege to the Town of *Malvasia* both by Sea and Land, a certain Slave, who had been Captain of a Tartana, having made an Escape from the Fortrels, gave an Account of the State and Condition of the Town and Castle; relating, that the Garrison consisted only of 700 stout Soldiers, with which, and with the Inhabitants, they might amount to about 2000 Souls, Women and Children, all resolved to defend themselves, as appeared by the Sequel. The Commanders in Chief were *Musiapha* Didar, or Governor of the Castle, an ancient Man, who carried great Authority and Resolution in his Face and Actions; And *Assan Aga*, who Commanded the Town, caused their Gallies, Brigantines, and smaller Boats and Vessels to be drawn close

1689.

1689. close under the Wall of the Town, for their better security; That the Houses of the Town were strongly built; and that the principal Persons thereof had filled all their upper Rooms with Earth, to cover them from the Bombs; but that the Streets for the most part were very narrow: That the *Turks* were then at work in drawing their Cannon to such parts of the Wall, from whence they might most annoy the Bridge: That the rich Inhabitants were well supplied with Provisions, of which they were forced to communicate some part to the poorer sort: That the Garrison was not paid; but that consisting for the most part of Natives of the Country, and Seamen inured to Hardship and Pyrac, were contented to suffer and undergo any Trouble and Want for the Sake and Defence of their Native City: And in short, That besides the Garrison there were about 160 *Greeks*, who kept Watch and Ward, and underwent all the Duties of a regular Militia.

This Information gave some Retardment to the formal Siege and Attack of the place; for it was resolved to attend the arrival of the several Convoys, and Auxiliary Gallies shortly expected; and that in the mean time, the Town should be kept under a strict Blockade, and the Guards placed in all the Avenues and Passages to the Town, where the Duke of *Guadagne* the General should judge most proper to dispose them; and to lose no time, all the Troops were drawn into a Body, that a particular Review and Account might be taken of the Numbers and Condition of the whole Army.

Whilst these things were acting, the eight Gallies of *Malta* began to appear, being then Doubling the Cape of *St. Angelo*, Commanded by *Fra. Carlo Spinelli*, who was Bali of *Armenia*; a worthy Soldier, and a Religious Commander, whose Fortune being to join the *Venetian Fleet* on *St. John's Day* their Tutelar Saint, added very much to the Joy and Festivity of the Day. And what farther increased the Satisfaction both of the Fleet and Army, was at the same time to see the happy arrival of a Convey Commanded by *Pietro Bembo*, bringing 72000 *Zechins* in Gold for Service of the Army; upon which also arrived, the Prince of *Flarcourt*, and Count *Enea Rapetta* Serjeant-Generals, besides several select Companies of Foot to the number of 455 Soldiers, with Provisions of all sorts for their Support and Maintenance; as also the Regiments of *Hiffy*, and *Simon Famogna*, both Colonels of *Croatia*, consisting of about 700 Foot; as also a Regiment of Dragoons of the

The Malta
Gallies
arrived
the 24th.

The Venetian
Convey
arrives.

the same Country, under the Command of Colonel *Strel*. After the Entrance of these several Gallies and Vessels into Port, and having cast Anchor in their orderly Divisions, and the Salutes made and returned by Cannon, and Volleys of small shot, according to the customary Civilities of the Seas, the Admiral of *Malta* attended with his Followers of Knights and Gentlemen, went to pay his Visit to the Doge, after the same manner as he had done the year before, (which happened then to be on the 16th of July) the Ducal Galley remain'd with its Anchor a-Pique, in an open place, having the Gallies for Antiguard, with their Anchors also a-Pique, and with Streamers and Colours flying, as is usual in such Solemnities; The Doge received these Generals below on the Deck, and afterwards conducted them into the Poop, where having entertained one the other, with Discourses of their respective Voyages, and of the present state of the Camp before the Town, and passed other Civilities and Compliments, they took their leaves, and returned to their several Vessels.

The next Day the Doge sent his Lieutenant-General *Andrea Pisani* to return the Compliments in his Name with the like Ceremony, and to deliver unto those Generals the several Ordinances of War, and the Instructions both for Fighting and Navigation. After which, a Council of War was called, at which the Doge, the General of *Malta*, the Duke of *Guadagne*, and all the General Officers both of Sea and Land, were present to Consult, and take such Measures as were most agreeable to the present Exigencies.

There were four Propositions made for employing their Arms, and four Designs offered, but they were all of so different a Nature, that they could not come to any Determination at that Meeting; but at length, after various Reflections made on the necessity there was of coming to a Resolution, it was concluded, That General *Guadagne* should with his Cavalry take a view of the Strait of *Corinth*, (which is that Neck of Land which joins the *Morea* to *Greece*) and upon a Survey thereof to make a Calculate, how many Men would be required to Maintain and Defend that Pass in case the *Turks* should endeavour to force their entrance that way into the *Morea*, it being of great importance to fortify that passage, and not leave it open, and undefended to the Incurision of the *Turks*; whilst the Armata should be employed on other Enterprizes.

The Council
deliberated
on them.

The Refusal
of a Com-
mander
of the War.

A a a

Whilst

1689. Whilst things remained under these Uncertainties, News was brought by an Express from *Salona*, That *Liberachi* had wrote a menacing Letter to the Bayliffs and principal Men belonging to the Villages and Parts adjacent, that they should come and pay their Respects to him, and bring their Carach, or Poll-Money with them, or otherwise he would come and punish them according as their Disobedience should deserve. To which they unanimously made Answer, That he might come when he pleased, that they feared him not; and that he should find their Scimitars to be as keen, and sharp as his. *Liberachi* upon this Answer, being then at *Zittuni*, not far from *Salona*, immediately put his Troops in order, and marched against them; and was boldly encountered by *Choropolari*, who Commanded the Country People, and being joined with some Troops of the Confederate Provinces, and of the *Oltamarines*, (who under the Command of *Elia Damaskinovic*, had deserted the *Venetian Army*) they joined Battle with *Liberachi*, and after a bloody Fight defeated him, and carried many of the *Turks* Heads to General *Cornaro*, who with his Gally was nearly approached to that Coast.

But as to the *Venetian Arms*, all things remained still and without motion; only the Doge and *Guadagne* passed with some Gallies along the Shoar-side by way of the Gardens, to take necessary Observations of the Countenance of the Enemy, and Situation of the place, without coming to any certain Resolution. However at length, after long Debates, they resolved at a Council of War, (that their Arms might not remain longer unemployed) to disperse the Cavalry, which were to march by Land, and 3000 Foot Soldiers to be embarked on the Ships, furnished with all sorts of Provisions both for Arms, and Victuals, and therewith to sail to the Straight of *Corinth*, to disappoint the Seraskier of all hopes of Entrance into the *Morea*: The Prince *Harcourt* was to Command the Horse, accompanied with the Sergeant-General *Spaar*; who joining with the Auxiliaries of that Country under the Command of *Dambi*, it was calculated, that they might form a Body of about 7000 fighting Men effective; who were to be attended by *Cornaro* the Provocitor-General, who, with some Gallies, was to assist as any occasion should occur.

But whilst this Design was putting in practice, and all things prepared for the March and Voyage of the Soldiers, and every already gone, the unhappy News arrived, That the Plague was broken out in the Country of *Trofoliza*, whereby the

whole Army might be in danger of Contagion; that being the common Way, and Road by which all the Provisions were to pass for Relief of the Army, unless they would take a compass by Sea round the *Morea*, which would be an uncertain and tedious Navigation. But His Serene Highness the Doge, having put all things in the most secure manner possible to avoid Infection, 14 Sail of Ships were dispatched for Transport of the Soldiers, on which were laden the *Chevaux de Frise*, with all sorts of Provisions, and Ammunition for War, and Sustenance of the Soldiers. And that the City of *Malvasia* might still remain streightened by a Blockade, and as it were Besieged, the two Forts were finished, which served to keep the Defendants within the compass of their own Walls, and to hinder them from other Avenues on the side towards the Gardens, at that place which is called *Palis*. Some Regiments were ordered to raise certain Forts and Redoubts on that side, the Slaves belonging to the Gallies, which were brought as near as they could come, were employed in the Works to cast up Earth, and make Faggots; and a Squadron of Gallies under Command of *Pisani*, was posted there to be assistant to the Regiments alhoar.

The Doge in the mean time removed from the Fort of *St. Nicholas*, which was the *Old Malvasia*, towards the New Forts, which being entirely completed, four pieces of great Cannon of 50 Pound Bullet were Landed, and planted on the principal Forts, whence they greatly annoyed the *Turks*; howsoever the Enemy was not negligent on the other side to ply their Cannon on that part which is nearest to the Bridge.

In the mean time also the General of the *Malta* Gallies, (for whom at present there was no great Action) by permission of the Doge received license to be absent for 15 Days, and to cruise about the Cape of *Sapienza*, and Watch for the Corsairs of *Barbary*, which did commonly infest the Seas.

About this time Prince *Maximilian of Brunsvick* arrived at the Armata, where the Day following he was received with the usual Ceremony by the Doge; he brought with him no more force than what served for his own Equipage, and for the better Defence of the Ship, on which he was Embarked: but so soon as this Prince had performed his Complements, a sudden Storm arose with Hail and Wind, so violent, as put all the Gallies into imminent danger; some lost their Boltsprits, others their Main-Yards, others had their Oars broken, some had their Poops blown away, and Boats were overturned, with such prodigious Hail,

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as the like had scarce ever been seen before. In short the whole Armata was in danger of being lost; but God be praised, tho' the Escape was wonderful, yet it cost some Trouble, Time, and Charges to repair the Damages; in which also the Forces on Land had their share, having had their Tents and Huts overthrown by this Hurricane of Wind; only the *Turks* received some benefit thereby, having had their Cisterns filled with the Showers of Rain and Hail, which fell like a Deluge into all the Receptacles and Vessels made to receive fresh Water for the Use and Service of this City, of which before this Accident, they began to be sensible of some want.

And now Letters were brought from the Forces lately sent to guard the Straight of *Corinth*, that the Defence and Conservation of that place, would require a 1000 Men more; which His Serene Highness being desirous to dispatch away, they were without any delay embarked on the Squadron of Captain *Pisani*, and by that time the Batteries for the Mortar-pieces being also completed, they began to throw their Bombs and Carcasses thick into the Town, which so incommoded the Defendants, that the *Venetians* began to conceive some hopes of a speedy Surrender, and the Forts played so constantly on the Town, to open and widen the Breaches, as if they had intended to have stormed the Walls, for which they had neither Men, nor other Preparations. However it was hoped, that by the Cannon and Bombs only, the City might be reduced: For that a Magazine of Powder in a place called the Wind-Mill, was blown up, and by a Report received from some Defectors, the Defendants were extremely annoyed by the Bombs; of which their greatest damage was to their Cisterns, and Conservatories of Water; by this intelligence the Doge was encouraged to ply them incessantly with Bombs, not only from the Land-side, but from three Palanders, or Bomb-Ships, two of which were placed directly opposite to the City, and a third was drawn juft under the Forts to increase the Annoyance which was made by the Cannon.

In the mean time at the expiration of the 14 Days allotted, the *Malta* Gallies returned from cruising on the Coast of the Cape of *Sapienza*, having neither met the Ships of *Barbary*, nor other Booty: And whereas it was represented, that these Gallies could be little serviceable at present towards the Subjection and Surrender of the City, it was judged, that they might be best employed in cruising on the Pirates of *Barbary*, and securing the *Christian Vessels* which Trade in those Seas; and accordingly those Gallies were without the least delay dispatched a-

gain for the Cape Lands, which are most infested by the Pirates, being favoured by the Northern Winds, which continued for several Days, even to the end of this Month.

But this Wind which was beneficial to the Gallies of *Malta*, was so prejudicial and dangerous to the Palanders, as put them besides all their Works and Operations; so that instead of annoying the Town, they had Business enough to save themselves from sinking in the Seas, which the Northerly Winds drove violently upon them: So that now the Besiegers had nothing to annoy the Enemy, but what was thrown from the Forts erected on the Land.

Things in this manner not succeeding well on the *Venetian* side, some little encouragement was administered by the Arrival of the Provocitor General of the Seas, *Giovanni Cornaro*, who on the 5th of the Month of August, whilst the Doge was in person on the side of the Gardens, to invigorate, and by his presence to animate the Approaches against the Town, was discovered to double the Cape of *St. Angelo* with two Gallies, and a Galleet, and to bend his Course directly towards the Fleet. The Arrival of *Cornaro*, a person of so much Honour and Esteem, generally applauded in all parts, gave wonderful satisfaction to the Fleet and Army; for tho' the Gallies and Galleet he brought with him, could not contribute much to the Reinforcement of the Armata; yet the Reputation of such a person, renowned as well for his Bravery and Conduct, as for the fame of his Family and Ancestors, gave a general Satisfaction and Confidence to all the Forces.

It being observed by the Doge, that notwithstanding all their Endeavours, no great Advancement was made on the Town, and that the Defendants continued still resolute and unterrified, and therefore that something more effectual should be attempted upon them, to force them to a Surrender: It was ordered, that four of the greatest Ships should be appointed to batter the Town with their Cannon, whilst an Attempt should be made to burn their Galleets, Brigantines, and Londra's, which were drawn up close under the Walls: To execute this Enterprize, four Boats, or Pinnaces armed with Stout Resolute Scamen, Commanded by *Peter Ferrari*, were appointed to burn the Vessels lying under the Walls, and being furnished with Fireworks, were to make an Attack on them, under the Smoak of the Cannon, which were to play on the Town from the four Ships.

Things being all prepared for such an Enterprize, the Doge left his own, and mounted the Galley of *Pisani*, who was Captain of the Slaves condemned to the

1689. Oar, and thereon returned to the Garden
isle, to be a Spectator of the Action, know-
ing that his presence would much animate
and inspire Courage into the Assailants.
The next Day being the time appointed, a
Body of about 100 *Ultramarines*, were or-
dered in the Night to hide themselves un-
der some little Hills and Rocks called *Gra-*
baní, and at the Foot of one of the En-
emies Forts, to cover the Attack in case the
Turks should make a Sally from the Town.
But the Success did not answer the Expecta-
tion of the Martial Spirits of so many
brave Officers and Soldiers, who came
down in great Numbers to behold the per-
formance of this Action; the which was
absolutely defeated for want of the four
Ships, which were detained below by con-
trary Winds: Howsoever the Expectation
being great, the Officers on the shoar ap-
proached the Town nearer than was neces-
sary and safe, of which the *Turks* not neg-
lecting their Advantage, made many Shots
amongst them from the Walls, one of which
killed *Lorenzo Venier*, Captain Extraordina-
ry of the Ships, and *Michael Angelo Carac-*
cioli, a Cavalier of *Malta*, whilst they were
both in serious Discourse together, having
received the Mortal Blow on their Heads.
The Death of *Venier* was greatly lamented
not only by the Doge, but by the whole
Army, and indeed the Loss was general,
being one of the most able Citizens of *Ve-*
nicie, and the best Sea Captain belonging to
that Republick: And indeed it seemed, as
if an unhappy Constellation had been reign-
ing over him at that time, when being de-
sirous to be aboard for better direction of
the four Ships, the Doge permitted him
not, out of a regard to his Person, which
he did not think fit to adventure on so de-
perate a hazard, so that what was intended
for his Conservation, was turned to his
Loss and Destruction.

But this was not all the Misfortune; for
the *Turks* observing such a Concourse of
People, and from thence apprehending
some intention of an Assault, made a Sally,
not only from the Town, but from the
Rocks, under which the *Ultramarines* had
concealed themselves; where the *Turks* fall-
ing on them in the Rear, killed many of
them, and put the rest to Flight; and tho'
the Sergeant-Major *Tomaso Pompei*, with
some of his Men, came in to their Succour,
he got nothing thereby more than a Mus-
ket-shot in his Thigh, after which he was
forced to retreat.

After which unhappy Misfortune, the
Doge returned to his Ducal Gally greatly
afflicted for the Death of *Venier*; by which
the Ships wanting an Admiral, *Domenico*
Diego was substituted in his place, until the

return of *Pisani* from the Gulf of *Corinth*.
All which time the Forces sent to guard
that important Pass and Narrow leading in-
to the Morea, remained there without any
Action, the Seraskier not intending to make
any effort thereon for that Year; for that
his Eyes being fixed on *Negropont*, where
he expected that the *Venetians* should re-
new their Attempt, he judged that their
appearance before *Malvasia*, was nothing
but a Blind to divert him from the guard of
that important place.

Things not being very promising before
Malvasia, and little hopes to subdue it by
force, the Doge resolved to spend the re-
mainder of the Summer in cruising in the
Archipelago; but not to lose all the Fruits of
the preceding Labours, the Redoubt raised
at the Bridge was fortified and perfected,
and the other Forts strengthened with as ma-
ny Men and Cannon, as were esteemed
sufficient both to keep the Enemy from
Sallying out, or Provisions from entering in;
but before the Doge departed, four of the
greatest Ships were ordered to batter the
Town, and give a farewell to them with
their biggest Cannon: The which being
performed within Musket-shot, ruined al-
most all the Suburbs, yet not without some
Loss aboard the Ships by the Enemies
Small-shot from the Walls.

The Preparations for securing the Block-
ade of the Town being perfected, and the
Work of Careening, Walling, and Tallow-
ing of the *Venetian*, and *Maltese* Gallies
being ended, it was concluded necessary to
execute the former resolution of sailing up
the *Archipelago*, to the Gulph of *Negropont*,
wherely the Seraskier might be alarmed,
and amused so far as to keep his Forces on
that side, and without farther attempt, to
pass the Streight of *Corinth* into the *Morea*;
and that in the mean time all things might
be secured before *Malvasia*, four Gallies were
appointed to remain there, under the Com-
mand of *Frederico Bembo*, and Colonel *Fabio*
Lanoia to maintain the first Fortresses, and
Colonel *Carlo Montanari* the second, with their
respective Regiments.

All things being thus ordained, and a-
greed, the Doge weighed Anchor in the
Night, and endeavoured to get out, but
the Winds being contrary, he was forced
to return back again to an Anchor; as the
like happened also the next Day, not only
by contrary Winds, but by some Misunder-
standings between the Vessels of the Van-
Guard. But what was worse than all the
former Misfortunes, the Doge was seized
with such a violent Fever, as confined him
to his Bed, in which the Physicians discov-
ered very dangerous Symptoms of a long
Distemper. Moreover some unhappy Re-
ports

ports were then flying abroad, That the Cap-
tain *Pafia* was come out, and roving upon
the Seas in the *Archipelago* with 14 Gallies,
31 Ships, including those of *Barbary*, and
18 Gallies, with design to raise *Carach*, or
Contributions from the Islands: But no
great credit was given to that Report, by
reason that the Season of the Year was so
far advanced, that it seemed rather time to
lay up Vessels in Harbour, than to begin a
new Expedition. Howsoever the News
hereof, and the Distemper of the Doge in-
creasing, which the Physicians termed a
Relapse, and therefore more dangerous, de-
claring also that the change of Air would be
the most proper Remedy for the Distemper,
it was resolved, That the Charge and Com-
mand of the Fleet, should be committed to
the Conduct of that Wife and Prudent Cav-
alier *Cornaro* the Provéditeur-General of the
Seas, whose Vice-Admiral was *Carlo Pisani*,
and Rear-Admirals *Bartolomeo Gredeningo*,
and *Giovanni Pizzamano*; to whom also the Gal-
ley of *Ludovico Balbi* designed for *Dalma-*
tia was joyned, together with the Gallies of
Malta, which being according to the Sea-
son of the Year, recalled home; the Admi-
ral with that Squadron, sailed with the *Ve-*
netians, esteeming it a great Honour to ac-
company the Doge on that occasion, so far
as his Way and Courte would admit.

In this manner the Doge, whose Illness
increased, for fail the 15th of September, and
directing his Course towards *Venice*, came
the next Day in sight of *Coron*, and passing
at no great distance from *Modon*, they An-
chored that Night at *Prodawo*, and the next
Day in the Road of *Zant*; where having
remained all that Day, they Anchored the
next Day in *Port Piscardo* upon the Island of
Cefalonia, and the following Day at *Corfu*.
We omit all the Ceremonies which passed
between the Armata, and the Officers of the
several Cities, and Countries by which they
sailed; as also the short stay made at *Calopo*,
where Prayers and Money were offered at
the Miraculous Image of our Lady, for the
Health and Recovery of the Doge; and
here it was not far from the Rock of *Jasse-*
mo, that the Gallies of *Malta* taking their
leave of the *Venetian* Fleet, returned to
their own Country: From *Calopo* they came
to the Entrance of *Cattaro*, where they had
intelligence, that *Alexander Molino*, Provi-
diteur-General in that Province, was return-
ed from *Narenta*, having failed of the De-
sign he undertook in those Parts, by reason
that the *Morlacks* had not executed his Or-
ders.

On the 28th they came in sight of *Ra-*
gusi, from whence the Senate sent off five of
their principal Gentlemen to Complement
the Doge; but by reason of his Indisposi-

tion they were introduced to the Presence of
the Lieutenant-General, to whom, with
sentible Expressions of their Sorrow for
the Indisposition of His Most Serene High-
ness, they declared the great Honour and
Deference they conferred for the Most Se-
rene Republick of *Venice*, being extremely
sorry, that they should be deprived of the
satisfaction of laying themselves at the Feet
of His Highness: After which they made
their Presents of all sorts of Refreshments,
such as Confects, Fowl, Fruit, Wax, Herbs,
and Ice, with whatsoever else might be ac-
ceptable at Sea.

The 1st of October they Anchored before
the City and Castle of *Spalato*, the strong-
est *Venetian* Garrison that is on the *Dalma-*
tian Shoar, commanded by *Bartolomeo Gri-*
tti, who with the Archbishop attended with
many Followers, came to the fide of the
Ducal Galley, where they were received by
the Lieutenant-General. And here it was
thought fit to pass the *Quarantene*, which is
observed with indispensable Rigour by all
Vessels coming from the *Levant*; for which
this being esteemed a commodious place,
Orders were given for fitting and preparing
the *Lazarete*, and to provide it with all
things necessary, and with faithful and di-
ligent Guardians.

And here it was that the Doge having all
things fitly accommodated for him, went
ashore to enjoy something of Repose and
Rest, being much weakened by his Sickness
and Fatigues of his Voyage. From hence
was dispatched an Expreß to the Senate, to
give them notice, that the Doge resolved
to make his Contumacia at that Place, and
was already entered into *Quarantene*. In
answer unto which, the Senate dispatched
one of their Ducal Letters to signify their Pleasure,
that the Doge might continue to finish his
Quarantene at *Spalato*; to which end the
Prior, and Overseers of the Health, were
dispatched from *Venice* to take care that all
things relating to that Matter, should be
performed with due Care and Punctuality;
and accordingly all things were inspected
by them, whether of Goods or Merchan-
dize, and nothing of rigour omitted with
the least respect to the Person of the Doge,
or his Retinue.

At the beginning of November, News
was brought to *Spalato*, That the Provi-
diteur-General *Molino*, had succeeded in his
Design against *Trebigne*, having possessed
himself in that Country of 10 Towers, of
which he had demolished seven, and retain-
ed three, into which he had put some For-
ces, which might serve to incommode the
Turks in their Excursions.

During the time of this *Quarantene*, no-
thing passed at *Spalato*, but only Triumphs
and

But with-
out effect.

Venier
of Carac-
cioli kil-
led.

Are great-
ly surpris-
ed.

The *Turks*
make a
sally.

Some *Ul-*
tramar-
ines put
to flight.

The Doge
recovers
home.

The Ship
batter the
town.

The Gallies
of Malta
separate
from the
fleet.

The Doge
sick of a
fever.

1689.
Septemb.
The Doge
at Ragusi.

October 3d

The Doge
makes his
Quaran-
tene at
Spalato.

November.

1689. Lewis of Baden against the Turks, and for the Election of Cardinal Ottoboni to the Papal Throne, under the Name of Alexander VIII. Letters also were brought from the Ports of *Malvasia*, of the 4th of October, That the General of the Seas *Cornaro*, departed from thence the 23d of September, with the Gallies under his Command; having left four Gallies behind for Guards under Rear-Admiral *Bembo*, and 10 Ships under *Marco Pisani*; and that since the Departure of the Doge, about 30 Persons had made their escape out of *Malvasia*, declaring the great Misery which was in the City, besides the raging Diseases of Fluxes and Convulsions.

In performance of the *Quarantene* the Month of November passed, and an entrance made into the Month of December, by which the Doge being returned to a better State of Health, and all the Gallies well refreshed, and in a good Condition, and supplied with Provisions, come from *Venice*; and all things put into a Posture for Sailing; Praticca was given to the whole Fleet, (that is, a License of Converse and Communication) by the Officers of Health; and next Day being the 17th of December, Anchors were weighed, and the Doge proceeded on his Voyage towards *Venice*, where he arrived about the end of this Month; with which the Year expiring, we shall not need to describe the glorious Reception of the Doge into the Palace of St. Mark, with all the Pomp and Magnificence which the Riches, and fervent affection of this celebrated City, and Wife Senate could confer on a Prince so famous and deserving as this: And so let us proceed to the following Year.

Anno 1690.

1690. **T**HUS far had the Affairs of *Christendom* succeeded prosperously against the Turks; for tho' the *Venetians* had for the two last Years performed no great Feats, yet the Imperial Arms under the Conduct of Prince *Lewis of Baden*, had been Prosperous even to a Miracle; but now the *German* Empire being furiously Attacked within the Bowels of it by the Arms of *France*, and for the several Princes to provide for their own Safety, and guard their own Countries, for which reason many of the *German* Troops being called out of *Hungary*, the main Burden of the War fell upon the Emperor, and was carried on with various Success, tho' for the most part Prosperous, whilst his Affairs were under the

Auspicious Government of that Valiant 1690. and Renowned General Prince *Lewis of Baden*.

This Month of January began not very favourably on the *Christian* side; for the Prince of *Holstein* hearing that the Turks miserably destroyed the Countries round about, he marched to *Prisferen*, with some Troops to meet them, and thence, not being able to spare many Forces, he detached the Prince of *Hanover*, and Colonel *Straffer*, to relieve the Pass of *Caffeneck*, which was said to be besieged by the Turks: On the 1st of January, when they decamped from before *Prisferen* or *Prissina*, their Troops consisted of 120 Foot, drawn from the Regiment of *Alpremont*; 80 of *Aversperg's*, five Companies of Dragoons of the Prince of *Hanover's* Regiment, eight Troops of Horse of *Holstein*, six Troops of Horse of *Hanover*, four Troops of Horse of the Regiment of *Strum*; all which did not amount unto more than 1600 Men, with which they marched so diligently, that the next Day they arrived near *Caffeneck*, in sight of the Enemy; their Orders were not to approach too near, nor advance too far, until they had well observed the true strength of the Enemy, and discovered whether they were so strong as had been reported: Accordingly they at first posted themselves with their Backs to a Morals, and planted four Field-Pieces against the Enemy, who durst not Attack them in that Place; but keeping within the Hills and Woods, they detached 1000 *Tartars* into the open Fields, upon sight of which, Colonel *Straffer* quitting his Advantageous Post, forced them to retreat with the Death of some of them; but the *Germans* being now in the open Field, and not able to retreat, they found themselves surrounded on all sides with 30000 of the Enemy, against which having sustained a Battle from Nine in the Morning, till Three in the Afternoon, and having spent all their Powder and Ammunition, they were at last totally defeated.

In this Fight the Prince of *Hanover*, Colonel *Straffer*, Count *Solari*, with most of the Officers, and many of the Common Soldiers were killed on the Place, most of the Prisoners being wounded, died; all their Colours, Kettle-Drums, &c. were taken by the Enemies; nevertheless 6 or 700 Men, by help of the Night, and of Woods and Mountains, came safe to *Belgrade*, from whence they were dispatched to their Regiments.

This News being brought the same Night to the Prince of *Holstein* unto *Prissina*, he retreated from thence to *Nissa*, leaving behind all the Forage and Baggage of the Regiment of *Strum*.

On

1690. On the 4th the Regiment of *Piccolomini*, which was to join with *Straffer*, having no Advice of the Defeat, came near to *Caffeneck*, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel Count *Montecelli*, so soon as he came in sight of the *Tartars*, they immediately Invested him, but he very prudently retreated towards a Morals, over which there was a Bridge; so on the other side whereof he commanded a Lieutenant with 30 Horse to guard that end of the Bridge, until he put himself in a Posture to fight on the other side. After some time the *Tartars* attacked them on both sides, the Lieutenant with 30 Men defended himself for a good while; until being over-powered, he was relieved by two Companies sent to his Assistance, who on both sides defended themselves valiantly until Night, that under shelter of the Darkness, they made their Retreat; the *Tartars* followed them with great noise for the space of an Hour, but could not put them into disorder; so about Midnight, they arrived at *Prissina*, which Place they found Abandoned; but having refreshed themselves and their Horses there for a while, they proceeded to *Procopia* with the loss only of about 30 Men, and one Captain and some wounded, their Baggage was not with them, they having sent it to *Pozza*, and *Novibassa*, which afterwards fell into the Hands of the Enemy, with most of those which accompanied it, the rest saved themselves in the Woods.

By this time *Veterani* who was appointed General in the Place of *Piccolomini* deceased, arrived at *Nissa* from *Transilvania*, with some Troops; which being a Place open to the Attack of the Enemy, and much feared, they caused the Garrison and Inhabitants to work Night and Day upon the Fortifications; *Veterani* also provided *Pyrot*, *Procopia*, *Mustapha* Palace, being Passes, with all Necessaries, and demolished *Cassova*, *Albania*, and some other little Places, from whence he withdrew the Soldiers to strengthen Places of greater moment.

The Pass *Caffeneck* which was Besieged, (wherein was a Garrison of 180 Men) and before which the Turks had raised a Battery of seven Guns, defended it self several Days, and at length surrendered on Conditions, one of which was that they should be conducted to *Belgrade*.

Whilst things were acting on this side, Colonel *Corbelli*, who commanded the Blockade of great *Waradin*, received Advice that the Turks at *Bellingsb* had provided a great Number of Cattle, and 100 Waggon with Provisions, under a strong Convoy, to be put into *Waradin* for relief of the City, whereupon making a Detachment of 200 Horse, 300 Dragoons, 300 *Hussars*, and

200 *Heydakers*, he marched therewith towards *Bellingsb*; but those of the Place *Waradin*, withdrew all their Provisions into the Castle; so that the original Design of *Corbelli* was defeated, yet not to return empty, he stormed and entered the Palace, where after the Slaughter of several Turks, he plundered, and carried away every thing that was in it: He could not Attack the Castle which was well fortified, for want of Cannon; and therefore having destroyed the *Palanca*, with the Gardens thereabouts, he returned back with good Booty.

On the 15th *Tekeli* with his Men, and 2000 Turks, arrived near *Oraviza*, with a design to Attack *Temiswarer*; but he miscarried therein, and was forced to retreat.

On the other side the Governor of *Lippa*, Captain *Christopher Morris*, with Captain *Baltasar*, having under them 100 *Hussars*, 100 Horse of *Heisler's*, and 100 Dragoons, marched towards *Temiswarer*, with design to surprise some Turks in the Villages thereabouts, but meeting with none, they proceeded until they came in sight of the City; leaving the greatest part of their Troops in Ambuscade at some distance from them: Upon their Approach, the Turks sallied out with Horse and Foot, and posted themselves in a hollow Way, where the *Germans*, under the cover of a Mist or Fog, attacked them, the *Hussars* falling upon their Horse, and the Dragoons on the Janizaries, with such bravery, that they put them to flight; after having killed above 300 on the Place, and taken several Prisoners, and having only four Men killed, and nine wounded, they retired back again to *Lippa*.

About this time 50 Soldiers having deserted the Service of *Tekeli*, took the Oaths of Fidelity to the Emperor, and were sent to *Prissina* to recruit the Garrison of that Pass, consisting of some Imperial, and *Rossian* Troops. These Deserters gave Intelligence to General *Veterani*, that Sultan *Galgala* the *Tartars*, was designed in a few Days to join with *Tekeli*, and to make an Invasion into *Transilvania*; upon which, Orders were given to work on the Fortifications on the Frontiers, with all diligence: And now Advice came to *Nissa*, that the Turks had burnt *Uranic*, with all the Villages round that Place; as also *Cassova*, and the adjacent Places near to *Prissina*; but some little time before this piece of Execution was performed, the Turks had allured the poor Peasants, with their Wives and Children, to return from the Woods and Mountains, to their own Dwellings, where they promised them Quietness, Protection, and Safety; but the *Tartars* not having been concerned in this

The Prince's escape out of the Doge.

Decemb.

The Doge's departure from Spalato, and arrival at Venice.

1690. January.

January. Corbelli's Army, the Palace of Bellingsb.

The Germans get Advice.

The Tartars have burnt the Village of the poor People.

1690. this Guaranty, the poor People were no sooner returned to their Habitations, but they were barbarously attacked by the *Tartars*, who killed all the Old Men and Women, and carried away the Young of both Sexes into Captivity: After this unhamane Butchery Sultan *Galga* retreated with most of his Hords to *Sophia*, and thence by way of *Nicopolis* he made all the haste possible to return for *Budeziack*, because he had received

Thy return to Budeziack.

Advices, That the *Moscovites* with a very numerous Army, were on the Frontiers, ready to Invade his Country; but his March was not so hasty, but that he had time, after the *Tartarian* Fashion, to destroy the Province of *Schnepoli*; and to kill, and assassinate all the Country People that they met; and tho' this Retreat of the *Tartars* was Unfortunate to these poor Wretches, yet thereby General *Veterani* was delivered from his Apprehensions for *Nissa*; which was howsoever labouring under great want of Ammunition, and Provision of all forts; and how to supply them was not as yet resolved. For tho' the Country of *Schnepoli* had engaged to furnish *Nissa* with a good quantity of all sorts of Provisions, yet being now burnt and destroyed by the *Tartars*; and the remainder of what was left pillaged by the *Turks*, there could be no expectation of any supply from thence: And as to what was to be conveyed to them from *Belgrade*, by reason of the Winter Weather, Snows, and tired Cattle, came so slowly over the Mountains, that General *Veterani*, and the other chief Officers, had Abandoned the Place, had not some Horses at the very instant arrived at *Nissa* with 50 Waggons, all laden with Provisions and Ammunition, together with four Pieces of Cannon which had been taken out of the Fort of *Jagodina*, and great Quantities of Flour, and Oats, much more of which was daily expected, by which Storcs, tho' *Nissa* was abundantly relieved, yet the Fortifications proceeded more slowly than was fit for a Frontier Garrison, exposed to the main and chief Power of the Enemy.

Thus things stood at *Nissa*, when the Blockade of *Caniffa* was so narrowly watched and observed, that the Garrison began to be reduced to the utmost Extremity; so that the People would have forced the *Palha* to Capitulate; but he remaining resolute to endure the last Extremity, periwaded them with Presents, and fair Words, to a longer Patience: But the Inferiour and Subaltern Officers not enduring longer, dispatched a Messenger, (without making the *Palha*, or Janizar-Aga privy to their Design) with Letters to the Grand Vizier, desiring that he would either take some Measures for the

Relief of the Place, or to send his Orders to the *Palha* for the Surrender thereof; but this Express was not got far from the Town, before he was overtaken, brought back and Executed; but such was the Misery in the Town, that he who could escape, got out, amongst which was a *Turkish* Imam, or Priest, and an *Aralian Jew*, who reported, That about *Palm-Sunday*, the City would Capitulate, which afterwards proved true accordingly.

In the mean time the *Czats* made an Invasion into *Bosnia*, burnt *Kazars*, and took some Hundreds of small and great Cattle: Howsoever in their Retreat being pursued by the *Turks* of *Bannalaca*, and Attacked by them near the *Save*, some of the Cattle were recovered, several of their Men killed, 15 Prisoners, and five Horses taken.

And about the same time the Governour of *Novi* having gotten together a small Body of Men drawn out of that Garrison, and that of *Zim*, made an Incurfion into the Enemies Country, where he burnt *Ostrovitz*, *Ztergarick* the Little, and the Great *Badick*, with Houses belonging to Gentlemen in the Country, in which Expedition they killed about 200 of the Enemy, took 76 Prisoners, 100 Head of Cattle, 32 Horses, and much other Booty, and all this with the loss of one Man killed, and 10 wounded.

In revenge hereof, the *Turks* of *Novi-March* Port, Attacked with a strong Party, some *German* Horses, as they were Foraging abroad, but were so warmly received by *Brunati* the Governour of *Lecoviza*, and with such Valour, that the *Turks* were put to the Rout, and forced to fly, leaving 20 of their Men dead on the Place.

Whilst Matters thus passed with various Successes, there were some Fears of the Conflagration and Steadiness of the *Rafians* towards the Emperor, but those Apprehensions were soon taken away by *Antonio* their Captain, who being sent by General *Veterani*, to take a View of all the Passes round about, reported at his return, That he had met within the Pass of *Priffina*, with one *Haram Bassa*, who in the Name of all the Inhabitants of *Coloff*, *Moloch*, *Letaners*, *Jud to the Emperor*, and *Gaas*, had assured him of the Faith and Allegiance of those People to the Emperor, having refused the Protection of the *Turks*, which had been offered to them: And hereof they soon gave a Testimony by an Assault they had made on a Party of 500 *Turks*, under the Command of the *Palha* of *Ostrolub*, in their March towards the Castle of *Zwetfey*, situate in the Pass of *Bosna*, in which they killed 60 Men, took four Prisoners, and 90 Horses, of which 30 were laden with Flour, besides a great Booty of other

1690. other things. On the other side *Mahomet* *March* *Palha* roved round about the Country of *Novi Passar*, burning and destroying all the remaining Villages, killing the Country People that they met with, and acting all the Cruelties that Fire and Sword could execute.

But what was of most importance at this time, was the Surrender of the strong City and Fortrefs of *Caniffa*, having been reduced thereunto by Famine, after a long and severe Blockade, by which being brought to such Extremities, that not being able to support themselves any longer, the *Palha* on the 16th of *March*, sent out two Aga's to the *Christian* Army to treat with the Commanders of the Blockade, who were Count *Adam Bathiani*, and Count *Stephen Zitebi*: to whom being conducted by Lieutenant Colonel *Pistorski*, after the usual Complements had been passed on both sides, the *Turks* desired that four Weeks might be granted them to make their Surrender; offering in case no Succours came to them within that time, they would then resign the City into the Hands of the Emperor's Generals, with all the Cannon and Ammunition therein, (four Guns only excepted) which they pretended to carry with them: But in regard it was then late in the Evening, when these Offers were delivered, the Messengers were kept all Night in the Camp, and well treated; and the next Morning a Council of War being called, an Answer was returned them to this Effect. 'That it being well known, that neither in four Weeks, nor in four Years, any Relief, or Succour could be expected for them; and that tho' their Extremities were so evident, that they were certainly assured they could not subsist any longer, yet that they might taste of the Grace and Clemency of the Emperor, they promised them their Lives, (provided they should Surrender themselves in the space of 24 Hours:.) With which Answer the two Aga's returned back to the City, on which some Consultation being there had on the 19th, three *Turks* were sent out again to the *Christian* Army, declaring to the Generals, in the Name of the *Palha* and the Garrison; 'That tho' they were still furnished with four Months Provision in the Town, yet they would no longer refuse the Clemency of His Imperial Majesty, but deliver up the City unto him. And for the further management of this Treatise, they proposed, That three *German* and *Hungarian* Officers might be sent into the Town for Hostages, in lieu of five *Turks*, who should be employed to Capitulate in the Army. The *Christians* having assented hereunto, the three Messengers

Caniffa treated.

Answer to the Garrison of Caniffa.

the flaggs given.

were next Day returned with this Answer. 'That the Clemency of His Imperial Majesty was such, that he never desired to shed the Blood of his Enemies, when they implored his Mercy; and that the General *Bathiani* had full Power to pardon them, which he was ready to do, on Condition that they Surrendered the Place in the space of 24 Hours. With this Answer the *Turks* returning to the Town, they desired a third Conference on the 21st; the which, after a long Dispute, was granted, and agreed, That five *Turks*, of which the Janizar-Aga should be one, should come into the Camp; and that in the Place of them, a *German* and two *Hungarian* Officers should be sent for Pledges into the City. This being performed on the 22d Day, these following Capitulations were agreed and signed.

Capitulations Agreed.

I. THAT whatsoever is belonging to the Arsenal, and Publick Stores, either of Provision, Ammunition, Cannon, or other Arms should be delivered to the Imperial Commissaries, to whom all all Mines made about the City should be discovered.

II. That the Prisoners on both sides, should be released without Ransom.

III. That all the Inhabitants of the City, and Strangers, shall have liberty to march out with their Arms, Moveables, Cloaths, Servants, Children, Horses, and all other Cattle, who shall have safe Passage, and Conduet into the *Ottoman* Dominions, but without Flying Colours, or Sound of Drum: Notwithstanding which, in case any of the *Rafians* who are in pay of the *Turks*, should freely desire to come over to the *Christians*, they shall not be hindered, either on the Score of Debt, or any other Pretence whatsoever.

IV. All *Christian* Renegadoes, who shall be desirous to return unto their Ancient Faith, shall have liberty to do it, and no *Christian* Children be privately conveyed away.

V. A sufficient Number of Waggons, shall be allowed to the *Turks* to carry them to the Water-side, and from thence Boats to Transport them into the *Turkish* Dominions.

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March.

'VI. That so soon as these Capitulations shall be Signed, the Imperialists shall immediately be put into Possession of the Palanca, our Out-work, called *Bafchlar Kapesi*; in which the *Turks* shall have liberty to sell what they please of their Goods, or to carry them away.

'VII. That so soon as the Imperial Ratification shall be returned, the *Turks* shall immediately quit the City, and begin their Journey.

'VIII. The *Turks* shall deliver to the Imperial Commissaries all the Tax-Registers in *Caniſa*, with such Books as concern the Military Salaries paid from *Bosnia*, and other Districts depending on *Caniſa*, with the Tefter, or an account of such Revenues which the Janizaries usually pay, and Receive out of the Homage, and Tributary Countries.

'IX. That the People of *Caniſa* shall be Conveyed with a sufficient Number of Officers and Soldiers, unto the first *Turkish* Fortrels, leaving howsoever behind them the Hostages at the last *Christian* Fortrels, until the return of the Convo.

'X. That during the March Provisions shall be furnished to the *Turks* at moderate Prices.

With these Capitulations, the Imperial Councillor of War, called *Pozo*, the Aga, and two more *Turkish* Officers, were on the 24th dispatched to *Vienno* to have the Capitulations Ratified and Signed with the Imperial Firm; they arrived on the 30th, and the next Day had an Audience of Count *Starcmberg*, President of the Council of War, to whom they delivered the Capitulation; and on the first of April it was returned back again to them Signed by the Emperor, who was graciously pleased to make a Present therewith unto the Aga, of a Watch set with Diamonds.

April.

With this Ratification the Aga being returned, which was on the 3d of April, it was resolved by the *Palha*, and other Officers in the *Draun*, immediately to put the *Christians* into Possession of one of the Gates of the City; which by the 12th, they fully quitted; and the next Day the *Palha* being on Horseback, attended with some *Turks* on Foot, delivered unto General *Bathani* the Keys of the Town in a gilded Basin hanging on a Gold Chain. The *Palha* indeed expected, that the General should have alighted from his Horse to re-

ceive them, but the General refusing to receive them in such a manner, as a Condescension too inferior to the Dignity of His Imperial and Victorious Master, the *Palha* insisted no farther thereupon, but presenting the Key, said, *I deliver unto you the Key of a Fortrel, the like whereof there is none in all the Turkish Empire.*

This being done, the General went into the City to visit the Fortifications, and afterwards entertained the *Palha*, the Aga of the Janizaries, and *Zorbage* Aga at Dinner, with some others. Then the Garrison marched out, consisting of 600 *Turks*, which with the Inhabitants, made in all 4000 Souls; the which were conducted into the Dominions of the *Turks*, according to the Capitulation.

It seems that this strong City was surrendered rather by Divisions amongst themselves, than for want of Provisions: On the Walls were mounted 56 Brafs, and 10 Iron Cannon, the most part of them made in the time of the Emperors *Maximilian I.* and *II.*, and of *Charles V.* and *Ferdinand I.* In the Magazine, or Store-house under the Governor's Palace, were found 1540 Muskets, and in the Arsenal 2200 more, with much Lead, Cannon, and Musquet-Bullets, Swords, Granadoes, with all sorts of Arms and Warlike Instruments in great abundance.

Caniſa, or *Caniſa*, is situate on a River towards the Frontiers of *Syria*, near the *Drave*, and not far from the Fort *Seriu*; it is so environed on all sides with a Morass, or Marsh, that no Army can lie near it, which renders the Town almost impregnable, and inaccessible, notwithstanding it was taken by the *Turks* in the Year 1600.

The next Year following *Mathias* Arch-Duke of *Austria* Besieged it in the Month of September, but was forced to retire after a Siege of two Months.

In the Year 1664, at the beginning of it, in the Month of January, Count *Serini*, by favour of the Frosts, which gave him some Footing on the Morass, after he had taken *Quinque Ecclesia*, and some other Places, and had burnt *Sighet*, he besieged *Caniſa*, which he had infallibly taken, if they had sent him the Succours which were promised him; but as I have related in my former History, so great a Faction was against him at the Imperial Court, that they were not willing to see him prosperous, but chose rather to Sacrifice the Publick Welfare to Private Animofities; but the expected Recruits not arriving at the appointed time, and the Year coming on, the Ice was Thawed, and the Great Vizier advancing with a Powerful Army, the Count *Serini* being under all these Discouragements,

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April.

ments, was forced to raise his Siege and be gone.

General *Peterani* in the mean time whilst things were thus acting at *Caniſa*, being much distressed for want of Provisions, ordered the Garrisons of *Leſcovitz* and *Pyrnth*, to make Incursions into the *Turkish* Territories, which they performed so effectually, that they returned back with more than 1000 Head of Cattle; the which being divided amongst the Regiments, such as were fit for the Slaughter were killed, and the rest employed for drawing the Waggon laden with Ammunition and Provisions.

On the other side the *Turks* surprized a Village near *Belgrade*, which they Plundered and Burnt, killing, or carrying away Captives all the Inhabitants of the Place.

But the Garrison of *Pyrnth* being much animated with their late Success, made another Incursion, as far as within three Leagues of *Philippopolis*, burning the Villages, and killing the *Turks* which they met in their way; but at length being pursued by 1000 *Turks*, they drew themselves up into good order, and posting themselves advantageously on the rising of a Hill, they engaged the Enemy for two Hours space; during which time, 30 *Turks* were killed, and many wounded, and 28 Prisoners taken, with which and some Hundreds of Cattle, they returned safe to *Pyrnth*. In like manner 100 *Germans* and some *Hussars* belonging to the Garrison of *Zoluck*, encountered a Party of 160 *Turks*, and Male-contents, which belonged to *Gizla*, and having engaged them, they killed 20 of them, took 60 Prisoners, of which 16 were of the Male-contents, the remainder throwing themselves into the River, were for the most part drowned.

During this Season of the Year, before the Grats was sufficiently grown, no other Actions passed, but only by Parties sent abroad to surprize Cattle, and burn Villages. Amongst the rest, a Party of *Rascians* having roved over the Country of *Schneppol*, returned back to *Nissa* with a Booty of several Hundred Head of Cattle, and some Yokes of Oxen, taken near to *Sophia*; the which Successes still attending the Imperial Arms, the Country People on all sides offered to embrace the Imperial Party, and implore their Protection so soon as the *Christian* Army should take the Field.

On the other side *Mahomet Bugowitz* *Palha*, who had some time quietly Quartered at *Pozo*, (having left 1500 Men for Garrison in that Place) he marched out with a Party of about 4000 Men, towards the Pass of *Bosnia*, but having in his March received Intelligence, that Captain *Antonio* attended him in the way, and was ready to receive him, returned and marched towards *Bagnia*,

from whence also by reason of the great Snows, he was forced to retreat back to *Pozo*, without any Action.

Little more was acted now, as we have said but by Parties, of which *Kathana* *Palha* commanding one, he made an Incursion therewith into the Neighbourhood of *Pyrnth*, where he took several straggling *Hussars*. Another Party of *Hungarians* to the Number of about 20, commanded by that Valiant *Hungarian* Captain, called *Baudi*, which had made a bold Incursion, and roved about 14 Days beyond *Sophia*, near to *Philippopolis*, were at length attacked by a strong Body of *Turks*, with which having fought for a considerable time, were at last overpowered, and all of them cut off, (two only excepted) who made their Escape to *Nissa*.

On the other side a Party from *Belgrade* surprized a Body of *Turks*, the most of which they killed, or took Prisoners. Likewise a Party of *Rascians* made an Excursion as far as *Bagnia* in *Bosnia*, where they killed 20 *Turks*, and took 12 Prisoners, with 400 Head of Cattle: Besides which, those who guarded the Blockade of *Great Waradine*, beat a Party of the Enemy, brought home 11 Heads, and eight Prisoners. Another Party of 500 *Hussars*, and 40 *German* Dragoons, made a Sally out of *Sclavonia* under the Command of Lieutenant *Bonias*, and passed the *Save*; and having in their way an Information that the *Turkish* Garrison belonging to the strong Fortrels of *Teuckach* was fallen abroad, having only left eight Men, and 15 Women therein; they attacked and entered the Fort early in the Morning, with the loss of fix of their Men killed, and eight wounded; of the *Turks*, four of the eight, with the Women, saved themselves in a Tower, from whence the Women threw Fire, and Stones, and hot scalding Water, but at length were forced to surrender, and leave the Place to the mercy of the Enemy, in which they found a good Booty of *Turkish* Horses, and other rich Goods, and therewith repassed the *Save*, having left four Troops of *Eteydukes* for defence of the Place.

The Season of the Year being now far advanced towards the Summer, and things preparing for greater Action; the *German* Officers were very intent, and studious in what manner to conserve *Nissa*; for which they had great reason to be apprehensive, for that according to the Reports of all those who lately came from *Adrianople*, and of such Defectors who came out from the *Turkish* Quarters; the *Turks* were become much more numerous than the last Year, and were marching on purpose to make *Nissa* the first Achievement and Design of their

B b b 2

1690. their Conquest. But what could be done for Conservation of that Place, was not omitted; all the Old Works were repaired, and several New ones completed; and the River *Morava* being with much Expence and Labour made Navigable, great Quantities of Provisions, and Materials necessary for War were brought down by that Water to *Nissa*, so that nothing was wanting for Conservation of the Place, unless a greater Garrison within, and a more numerous Army without.

About this time a small fort of Venomous Flies swarmed about *Nissa*, which killed many Horſes, Cattle, Camels, and Mules. I remember in a Journey I once made through those Countries in the Month of *May*, that we were much infested with this sort of Animals, which was the smallest Fly that ever I did ſee, covered with a thin Fluff, or Down; which would not touch the Flesh of a Man, but Horſes, Camels, Mules, &c. were killed by them. Whereſoever they fixed on the Sides of a Horſe, or any other Part, they would draw a Blister as big as an Egg; and entering into the Noſtrils, immediately poisoned the Brain, which caused a sudden Death to the Beast; but hereof I have diſcourſed more at large in a former History, to which I refer the Reader.

Tho' the great Armies were not as yet in the Field, yet Parties were roving in all Parts and Places, the Weather becoming moderate according to the Season, and the Grats grown; the *Turks* encamped near *Gradiska*, where they ſtaid a while in expectation of ſome Troops to join with them, and therewith to paſs the *Sava* into *Sclavonia*, with no other Deſign than to ruine and ſpoil the Country; but Baron *Konſieck* having Advice therof, marched from *Brod*, with all the *Huſſars*, and *Heydukes* which were Quartered in the adjacent Villages unto a Place where the River is fordable, and therefore the moſt likely place where they might deſign to paſs; by which not only the Paſſage of the *Turks* was obſtructed, but News coming to them that the *Craats* were fallen into their Country on the other ſide, they quitted their firſt Deſign, and came to oppoſe the *Craats*, who were too quick for them, having taken great Booty, and committed a vaſt Spoil before the *Turks* could come in to the Succour of their Country.

About the ſame time one *Herhovich*, a *Dalmatian* Captain, marched ſix Days Journey beyond *Nissa* into the Enemies Country, whence he ſurprized and Plundered, and returned back with the Heads of ſeveral *Turks*, and ſome Priſoners. The ſame Captain ſoon afterwards having recruited himſelf with ſome more Troops, fell upon *Berkowitz*, in which was a Garriſon of a-

bout 127 *Turks*, provided with all things necessary for defence of the Place, being fortified on a very advantageous Situation, but coming upon them by Surprize, the Place was taken, and all the Men put to the Sword, except ſome few, who made their Escape; the Booty was conſiderable, beſides 90 *Turkiſh* Women, four Standards, and two pair of Kettle-Drums.

In like manner a Captain of the Garriſon of *Pyroth* roving abroad, and ſeeking his Fortune, met near to *Sophia* with 20 Horſes laden with Nails, Iron, and ſeveral Warlike Inſtruments, he ſeized them all, and killed 19 *Turks*, and took one Priſoner alive, who in the Night making his Escape, gave Intelligence therof to *Sophia*, from whence a Party being commanded out, they overtook the *Germans*, and fought with them, but the *Germans* behaved themſelves ſo well, that they forced the *Turks* to leave them, and ſuffer them to eſcape with the Booty they had gained.

At this time alſo ſome Sea Robbers landed in the Bay of *Vola*, and made an Incurſion into the Territories of *Macedonia* near *Monaffir*, burning and ſpoiling all the Country; whiſt another Party of them, to the number of about 600 Men, made a Sally towards *Stippo*, where they ſurprized 500 *Turks*, and put them all to the Sword, without Quarter given to any one; but the Inhabitants they carried away Priſoners, and made uſe of them for Slaves in the Hills and Mountains.

Nor were things more quiet in *Hungary*, where ſeveral Skirmiſhes happened to the Loſs and Damage of the *Turks*; and particularly the Soldiers of the Garriſon, and thoſe of the Blockade had an Encounter, and the latter returned Victorious, with 16 Priſoners, 22 Heads, 49 Horſes, and ſome Cattle.

Moreover Count *Corbelli* ſent out a Party of 500 Horſe, which met, and ſurrounded a Party of *Turks*, of which they killed three or four of the Chief Commanders, with 70 private Soldiers, took 10 Priſoners, and many Horſes; in which Action 12 Men were ſlain and wounded, and 22 Horſes killed.

Moreover 3000 *Raſcians* under the Command of Captain *Antonio*, and 200 *Germans* under *Rusbach*, a Captain of *Hanover*, arrived one Morning about Break of Day near *Bernia*; from which a Detachment being made of five Troops of *Raſcians*, being with ſome *German* Muſqueteers; having their Van-Guard led by *Artiller* Adjutant-General of *Piccolomini*, and three Lieutenants, pulled forward into the City without any Hale or Heſitation, or regard to the Troops which followed, with ſuch

1690. Courage and Valour, that the *Turks* being ſurprized, not having time to gather themſelves into an Orderly Body in the open Market-place; and ſeeing the Enemy already in the City, and more Troops following them, the *Palha*, with about 200 of his belt Horſe, fled out of the oppoſite Gate, leaving the remainder of the Garriſon with the Inhabitants, which conſiſted of about 3000 Men to their own Fate, which ended with the Death of about 1700 of them, moſt whereof were killed Sleeping on their Beds; the Booty taken, was very conſiderable, beſides much Cattle, and 500 good Horſes, with the loſs only on the *Chriſtian* ſide of ſeven *Germans*, and 17 *Raſcians*, who were killed.

It being now towards the end of *May*, which is the uſual Season for Armies to take the Field, News was brought to *Nissa*, that *Kuperlee* the Grand Viſier, was decamped from before *Adrianople* with 20000 Men, and on his March to join with 40000 more, which were Encamped at *Nicopolis* with intention to attack at one and the ſame time both *Nissa* and *Widin*; and where-as the *Turkiſh* Army was in great want of Artillery, by reaſon of the many Cannon which they had loſt during this War, the *French* furniſhed them with 100 Pieces, which were brought from *France*, and Landed at *Galata*, and thence conducted on Carriages to the Army.

But the Season not being as yet come for pitched Battles, or Siege of Towns, the Armies not being gathered into a Body, General *Corbelli*, who Commanded the Blockade near Great *Waradine*, detached 220 *Germans* and *Hungarians*, with deſign to attack the Palanca of *Bellanaſch*, being coming to it before Break of Day, and finding no Centinels to obſerve their Appearance, all the People being aſleep with the greateſt Security imaginable, the Soldiers climbed the Walls, and unperceived entered the Place without any oppoſition whatever, killing Men, Women and Children, without any diſtinction; ſome *Turks* howſoever eſcaped, and ſaved themſelves in the Caſtle; which General *Corbelli* being deſirous to take, by reaſon that the People of Great *Waradine* had been frequently relieved from thence, he ſent for 500 Men more to reinforce his Troops; but before theſe could come up to join, the others laden with Booty and Spoil, were departed, and gone to ſecure what they had gained.

Theſe two late Succesſes by Surprize, animated the Governour of *Leſcowitza*, and Count *Montecelli* Captain of Horſe in the Regiment of General *Hoffkirchen*, to attempt a third, and joining with them a

1690. Party of *Noviſports*, with intention to ſurprize it, in the ſame manner as the others had been; but ſome of the *Raſcians* having Friends and Relations in the Place, gave Notice of the Deſign to thoſe within; upon which they all retired into the Caſtle, which was well defended with a ſtrong Tower, and a good Wall, and with Proviſion ſufficient for ſome Weeks, and ſtood upon their Guard; ſo that the Party finding their Deſign defeated, fell upon the Caſtle which were feeding near the Place, and carried away ſome of them, to the Number of 6000 Sheep, and 2000 other Cattle; but the *Turks* of the Country gathering themſelves into a Body, purſued after them in ſuch Numbers, that attacking the *Raſcians* in the Rear, they recovered moſt of their Cattle, and took ſome of their Horſes; howſoever the *Raſcians* carried off about 1000 Head of Cattle, and ſome Priſoners, with the Heads of 15 *Turks*, which they had killed.

The *Germans* ſtill continued to rove about the Country with Parties, returning moſt commonly with Succesſ; one of them ſurprized and took *Ulcica* and *Lohras*, two ſmall Palanca's, killing all that they found alive therein.

Likewiſe Captain *Schenckendorff* with 800 *Germans*, and ſome *Hungarians*, paſſing near *Radimir*, a *Turkiſh* Garriſon, in hopes to ſurprize it, found the *Turks* vigilant and ready to receive him; upon which being forced to make a Retreat, the *Turks* ſallied upon them, but were repulſed with the loſs of 50 of their Men killed, and three taken Priſoners, upon which the *Turks* being put to flight, the *Germans* purſued them ſo cloſe, that they entered with them into the Suburbs, which conſiſting of about 400 Houſes, they burnt all to the Ground, and then retired towards *Pyroth*; but in their way meeting with 400 ſtrong *Hungarian* Horſe, they joyined with them, and returned again towards *Radimir*; but in their March having received Advice, that the *Turks* had abandoned the Town, and laden their Wives, Children, and Goods, on 130 Waggons, and ſent them farther into the Country, a Party of *Huſſars* was commanded to purſue them; which they did, and ſoon came up with them, and took all the Waggons, People, and Goods that were in them; but they were not ſo eaſily carried off, as they were taken; for a Body of about 1200 *Turks* from the Frontiers, coming in to their Aſſiſtance, they not only retook all the Booty from the *Huſſars*, (the Captain *Schenckendorff* being at too far a diſtance to relieve them) but alſo forced them to fly, leaving ſome of their Companions, who were the worſt mounted, unto the

The Grand Viſier marches to the Camp at Nicopolis.

June.

The Palanca of Bellanaſch ſurprized and taken.

Radimir also abandoned by the Turks.

1690. the Mercy of the Enemy; after which, the
 June *Turks* pursuing farther, fell in with *Schen-
 chendoff*, who finding himself over-matched,
 made a handsome Retreat to a convenient place,
 where taking his Advantage, made Head against the *Turks*, and killed above 100 of them, took several of their Horses, and much Cattle, which they carried off with them.

General *Corbelli* who commanded the Blockade before *Great Waradin*, made an Incursion with 2000 Men, and ruined all the Corn and Fruit of the Field, so near the City, as was within reach of their Guns: Upon which Approach the Garrison faltered out, but were repulsed with great loss, and amongst the rest the *Chiaus-Bashee* was killed: The Defendants terrified herewith, allowed 30 Families escaped out, and at their Request were Baptized.

In the mean time a stricter Watch than ever was kept in the Blockade about the Castle of *Belinisch*, and the Stream of Water which ran at the Foot of the Palanca, and Castle, by which both were supplied, being cut off by the *Christians*, and the Current turned another way, the Defendants were reduced to great Extremities, and more especially they began to be affrighted, when they saw a fresh supply of Horses, Dragoons, and *Hussars*, ready to attack the Place, and that two Batteries were already raised, which continued firing for two Days without intermission, they at length inclined to a Surrender, and in order thereunto sent out two *Agas* to make their Capitulations, which were soon concluded, and agreed, That the Garrison consisting of 150 Men, besides their Wives and Children, and other Inhabitants, should the next Day be conveyed to *Giuila*, which was accordingly performed on the 4th of July.

Whilst these Matters went on, the Parties from *Nissa*, were always Plundering and spoiling the Countries, and Captain *Strabina*, the famous Partisan, who was continually on Parties, made his Inroads near to *Philippopolis*, and surprized the *Turks* in several Places of that Neighbourhood, with much Spoil and Damage: The *Turks* alarm'd hereat, got into a Body, and pursued after *Strabina*, and having overaken him, attacked him with great Fury and Bravery; but were as resolutely repulsed, and their *Tekeli* *Pasha* killed in the Action; 200 of their Horses taken, and much Booty, with the loss only of five *Musketeers*: The like Success *Strabina* had against *Kuthana Pasha*, who meeting on the Road, whilst one Party was returning to *So-*
 July. *phra*, as the other was to *Nissa*; the *Turks*

were beaten, and put to Flight, and the 1690.
Pasha, with his Men that escaped, were forced to take Refuge in the Mountains, scattered and dispersed, whilst *Strabina*, and his Men, with their Booty, returned safe to *Nissa*.

And now to conclude the Successes of the many Parties which roved abroad in divers Places, the Captains *Schenchendorff*, *Strabina*, and *Wildenham*, with one Lieutenant *Funch*, sallied abroad with 100 *Germans*, and 1500 *Rascians*, with which having formed *Pernich* in three several Places at the same time, they entered the Fortresses, and cut down all the *Turks* in the way, only 50 of them taken. Quarter, Fire was put to the same, and then the People too late cried out for Mercy; after which the Town was Plundered, and the best of the Goods, with 3000 Head of Cattle, were carried off safe to *Pyrroth*.

But to make way to greater Actions, the French Ambassador at the Ottoman Court, *Tekeli* after a long Solicitation, had procured for *Tekeli* a Baratz, or Commission, whereby he was declared Prince of *Transylvania*, and to publish the same, he dispatched his Circular Letters to all the Cities and Provinces, written in the *Latin* Tongue: The Contents whereof were as followeth.

THAT whereas God Almighty, and the High and Mighty and always Flourishing Ottoman Empire, had created, and ordained him Prince of the Hereditary Countries of *Transylvania*, belonging to the Ottoman Empire, with an express Clause, That he should enjoy the same, with such Power, and in the same manner, and with as high and ample Privileges as had been given to *Beibelm Gabor*; for which Cause and Reason, having sent Greeting to all the People and Subjects of that Country, he did strictly forbid, and inhibit all Persons to give any Succour or Assistance whatsoever unto the *Germans*, but on the contrary, to put themselves into a readiness to give Assistance unto him the said *Tekeli*, as also the Grand Vizier, and the *Tartars*, who were now coming in great Numbers very speedily into the Field, to deliver their Country of *Transylvania* from the Terrible, and Unjust Oppression of the *Germans*.

Now follows *Tekeli's* Declaration in *Latin* joyned herunto.

Emericus

1690.
 July.

Emericus Tókólius Dei Gratia, à Fulgida Porta Ottomanica declaratus Princeps Transylvaniae, Partium Regni Hungariae Dominus, & Siculorum Comes.

QUAM preciosa & inestimabilis res sit, animae corporisque libertas, si eorum Orbis Christiani Regibus, ac Nationum exempla praeceamus, pro sufficienti tamen exemplo esse poterit Nationi Hungariae olim tanto sanguine acquisita libertas; quantum enim Hungari inquietudinem, arma effusioneque sanguinis impendunt in defensione libertatum suarum, apud homines prudentia & experientia rerum exornatos, manifestum est; hoc etiam ignotum esse nequit, quod à quo Hungariae Corona & Gubernium in Potestatem Nationis Germanicae devenit, omnia consilia, labores omnes, in coeventabantur, quâ ratione Nationem Hungariam debilitare, bonis omnibus privare, tandem Regnum Hungariae hereditariam constituendo ad Servitutem ignominiosam, & intoleranda tributa praeceptari possit. Quod ipsum cum ante plurimos annos prudentiores, & in summâ dignitate constituti Proceres vidissent, neque per innumeras instantias, supplicationesque satisfactionem diplomatâ à Domo Austriacâ obtinuissent, è contrario indies lasio libertatum, & intolerabilem contributionum onus incrementa sumpsisset, nescientes aliud quid facerent, coacti fuerunt, penes leges Patriae, etiam cum inculpatâ tutelâ, ad vindicandas libertates, arma capere, omnibusque constât, à quot annis bellum continuabatur; quinimo si ad hanc calamitatem precipitata Natio Hungarica Praedecessorum suorum vestigiis insistentem non deposuisset, cervicem contumeliosè servitutis Jugo ex voluntate Spontaneâ non submisisset, sperare poterat ex divina benignitate post multas etiam calamitates antiquae libertatis restitutionem.

Transylvania quoque, licet tantopere sit vicina Hungariae non fuerit coacta Nationi Germanicae sese submittere, neque enim in tantis extremis sit fuerat, ut ad meliora tempora se conservare non potuisset, multis fortalitiis, quae in sua potestate habebat firmata, nihilo tamen minus nonnullis libertatis Patriae contemptoribus & privato commodo obnoxiiis, quomodo tradita sit, cum omnibus fortalitiis in extraneorum potestatem, & in quas oppressiones precipitaverit Dominationes Vestras, ejusdem fructus acerbitas adhuc in ore omnium est.

Ut autem ad scopum nostrum propius accedamus, etiam omnipotentissimus Deus nos quoque ad miseras acerbias rede-
 gerit, & per multas mutationes vicissitudinesque transire debuerimus propter quas multi ex praecipuis praepotentis Iulius Nationis malefactorum suorum premium acceperunt, Deus tamen qui nunquam permittit justam causam finaliter opprimi, nos ex his omnibus eliberavit, perlonam causamque nostram, apud praepotentem Nationem, tam gratam honorificamque fecit, ut causam tam dedecorose suppressam Nationis nostrae non minus in Fulgidâ Porta, quam apud alios Christianos Monarchas utiliter promovere valeamus.

Quorum incitatu, licet in eo nunquam laboraverimus, Fulgida Porta tanquam Transylvaniae Domina Haereditaria felicia servitia nostra, & in sollicitate constanter perseverantiam, quoque ponderando Principibus Transylvanici Dignitatem cum omnibus requisitis & immunitatibus nobis comitis, super indeque diploma & *Actum* nostrum, quod antiqui principes multis expensis obtinere non poterunt: Isdem conditionibus, quibus beate quondam recordationis serenissimo Principi Gabrieli Bethlem contulerat, nobis quoque dedit sine injuria Regni, ejusdemque territoriorum immunitate, una cum flatu *ref.* Residentem insuper, five Capitulaam Transylvaniae, qui haecenus in Porta fuit, ad nos dimisit: Praeterea *Actum* Hani Tartarorum nostris etiam in manibus est.

Jam in nomine Dei cum militiâ praepotentis Turcarum Imperatoris pariter & Hani Tartarorum movimus indeque iter nostrum continuamus, Dominationes vestras communiter ex omnibus statibus constitutas suppremi, mediis, infimique gradus, ordinis per praesentes informare, requirere & admonere cupientes, non dubitamus, quin Universis Patriae libertas ejusdemque vindicta in cordibus sit, ideoque singuli ex Dominationibus vestris, obligationis fux erga deum & patriam memores cogitent de rebus, recta conscientia insurgant, & antequam conficta regni ingrediamur monstrant Realia Documenta obedientiae expedientes nobis obviam ex omnibus Nationibus ablegatos primarice conditionis, interim victimam arma fumentes, difficultates in passibus foveant, nemo seipsum vel arma sua Germanis jungat, vel hostiliter se nobis opponat, ad dissolutionem Patriaeque ruinam, & multarum millium animarum depravationem causam subministrat; Literas has patentes nemo supprimat, qui potius publicet, quia talium animarum coram judicio Dei rationem reddent, nostram quoque gravissimam indignationem cum posteris suis non

1690. non effugient, de his omnibus coram Deo
July. & Mundo protestamur, quod nullius rui-
nae interitific causa nos erimus.

Datum ex Caltris ad Kala postis
die 26 Junii, 1690.

Emericus Tókoly.

MI Domine Judex, vel quicumque
has literas ad manus suas accepe-
rit, Deus magnus misericordiae, afflictio-
num generis fuæ misericors, ecce perditum
miserum Emericum Tókoly tanquam ali-
quem Gidconem ex horreo ad promoven-
dam suam gloriam assumens id in nomine
Domini ad vindicandas oppressiones Domi-
nationum vestrarum, prout ex ejusdem ma-
nifesto præsentibus incluso apparet, promi-
de Dominatio vestra cum fideis suis amicis
communicet, promulget, ne opprimatur,
quia Dominatio vestra dabit rationem de
illo.

Bukurest 28 Junii, 1690.

Valentinus Nemessay.

Annexa patente, Mittant Dominationes
vestrae Amicis suis unas in Siculiam, alte-
ras in terram Parzensem & districtum Fo-
garafiniensem.

Inscripção Literarum.

Nobili Domino Judici Coronensi, Notario,
vel quicumque ex Magistratu Dominis amicis
meis transdantur.

By the many Troops of *Tartars* which
were already entred into *Valachia*, and by
the Increase of *Tekeli's* Forces, which were
become much more numerous and formida-
ble, by the Sums of Money which he had
received from *France*, the Imperial Gene-
rals were greatly alarm'd, and fearing least
they should Invade that Country, all the
Forces in and about *Transylvania*, were or-
dered to march under the Command of Ge-
neral *Heuller* towards the Passes which lead
to *Walachia*; and as they marched, to spoil
the Ways, and render them as impracticable,
and difficult as was possible.

By this time News was come to *Nissa*,
that a great Body of *Turks* was assembled
near *Nicopolis*, and that the Grand Vizier
was actually on his March to join with
them; whereupon General *Veterani*, ha-
ving provided the Garrisons with necessary
Provisions and Ammunition drew all the
Troops he was able unto *Nissa*, where he
remained at a Gaze to observe the Motions
of the *Turks*, and to afford his Assistance
unto any Place which should be distressed,
or in danger.

The Season of the Year was now advan-
ced to the middle of *July*, when Advies
came by way of *Walachia*, that Sultan *Ga-*
tars was marching with some Thousand of
Tartars towards *Bulgaria*; and that *Budack*
Commander of the *Tartarian* Fleet was with

four Gallies, and many Frigats, armed with
some Guns, and laden with Ammunition
and Provisions, coming up the *Danube* July.

And moreover that the Grand Vizier was
with a very strong Army come as far as *So-*
phia, and pitched in those Plains, and cau-
sed vast Stores of Corn, and all other Pro-
visions, to be laid up in the Magazines of
that City.

Some few Days after which the *Tartars*
appeared before *Widin* with their four Gal-
lies, and about 60 Vessels, on which 5000
Men were Embarked, and immediately be-
gan to fire on the Town; the which News
being brought to General *Trautmandorf*, he
marched immediately with the Troops under
his Command, to the Relief of the
Place, and was followed by several Vessels
laden with Provisions, Convoayed by Boats
armed with Musqueteers; which coming in
sight of the *Turks*, they fired incessantly
upon them, until such time as the Cannon
planted by *Trautmandorf*, on the side of the
Danube, forced them to quit their Station,
and retire farther down the Stream, to the
other side of the River; after which, the
General having provided the Town with a
sufficient Garrison, and all sorts of Provi-
sions necessary, conducted the Vessels safely
back, and marched farther towards the ge-
neral Rendezvous at *Jagodina*.

And because the whole force of the *Otto-*
man Empire under the Command of the
Grand Vizier, was marching from *Sophia*
against the *Germans*, who were very weak
in *Servia*, and not able to keep the Field a-
gainst the *Turks* in those Parts; Count *Car-*
belli who Commanded the Blockade before
Great Waradin, received Orders to march
with such Troops as could be spared from
the Blockade, to reinforce the Army in *Ser-*
via, the which was performed accordingly,
leaving the Care and Charge of the Block-
ade to Count *Schlick*.

The *Arnouts*, who had before taken part
with the *Germans*, observing the Weakness
of the *Christian* Troops and the Strength of
the *Turks*, joyned against their Inclinations
to save themselves with the latter; with
which the Grand Vizier being reinforced, a
Detachment was made under Command of
the Seraskier, to join with *Tekeli* in *Wala-*
chia, whilst another Pasha was employed to
Besiege *Widin* both by Land and Water;
and the Vizier marched in Person with the
gros of his Army towards *Nissa*, with 100
Pieces of Cannon, and 12 Mortars.

Upon this News General *Veterani* or-
dered all the Commanders of the several Pos-
ts and Passages leading towards *Nissa*, to leave
their Guards, and retire with their Men,
Ammunition, Provision, and Cannon to the
City; which having furnished with a suffi-

1690.

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1690. cient Garrison of 3000 Foot, and 500
Aug. Horle, he marched back with the remainder
of the Army towards *Alexin*, and there
formed his Camp.

In the mean time the Grand Vizier on his
March to *Nissa*, at which he aimed, took
Pyroth in the space of three or four Days,
upon Capitulation with the Garrison, which
consisted of no more than 150 Men, to be
conducted safely to *Nissa*, but the Vizier
purified them so close at the Heels, that on
the 14th of *August* he Invested the City
with his whole Army, and on the 17th be-
gan an Attack at *Bergele*, compassing one
half of the City, on that side; and on
the same Day he sent a Chiaus with Letters
to summon the Place, the which Colonel
Jorger returned back again unopened, with
this Answer, That there was none there who
could read *Turkish*.

Upon return of this Answer, the Grand
Vizier caused some Cannon to be shot into
the City; and on the next Day the Trenches
to be opened, after which the *Turks* fire-
d without ceasing, both with their Can-
non and Mortars; and because it was be-
lieved, that the Town would not hold out
for any long time, the *Turks* plied their
Business very close, and made their Attacks
with wonderful Courage and Bravery.

On the 19th General *Starenberg*, who
now Commanded in *Nissa*, in the Place of
Colonel *Jorger*, who was fallen sick, or-
dered a Sally to be made by 100 Grana-
diers, and 200 Fuzeleers, sustained by a
Battalion of *German* Foot, and at the same
time all the Horle of the Garrison made a
Sally on the other side of the Town, which
succeeded so well, that above 1000 *Turks*
were killed on the Place, most of which
were slain in their Trenches; besides those,
who upon the Retreat of the *Christians*,
pursuing them to the Palisadoes of the
Town, were killed by the Cannon, and
Musquets from the Redoubts, and Out-
works. In this Sally the Besieged had 20
Men killed, and 60 wounded.

Whilst the Siege of *Nissa* proceeded in
this manner, the Seraskier having joyned
his Troops with those of the *Tartars*, of the
Prince of *Walachia*, and the Forces also of
Tekeli, (under whom were nine Pasha's)
their whole Army consisted of 16000 Horle,
2000 Janifaries, and 500 Talpats, with
which *Tekeli* marched towards a certain Pass
called *Terezwar*, being distant about three
Leagues from *Cronstadt*, where General
Heuller lay encamped with four Regiments
of Horle, consisting in all of about 1700
Men, together with 5000 *Transylvanians*,
called *Zecklers* from the Province so named,
under the Command of General *Telecki*.
Tekeli not knowing well how he might with
Advantage attack *Heuller*, passed his Forces

over Mountains, and untrodden Ways, be-
ing conducted by the People of the Coun-
try, until they came within sight of the
Germans; who nothing dismayed at the ap-
pearance of so formidable and unequal a
force, marched with the right Wing directly
against that of the Enemies left, and charg-
ed them so furiously that they put them to
a shameful Flight, and had that Day gained
a most entire Victory; had the *Zecklers* se-
conded this good beginning; but instead
thereof, they most basely fled without firing
one Musquet; so that then the whole force
of the Enemy falling upon General *Heuller*,
and his Men, having quitted their former
advantageous Post, they were to over-po-
wered by them, that after a long and bloody
Fight, they were put to the Rout: In this
Action General *Nordpermet*, *Telecki*, *Von*
Wald, *Springfeld* and *Winckler*, with some
Captains, and 500 common Horsemen were
killed: General *Magui* escaped, and saved
himself in the Church of a Village called
Hamburg, where a Peasant killed him with
a Pitchfork, and buried him under a Dung-
hill: General *Heuller* having his Horle kil-
led under him, was taken Prisoner by *Tekeli's*
Men, and Marquis *Doria*, and Major *Ficker*
by the *Tartars*: Lieut. Col. *Ruinin*, with fe-
veral Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns,
and 32 common Soldiers were made Priso-
ners by the *Turks*. The Enemies also gain-
ed four Pieces of Cannon, 29 Standards, and
three Waggon with Ammunition, but lost
3000 of their Men in this Action; the re-
mainder of the *German* Horle being about
1200 Men, with 13 Standards, retreated
under *Hermanstadt*. After the Fight was
ended, Count *Tekeli* being desirous to rescue
as many Prisoners as he could out of the
Hands of the *Tartars*, he bought Marquis
Doria for 60 Rix-dollars, and many other
Officers for a small Matter, and afterwards
sent away the Marquis *Doria* with the fol-
lowing Letter to his Lady at *Vienna*, writ-
ten in Latin:

GOD Almighty comfort thee, and also me
with a more happy time. After many
Misfortunes, I have been comforted with a Vi-
sitor over my Enemies; having had the good
Fortune to make General Heuller my Prisoner,
and Marquis Doria, which with several other
German Officers, have hunted after my Life.
This Accident may give an occasion for thy Re-
lease; to which end I have sent the said
Marquis unto thee (for whom General Heuller
remains Security) and with him I have sent my
Servant Michael for a Companion; to the end
that he being an Eye-witness of my State and
Condition, may render thee a true Account and
Information thereof. God grant that he may
bring me good News from thee. Live well.

Tours Emericus Tekeli.

Ccc This

1690. This Letter being delivered to the Princesses by the Hand of Marquis Doria, an Answer was returned in *Latine*, as following.

With thee Health, and all Blessings from God, (whose Name be praised) for giving me the happiness to see the proper Hand-writing of my beloved Husband, and therewith his remembrance of me. Marquis Doria hath acquainted me with the Love which thou professed towards me. I doubt not but Marquis Doria will inform His Imperial Majesty with the Answer I have returned to thy Letter, viz. That I depend on Almighty God's Providence, and the Emperor's Clemency, and as to other Matters, I am ready to give sufficient Security, that if leave should be permitted me to go and meet my Emericus Tekeli, according to my Nuptial Duty, that I will return again at the time appointed; as to what the Imperial Court will do about the Prisoners, the Marquis will acquaint you; to accept or reject the Conditions, will depend much on your Affections towards me. The Marquis having earnestly solicited his Business, hath gotten an early Dispatch; he says as much in short as is enough, and you may believe him. I have spoken with your Servant, who hath been sick, but now is better. Perhaps my Emericus thought me to be some Lady in a Nunery, because he gives me not the Name of his Wife, perhaps it might be to try me, whether I desire to be so called. God is tried in the Fire, which Tryal I willingly suffer from my Beloved, expecting impatiently another Letter. God deliver the Prisoners, and comfort all afflicted Minds, which I heartily wish, Amen.

From Vienna,
Septemb. 24.

Your Dutiful Wife,
Helena Zrinini.

But let us here leave Marquis Doria returning with his Answers to Tekeli, whilst we discourse a while concerning what the Turks are farther acting before *Nissa* in *Serviana*, now straitly besieged by the Grand Vizier himself. An Attempt was made at the same time on *Widin*, by the Turkish Fleet, which they expected should take the Place without any Land Forces; but they being beaten off, and four of their Ships sunk, the Vizier commanded that the Place should be besieged both by Land and Water; accordingly the Lines were finished, and the Batteries raised by the 24th of August. In like manner the Germans had perfected a Fort which they had raised on an Island near *Orsova*, called *Carolina*, after the Name of the Emperor's second Son; and therein a Garrison was put of 400 Germans, and 1000 *Rascians*, with 24 Pieces of Cannon, and all other Necessaries required for maintenance of the Place.

Whilst things were in this doubtful Condition, and the Christian Army commanded by General *Veterani*, lying at *Jagodina*, under some Discouragement by reason of the near approach of the Grand Vizier, Prince Lewis of Baden arrived to the great Joy of the Camp, bringing with him a Regiment of *Hussars*. The Prince had taken a view of the Camp, and entered into a Council of War, touching what was to be done, when the unhappy News arrived of the total Defeat of General *Heusser* in *Transylvania*, which altered all the Measures before agreed; and new Resolutions were taken to march thither with the greatest force of the Army, of which General *Alpremont* was to lead the Van by way of *Semendria*, where care had been taken to erect a Bridge for Passage of the Troops; and for the better security of the Ships laden with Provisions, and with Sick and Wounded People. The Horse remained on an Eminence, until all were Embarked; and Orders were sent to the Governor of *Craßwitz* to demolish that Fort, and with the Germans National Troops, and the Country People who were with him, to march towards *Belgrade*.

By this time all Intercourse with *Nissa* was cut off, the Vizier having encompassed the City on all sides with an Army, as was reported of 30000 Foot, and 50000 Horse, besides 15000 *Tartars* daily expected; the appearance of which, was enough to have alighted the Place to an immediate Surrender, as was expected by the Grand Vizier; but contrary thereunto he met with a most vigorous Resistance, to the great loss of his Men; and a second time, which was the last of August, they made another more violent Attack with great Troops, and were still repulsed with greater loss: At length the Turks for saving their Men, made a trial of some Mines, which they sprang in divers Places, but most commonly they reverted to the greater Damage and Mischief of the Turks themselves.

The Grand Vizier having understood, that Prince Lewis was on the Retreat, and had withdrawn his Forces from *Widin*, and *Semendria*, detached a part of his Army to *Widin*; the which Garrison consisting of no more than 800 Men, it was not probable, that they should be able to withstand any long Siege, and therefore being sensible, that no Succour was to be expected, they rendered themselves up to the Enemy on the 29th of August, before any Breach was made, or the Enemy advanced within 40 Paces of the Walls; despair of Succour put them upon this Resolution, whereby they gained such good Conditions, that they marched away, and joyned with the Army of Prince Lewis, the 11th of September.

1690.
Septemb.
August.
Pr. Lewis
at Jagodina.

1690.
Septemb.
Exemplum Epistolæ ab Amico ad Legatum Colyer, e Castris Turcis ad urbem Nicæam positis, missæ.

Sept. xvi. A. D. 1690.

Ametfi per fidem ac certum hominem, qui Sagiri Achmetis Agazirani causam, & ablatorum quingenorum Leoninorum restitutionem huiusmodi fuerat, Exce. Væ cuncta, hæc acta, percripti, non male tamen me facturum existimavi, si illa repetere, & quæ post confecta sunt, adiungere.

A. d. ix. Aug. Primus Vizirius cum exercitu ad munimentum Sarkioi accessit: quod cum non statim dederetur, vis adhibita est: cui impares, qui in præsidio militantes, postquam horas 24 hosti fortiter resistissent, honestas pacti conditiones, deditio nem fecere: exieruntque ducenti Germani, Hungarique milites armati cum impedimentis, & à præfecto Turcico ad munimentum, cui Palanca Mustafa Paccia nomen, deducti sunt. Tria hic tantum tormenta minora campestris reperta, cum nonnullis vasis pulveris pyrii.

A. d. xi. Ad paulo ante memoratum Palance munimentum venimus, desertum & exinanitum rebus omnibus à Germanis, qui ibi in præsidio fuerant.

A. d. xv. Nissam perventum, quam absolutissime munitam invenimus. Ad motis mox propius castris omni vi oppugnatione instituta est: nec minore virtute oppidum defensum: ita ut post xxiii dierum obsidionem unius Sagargibassi cuculi vix ad crepidinem fossæ promotæ fuerint. Ab quatuor simul locis cepta oppugnatione est: primas partes curabat Janizarorum Præfectus cum Sagargibassi: alter ab hoc erat præfectus Janizarorum: tertius Albanis obvenerant: quartas obtinebant Cairini, sive Egyptii.

His cunctis prædiciarii undique simul admirabili virtute, magnæque cum Turcarum pernicie restiterunt. E Gallis transfugis cognitum est, Ducem Veterani quinto ante obsidionem die ex oppido discessisse, ut suppetias procuraret, relicto, qui munimentum, dum ipse abesset, tueretur, Stahrenbergio, Stahrenbergii istius, qui Viennam defendit, agnato, cum trium admodum millium militum præsidio, omnique rerum ad obsidionem tolerandam necessariarum copia.

Uno ante mensē sex Germanorum millia

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hauud procul Viminatio abfuerat: verum intellecto, Sultanum Galga, Taitarum Hani filium natu maximum indies in vicinia expectari, ad sex alias cohortes sub Jagodini tē mēcia re-pererant, pariterque cum his Moravam transierant: ac postpaule cognitio rursus corudent Tartarorum ad hæc loca adventu, postarumque copiarum peringenti numero, Tauruni, Semendricaque securitati prospecturi, Danubium petivēre: quos mox Tartari subsecuti sunt.

A. d. xxx. Nuncius huc à Fonduco Mustapha Paccia missus attulit, ipsum una cum Tókólæo per invios montes, & inaccessa juga, cum omni peditatu, abique tormentis impedimentisque, solis acinacibus & bombardis armato in Transylvaniam perpassisse, obviumque defecentibus Heisterum obftrato in mortem animo invassisse, stricteque acinacibus, non dato ad explodenda tormenta, aut repetendam Sceleptorum maiorum minorumque explosionem tempore, in Germanos, Hungarique milites irruisse, & mox in fugam actos, ac à Tartaris circumventos occidione cecidisse: ita ut multis millibus perpauci evaserint. Captos autem Ducem ipsum Heisterum, Marchionem Doria, & Comitē Magni.

In castrorum numero repertum primum illius Provincie Ministrum Tellesi; item præfectum quendam cohortis Germanum, & aliquam multos de præcipua Hungarorum nobilitate desideratos. Hanc porro victoriam recentiorum illis, non amplius militum jactura stitisse: unum tantum alicuius nominis cecidisse præfectum Turcici exercitus Cerkisum Achmetem. Ex eodem nuncio accepimus, Turcarum, Tarcorum, Walachorum, & Tókóliano-rum conjunctas copias vix x millia militum explexisse. Tókólæus captivos majores minorque duces cunctos penes se retinet, transmissis tantum viginti signis ad Vizirium: quæ ille evestigio copse, quæ accepit die una cum expugnati intra sextum diem Viminatii nuncio ad magnam Sultanum missit.

Vizirium aiunt scripsisse Tókólæo de mittendo ad se Heistero: at illum repondisse, eo sibi imprimis opus esse cum ad subjugandam Transylvaniam, tum ad recuperandam conjugem suam Principem Ragotzki. Idem, quem dixi, Fonducus in Cerkisii Achmetis locum Copiarum Turcicarum dux suffectus est.

A. d. v. Sept. Sultanus Galga ad Viziri colloquium publice admissus, & ab eo coo eximio, ephippio & phaleris

C c c 2

1690. ^{Septemb.} Utillissime exornato, ut & acinace gemmato, ac talari velle murinis pelibus duplicata donatus est: familiaribus autem, & comitibus ad ducentas tales de more daret. Hic autem Princeps cum Kiaman-kilico, aliisque duobus Turcicis præfectis a. d. viii. hujus mensis Semendriam oppugnavit abiit, comitantibus duobus Turcarum milibus, avectisque secum decem tormentis campestribus.

Valachorum Princeps, etiamnum apud Tokólaum hæret in Transylvania, adeo-ritque tamdiu Turcico exercitu, donec ille Transylvaniam sibi principatum certa possit vindicare. Præcipua namque munimenta in portitate adhucum Cæsarum & Fogarell Tokólae semet submisere.

A. d. vii. Vizirius unum de suis Capigiballus, sive victoribus, ad exercitus præfectum Mustafam Fonducum, ut & ad Tokólaum in Transylvaniam misit, talarem singulis vestem murinis pelibus fustitanti, & aliquot simplices ceteris minoribus tribunis, ac præfectis, munus illic delaturum. Valachorum Principi, quique ex ejus comitatu, novem itidem confimiles vestes misit fuit.

Hac occasione usus centurio Gallus hinc una in Transylvaniam abiit, qui anno priore cum Tokólae Sophiam venerat, & cum Legato Gallico Constantinopolin profectus inde in Galliam trajecerat. Nunc autem curli publico Constantinopolin reverfus huc venerat, multa de Gallicis victoriis jactans, quas de Batavis & Anglis reportaverat. His addebant interpres Gallicus Fontanus, & Gallos Batavorum exercitum sub Waldeckio in fugam conjecisse, duodecim milibus caesis, octo captis: mari vero conjunctas Batavorum & Anglorum classes à Gallica vigila fugatasque. Ad id verum esse negitant alii: Regem autem Gallicum Hiberniam imperio suo subjecisse, pulso ac dein in Galliam se recipiente Rege Jacobo. Ad hæc Galli nil respondent, nisi, quod certum hujus rei à legato suo nuncium necdum sese accepisse præ se ferant.

A. d. ix. Nicæ Præfectus tubicinem ad Galilium Palscia de deditione misit, si æquis ea conditionibus, sibi que honestis permitteretur: petens, ut Vizirius eam in tres res ad se milites duces mitteret. Verum Vizirius, si de tradenda urbe secum agere decrevisset, ipsius esse respondere, certos ad se delegatos mittere. Hoc

1690. ^{Septemb.} accepto responso, duo eodem die centuriones, cum adjuncto Commissario, in Castra Turcica profecti sunt: atque inter hos & Kiaibejum ac Sagargibafum, aliosque Janizarorum Duces, præfente etiam pro-Vizirio, convenit, ut oppidum cum omnibus comitatibus & apparatu bellico, nec non Turcis fidem Christianam amplexis, ut & servis ac subditis Turcicis, qui in oppido inveni-erant, dederetur: Germani, Hungari, alique milites præfidiarii armati, cum conjugibus ac liberis, impeditentibusque omnibus, salvi & incolomes egrederentur, concessis ad eorum deditionem centum curribus, additoque præsidio & præfecto, qui deducerent eos, quocunque vellent: interea temporis præsidium evestigio fossis & munimentis exterioribus digrediens Janizaris ea traderet. Quod ubi factum, a. d. x. Sept. milites nonnulli de præsidio pedites egressi sunt: viis autem militaribus, cuniculis interruptis corruptisque, accidit, ut currus aliquot eversi fractique fuerint: Unde qui præcedebant, aliquantum à cæteris disjuncti, cum ad extrema Turcarum castra pervenissent, pars à deducen- tibus Turcis, aliique militibus spoliati, nonnulli etiam occisi sunt: conjugæque ac liberi eorum in servitutem abducti: quorum numerus ignoratur. Ad hoc certum est, Vizirium, his cognitis, & evestigio Germanis præfidiarii mandasse, ut in oppido resisterent, posteroque die servatis ordinibus, & cunctis rite dispositis exirent: vulgato interim per exercitum Turcicum edicto, ut, qui de militibus Christianis, eorumve conjugibus ac liberis quemquam penes se haberent, eodem intra xii horarum spatium dimitterent, atque in libertatem restituerent: qui secus fecissent, capitali esset fore. Sed pauci eorum ad suos rediere. Hanc ob culpam duo supremi Equitum præfecti, nunciisque Sultani Princeps, dignitate dejecti, & cujuscunque muneris publici administrandi in posterum incapaces declarati sunt: utpote qui milites suos in officio continere nequiverant.

Munimentum illæsum atque integrum inventum est: siquidem Turcæ, uti su- pradictum, trium & viginti dierum spatio vix ad exterioris fossæ supercilium appropinquaverant. Rogavi ego nonnullos à militaribus de præsidio duces, quæ maturandæ deditionis causa fuisset? Respondere, nullam auxilii spem: cui mandatum accesserit clanculum ad ipsos perlaturum, uti oppidum dederent, ac saluti militum prospicerent. Certe mirari

fatis

1690. ^{Septemb.} fatis nequo, quum omnes ad oppidum aditus diligentissime obfessi fuerint: qui sic poterit, ut quis ad eos inobser- vatus pertransierit?

Postquam præsidium oppido digressum est, interpreti Gallico imperatum, ut Gallos, quorum aliquot centeni erant ad transiitum in castra Turcica invitaret: verum quindecim tantum transire: quorum quinque religionem Christianam Turcica mutarent: reliqui Constantinopolin profecti. Quod autem gentem hanc attriner, bona fide V. Exc. affirmare possem, fratrem ipsos Turcis fidem, operamque præstare.

A. d. xii. Galilus Præfectus è castris semet cum Albanis ad Sultatum Galga contulit, suas cum illius copias conjun- cturus. Hodie vero, qui xvi. Septemb. Vizirius castra movet, eo animo atque spe fore, ut intra paucos dies Semendriam potiar: qua capta Taurunum ag- gressurus est: quod mihi inceptum aspe- rum ac difficile videtur, quum anni tempus intemptivum, militumque clan- culum sese subducentium haud exiguum numerum confidero.

Exemplum alterius ab eodem Epistole.

Deditionem Nisse proximis inde li- teris Exc. V. significavi: his- ce, quæ post evenire, exponam.

A. d. xvi. Sept. Semendriam institu- tum iter, & a. d. xxv. castra ad urbem posita sunt. Verum a. d. xxvii. ante expectatum, Albani, Janizarique Por- tam Flumentanam vi summa oppugnant irrumpere, & universum præsidium 250 Germanorum militum, nemini parentes, trucidavere.

A. d. xxx. Motis Castris, Taurunum profecti sumus: eademque vespere ad octavum ab urbe lapidem castrametati, prostridie ab omni eam parte cinximus. Cum vero ad usque viii Octobr. multa cum virtute defenderetur, Deo ita per- mitrente, invictum illud munimentum (humano more loquor) arte summa mu- nitum, in Turcarum venit potestatem.

Eodem die servus Turcæ ex urbe in Al- banorum fluvia transfugus, & à Galilo Palscia exactissime interrogatus, exami- natusque, turrim in urbe ostendit, in qua magna vis pulveris pyrii esset recondita. Bombis igitur in eam directis, rectum, quod ex ligno erat, incensum, & dein- ceps hora circiter promeridiana tertia

1690. ^{Septemb.} universa interior urbs flammis & ignibus colluxit, turricæ vi accensi pulveris in aera disjecta muros urbis ita convulsit, ut prolapsi fossas adimplerent. Hinc statim Albani civitatem invadentes, atque irruentes, nec lexi nec ætati pepercere, quidquid obvium ferro conficientes. Tristissimus hic casus ita Germanos per- turbavit, ut defubito nullo servato ordine ad portum flumenque profugerent, adeo trepide, ut mortem vitare cantes, in scaphas & naviculas se præcipitarent, ac divinæ se providentiæ permittentes, pars secundo flumine descenderent, pars codeni adverso, remorum auxilio evadere con- antur. Verum maximam eorum partem mox immissi Tartari cœcitate cepunt: adeo ut de tribus militum milibus, qui- bus hoc præsidium constitit, vix tre- centos effugisse existimem, quos noctis ingruentis tenebræ tegerunt, atque con- servarunt.

Inter captivos nemo alicujus nominis repertus: neque ex illorum quoviam, quid Principe Croiaco factum sit, resciri hæcenus potuit: quamquam diligentis- sime in eum inquisitioni fuit. Hic Prin- ceps eodem mensis Oct. die octavo Tau- runum venerat Comitumque Alpremon- tium certior fecerat auxilii cohortium aliquot Germanorum possidere secundo flumine adventuri. Sed nec de hoc Al- premontio certi quidpiam cognosci, inda- garive potuit.

Non in interiore, neque in exteriori urbe vel minima castra restitit, super- fuisse illæsa: adeo cuncta ædificia flam- mis consumpta sunt. Interioris urbis mœ- nia tota sedibus suis evulsa & disjecta sunt: sed exterioris pleraque superfluit. Hæc urbes per pulverem pyrium ever- sione, bombardumque aliquot, qui altero etiam ab urbe capta die discessit, mag- nus Turcarum numerus interit.

A. d. xi. Tartarorum Hanus, corpore licet invalidus, in castra ad Vizirium venit: quicum hic belli consilia agita- turus est. Cæterum jam sedet Vizirio, tres Turcicos præfectos cum omni Tartarorum copia Offectium mittere. Cui rei exsequenda Savus fl. ponte jungitur, qui intra biduum è navibus & scaphis, magno numero ad Belgradum repertis, perfectus erit, paratulusque.

Hoc porro Exc. V. affirmare ausim, ni tempus anni expeditionibus bellicis commodum jam effluxisset, fore, ut Vi- zirius hoc adhuc anno Budam tenderet. Cognovit enim è captivis, perpaucos tam Budæ, quam Offectii milites in præ- sidio esse, cosque magnam partem è morbo infirmos.

Reperta

1692.

September.

Reperita Tauruni tormenta bellica majora centum; minora vero multo plura: quæ cum bombis & pulveris pyrii copia sub terram reconditi, inventique, quantumvis valide sustinendæ sufficiant oblationi.

De Tókóto nil certi accepimus, nisi quod plebem sibi Transylvanicam indicis magis magisque conciliat, ac subiciat: tum in eo esse, ut Albæ Julæ de more tanquam Princeps Transylvaniæ inauguraretur. Veruntamen munimenta pleraque in potestate adhuc sunt Cæsariorum. Quantum inquirendo percipio, ad ultimum hujus mensis Octobris hic subistemus: deinde in hyberna miles deductur. Atque hæc hæcenus: cætera proximis literis perferibam. Vale.

The News of the Surrender of *Widin*, caused the Vizier to hasten the taking of *Nissa*, that he might have time afterwards before the Winter to take in *Belgrade*; to which end he furiously assaulted the place on all sides, and continually both by Day and Night fired with Cannon and Bombs into the City; by which the Garrison being diminished from 3 unto 2000 Men, and the Counterpart taken, and no hopes of Relief, General *Staremburg* the Governor thereof was forced to a Capitulation, and Surrendered on the 8th of September on very honourable Terms: Namely, That the Garrison should march out with Bag and Baggage, Trumpets sounding, and Drums beating, Colours flying, and with all their Arms, and to be conveyed in safety to the *Morava*. But the *Turks* did not faithfully observe this Agreement, but robbed and disarmed many of them. The *Tartars* also pursued after them as far as *Semendria*, with intent to cut them all off; of which Count *Staremburg* having Advice, he speedily passed the *Danube*, and so arrived in safety at *Belgrade*. The *Turks* found 90 pieces of Cannon and Mortar-pieces in *Nissa*; after the taking of which they marched directly towards *Belgrade*, and took *Semendria* in their way, of which Lieutenant Colonel *Weingartler*, a stout and valiant Soldier, was the Governor; but having no more than 500 *Germans*, and 400 *Russian* Soldiers in all, for defence of the place, they sustained a Storm from all the *Turkish* Army; but being overwhelmed with Numbers, the Governor with all his Soldiers were put to the Sword and perished; and the *Turks* became Masters of the place, in which they found a good Booty with quantity of Provisions.

In the mean time Prince *Lewis* continued his march towards *Transylvania*, and

having passed the *Danube* at *Culitz*, a place something below *Semendria*, he arrived at *Karansebes* with the Horse on the 16th, but the Foot and Baggage came not thither until two days afterwards. And here it was that the Prince received Intelligence how that *Tekeli's* Lieutenant-General was marching against him with some thousands of Horse, by way of the Valley of *Haderger*, leading to that place, which is called the *Iron-Gate*, with intent to hinder the Prince's passage into *Transylvania*; but the *Germans* were beforehand with them, and with a Party of Horse took possession of the Pass before *Tekeli's* Men could reach it; which they maintained for two or three days before the Army could come and enter into it; and having passed it about the 21st, they drew into *Battalia* according to the situation of the Ground, and encamped near the Ancient *Romana Colonia Vulpia Trojana*, the Ruins of which do still appear, where they remained until the 24th, before which time their heavy Baggage could not arrive at the Camp.

The *German* Army being thus entered into *Transylvania*, many of the Nobility of that Country applied themselves to the Prince for Safe-Conducts, or Protections, to live quietly and to save their Goods; whilst in the mean time, the *Russians* were entered into *Walachia*, where they plundered, burned, and put all to the Sword with as much Cruelty as enraged Men can exercise one against the other. But Prince *Lewis* marched with his Army in three Lines, until they came within an hours distance from *Huniad*, and here the Army rested for a while.

The *Turks*, as we have said, having taken *Semendria*, and killed all that were in, the Grand Vizier marched with all his Forces towards *Belgrade*; of which, News being carried to the Imperial Court, the Duke of *Croy* was immediately dispatched to *Belgrade*, to take upon him the Command of that City.

The Duke was sent away on the 1st of October, which was the Day that the Grand Vizier invested *Belgrade*, and encamped in the very same Places and Posts which the *Christians* had set out and marked two years before; And on the 2d he had surrounded the City from the *Danube* to the *Save*; and from that Day to the 8th they fired continually with their Cannon and Bombs without ceasing, and stormed the *Palladiæes* with such Rage, without fear or wit, that the Defendants wondered to see them run on so desperately before any Breach, or the least opening was made to favour or prepare for an Attack.

On

1690. October.

On the 8th, The Duke of *Croy* arrived in the City by Boat, and immediately applied himself to take a View with General *Aspremont*, and Officers of the Artillery of all the Works and Fortifications, as also of the Enemies Trenches, which were already advanced within 12 Paces of the *Palladiæes*; which done, he retired to his Lodging; and that night, the Besieged discovered and emptied one of the *Turks* Mines just ready to be Sprung: Next Morning the Duke of *Croy* being desirous to send a true account to the Emperor of the State and Condition of the Place, a Draught thereof was drawn and subscribed by General *Aspremont*, and Officers of the Artillery; which whilst the Duke, after a small Breakfast, was preparing to dispatch away, giving an Account withal, that there were not above 3200 Men in the place fit for Service, an outcry was made, That the great Blue-Steeple of the Castle began to burn; upon which Alarm the Generals and others applying themselves to extinguish the Fire, it was soon put out. But no sooner were the Generals and People returned to their Homes, and busily employed in their Dispatches for *Vienna*, which were to be carried by the Count *Archinto*; but by some unknown Accident; or as it is rather believed, by the Treachery of a *Turk* disguised in a *German* Habit, or by the villainous and traiterous Practice of some *French*, who had been employed to work in the Magazines, and had that Morning Deserted, and gone over to the *Turk*; the said Blue-Steeple, about three or four a Clock in the Afternoon (which was the principal Magazine for Powder in all the City) took Fire, and blew up, with such Violence, that the Duke was not only wounded, but half buried in the rubbish of his own Lodgings, and dis-interred as it were by a Page of General *Aspremont*. This blow over-turned the great Bulwark, which defended the Castle, together with its Walls, Guns, and other Defences, opening so large a Breach for the Enemy, that they might have entered the Town with whole Squadrons: And so extraordinary and fatal was this blow, that it destroyed a thousand Men of the Garrison, which were drawn up on the place of Arms and on the Walls; so that when the Generals ordered new Men to supply the Places of those who had been killed by this fatal Clap, and defend the Breach, they could not find a sufficient number to withstand the Enemy, then ready to take advantage of this dreadful blow; howsoever, they made the best resistance possible, until their remaining Magazines and

The Steeple of the Castle takes fire.

Again on fire and blows up.

A great slaughter thereby.

Store-Houses took Fire, and blew up one after the other, in such a dismal manner, that for Fire, Powder, Smoak, Stones, and Dust, one Man could not see, much less know the other; and in this Confusion, not only the greatest part of the Garrison perished, but even a thousand *Turks* storming at that time the Walls, and entering the City, were also lost; and such as remained alive were forced to retreat back to the Camp; at which time it seemed, as if a Cessation of Arms had been made during this gloomy and dismal Interval; but so soon as it had cleared up a little, the *Turks* observing the great Conflagration in the City, so that those who remained alive, could make no resistance, they rather entered the Walls than Stormed them; And being come within the City, they found very few *Christians* living, or Houses standing, and the very Boats in the River were sunk by the weight of the Stones and rubbish which were fallen into them; so that those who escaped, saved themselves for the most part by Swimming, some over the *Danube*, and some over the *Save*; at which occasion, howsoever some few Boats remained, by which many passed over, and amongst the rest, the Duke, and General *Aspremont*, with some of their Servants; but no Man could save more than what he carried about him.

Count *Aspremont* being blamed for this Action, was cleared by this following Copy.

Copie de l'Attestation donnee par le Prince Louis de Bade, a Monsieur le Comte d'Aspremont au sujet de la parte de la Forteresse de Belgrade.

La Forteresse de Belgrade ayant été malheureusement prise par les ennemis l'an 1690, ensuite de la grande confusion que causa l'embrasement du Magazine a poudre, plusieurs personnes mal informées des circonstances de cette affaire en ont voulu attribuer principalement la faute au Comte d'Aspremont quoiqu'il n'y commandait plus en Chef; ce qui a extrêmement diminué dans le monde le bon credit dans le quel il étoit, sur tout a cause qu'il avoit été mis en arrest comme Sa Majesté Impériale a accoutumé de faire en de semblables rencontres.

N'ayant donc appris autre chose de Monseigneur le Duc de Croy, ainsi que des autres Generaux & Officiers qui ont été commandez dans la dite Forteresse; si non que le sieur Comte d'Aspremont y a fait en toutes manieres

1690. October.

Magazine of Powder and Store-Houses

Belgrade taken

The Duke of Croy & Aspremont, the Count's rats.

1690. nieres son devoir, & y a montré son zèle en tout ce qui pouvoit concerner le service de Sa Majesté Impériale, tellement qu'ayant été pleinement informé de tout le susdit, & en considération de la vérité du fait je n'ay pu faire moins que de donner à Monsieur le Comte d'Alpremont non seulement la présente Attestation, mais aussi pour son unique Consolation, & afin qu'un chacun puisse voir & connaître le contraire des Calomnies dont on l'a voulu charger, de le recommander auprès de nôtre très Clement Maître & en tous lieux où il pourroit en avoir besoin pour son avancement, étant hors de doute que sa été entièrement contre la Clemente Intention de Sa Majesté Impériale qu'il a dû souffrir toutes ces Calomnies. En soy de quoy j'ay signé la présente & y ay fait apposer mon cachet. Fait a Vienne, ce 10 Fevrier 1693.

Louis Margrave de Baden de Sa Majesté Impériale Lieutenant General, Marechal de Camp, Colonel & Gouverneur de Raab.

And thus every Man shifting as well as he could for himself, the Duke rallied about 400 Men in all, with which he arrived at *Titul*, and afterwards marched with them to *Peter Waradin*; but the Duke remained not long here, before he departed, and took his march for *Esseck*, emptying all the Garrisons by the way, such as *Iluck*, *Sabaz*, and *Brod*, and joining all the Forces he was able to Conserve that important place; it being conjectured, that after having rendered themselves Masters of *Belgrade*, the *Turks* would not stop there, but following the air of their good Fortune, would endeavour also to take *Esseck*: But the Season of the Year being far spent, it was believed that the Grand Vizier would think he had done enough for this Summer, and therefore would conclude the Campaign with an Action of so much Glory; but the Grand Vizier rested not here, but having left 10000 Men for a Garrison in *Belgrade*, and recommended the repair of the Breaches to the Care of some French Ingenieurs that followed the Army, and leaving some of their Horse Cantoned near the City; the greatest part of their Cavalry was ordered for the *Upper Hungary*; upon the News of which, the *Germans* were to Alarm'd, that they quitted the Blockade before Great *Waradin*, and with other Troops which were in the Neighbourhood, they marched towards the *Tibiscus*, to secure the passage of that River.

In the mean time the *Pasha* of *Bosnia*

was Commanded by the Grand Vizier to 1690. take *Esseck*, whilst he himself, with a strong Army of *Turks* passed the *Danube*; whereupon the *Germans* quitted *Lugos*, and *Caranceles*, and the Vizier marched directly to *Lippa*, which place having been attacked with much Resolution, and continual Storms, and in want of all Provisions, was forced to Surrender, but on very honourable Capitulations, being permitted to march out with Bag and Baggage, Drums beating, and with Colours flying: The Besieged lost but ten Men, but the *Turks* 800 in this Action.

Whilst Matters succeeded in this manner with the Vizier's Army, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* continued his march by way of *Weissenburg* and *Mullenbach*, and arrived the 3d of October at *Hermanstadt*, where for want of Provisions he was forced to remain for some days; but being at length supplied with all things necessary, they decamped, and came to *Medies*, where they attacked, and beat several Parties of the Enemies, whose Heads they brought with Triumph into the Camp: For as to *Tekeli*, and his Troops, they never stood their Ground, but as Prince *Lewis* advanced, they always retreated, keeping at least six Leagues distant from the *German* Army. At length he came to *Czik* upon the Borders of *Walachia*; where to encourage and keep his Followers together, he boasted of great Successes coming from the *Turks*: But this Report would not serve his turn; for the Prince of *Walachia* having received Intelligence that the *Rascians* did much Infest and Ruin his Country, he was the first to desert the Army, and return home to defend and preserve the same. Soon afterwards, the *Zecklers* and *Transylvanians* following the Example of the former, left the Army, and returned to their Homes; the which Misfortunes were soon seconded by the ill News, That 200 of his Men, who blocked up the Castle of *Terezwur*, had been surprised, and cut to pieces by the *Germans*. After which, the Prince pursued *Tekeli* towards *Czik*, from whence likewise he decamped, and fled through the whole Country, being hunted from one place to another; but seeing that *Tekeli* could be fixed in no place, the Prince sent back all his Baggage to *Medies*; and having alarm'd *Tekeli* on every side, he caused all the Roads into the *Georgian* Country to be stopped up, and rendered unpassable; and being in a full march, and fresh pursuit after him, he almost surprized him, and had certainly taken him; had not the Prince been discovered in his passage over the River near *Marienbourg*; at which *Tekeli*

1689. *keli* was so affrighted, that he betook himself to flight, and with great Confusion retired through the Pass of *Beez* in *Walachia*; but being still pursued by some *German* Horse, they overtook seven or eight Waggon with Baggage, which they seized with several Prisoners: but *Tekeli* staid in no place, but rode Post away until he came as far as *Terquitz* in *Walachia*. And thus ending the short Reign of this *Transylvanian* King, the Emperor became a second time the Master of that Principality; the Care and Preservation of which was committed to the Charge and Government of General *Veterani*, who with eight Regiments, and a good part of the Army, returned back to *Zatmar*.

According to Orders received from the Grand Vizier, *Chusacim* Pasha of *Bosnia*, appeared on the 29th of October, with *Messapha* Pasha, and one Beg or Lord of that Country, before *Esseck*, with 12 or 15000 Men; and the day following sent a *Semmons* to the Duke of *Croy*, to Surrender up the Forts unto the invincible Power of his Sovereign, the *Ottoman* Emperor, and in failure of a ready Compliance herewith, he threatened to destroy the whole Garrison, Man, Woman, and Child, and not so much as to spare or give Quarter to Infants in the Womb of their Mothers.

Hertunto the Duke returned for Answer, That the *Germans* did not use to be terrified with high and menacing Words; That they had not a Woman in the Town, and consequently no Children to be concerned for who were unborn; but they should find Men there who were resolved to defend the Town to the utmost of their power.

Upon this Answer, the *Pasha* immediately stormed the Counterparts, which were without any Parapet, and provided with some small Palliades: However, tho' the Garrison consisted only of 2000 Men, the *Turks* were repulsed with great loss and slaughter. The *Pasha* finding himself mistaken in his Measures, and that the place was resolved to make a better resistance than he expected, he began to form an Attack in good Order, opening Trenches, and raising Batteries, which was performed with such diligence, that on the 2d of November, two Batteries were finished, from whence with eight Guns, and two Mortar-pieces, they fired continually into the Town. The Duke one Evening walking with some Officers through the Palliades to take a view of the Enemy, was discovered by them, and thereupon a whole Volley of shot was poured upon them; amongst which, one Musket-shot took of the Hat and Perri-

wig of the Duke, and grazing on his Forehead, took off the Skin for the breadth of a Finger, without other hurt or mischief.

On the 4th about Noon the Duke caused a Salley to be made by 200 Foot 30 Granadiers, and 100 Horse, which so well succeeded, that the *Turks* were beaten out of their Trenches, having 200 of their Men killed on the place, and five Standards taken, with the loss only of two Men killed and about 30 wounded: Had the Lieutenant who commanded the Horse, done his Duty, and advanced as he ought to have done, to cut off the Enemies Retreat, above 40 Colours had been taken, and not one of them had escaped out of their Trenches; for which Default the said Lieutenant was seized, and arrested.

On the 5th, The *Turks* had advanced within 15 Paces of the Palliades, and Counterpart, and had so battered, and ruined the Houses within the Town, especially that in which the Duke had his Quarters, that very few were standing, and scarce any place to remain or abide in. The *Turks* likewise began again to appear in great numbers, threatening a general Storm; But the Duke, and the other Generals, providing to make the best Resistance, and most vigorous Defence they were able, entered into the Counterparts with undaunted Resolution; but the Enemy attempted nothing, as if some strange fear had possessed them. In the mean time, the Duke being returned to his Lodgings, the *Hussars* brought to him three *Turks*; who being in Examination, demanded for what Reason the Enemies had made so violent an Assault without Trenches or Earth to cover them; it was answered, That there being a Report in the Army, that the *Christians* were coming with a powerful Army to relieve the Town; it was resolved to take the place, if possible, before the Succours came; for which reason they endeavoured to carry all at once, by dint of Sword, or force of Arms.

The Duke, and General *Staremberg* having received this Information, sent out by Night all the Drums and Trumpets, and Bag-Pipes which were in the Town, to the Regiment of *Hofkirchen*, and some *Hussars*, which were quartered on this side of the *Drave*, with Orders and Instructions, that when the Evening was come, they should under the Obscurity of the Night, march to and fro, causing the marches of Musqueteers, and Dragons, at convenient distances to be beaten, and Trumpets and Kettle-Drums to be sounded from several Places; which being exactly performed according to Orders, caused

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1690. such an Alarm in the *Turkish* Camp, as struck all with Fear and Confusion, believing that the Succours, which they feared, were now arrived, which caused such a Conternation in the *Turkish* Camp, that they quitted all their Trenches in the Night with a confused Precipitation, making what haste was possible for *Bosnia*.

Of this the Besieged knew as yet nothing, but perceiving towards six a Clock in the Morning, that not the least noise was heard in the *Turkish* Trenches, the Duke gave 50 Dollars to a Musketeer to adventure out, and take a view of the Camp and Trenches; the which having done, he returned, and gave a Report, That not a *Turk* was remaining, either in one or the other. So soon as the Day broke, the Garrison sallied out, and entered the deserted Camp, in which they found great Spoils, three pieces of Cannon, 100 Bombs, and other warlike Instruments which the *Turks* had left behind in their affright, which possessed them with such panick Fear, that they stopped not, or looked behind them, till they had passed the Bridges at *Walcowar*, where they layed no longer than only to break them down to secure their flight.

The Story hereof was pleasantly related by a certain *German*, who had three years before been taken by the *Turks*, and had for his skill in the *Turkish* Language, been received into Service of the *Palsha's* Secretary: This Man during the flight had thrown himself into a Cock of Hay and Straw, where he lay hidden until the *Turks* were gone, and then creeping out, escaped to *Esseck*, and there told the Duke; That the *Alia* was a dull, old, timorous Fellow; who when he heard all the Drums beat, and the Trumpets and Bagpipes found, he was struck with so much Fear, that he trembled, his Hands and Feet shook, his Knees knocked one against the other, and his Legs were not able to support his Body: and he farther said, That the *Palsha* had been ordered by the Grand Vizier, that so soon as he had made himself Master of *Esseck*, that he should not stop there, but should make Excursions round the Country, ruining and destroying all with Fire and Sword; but this Stratagem so well succeeded, that the People and Country were freed of the *Turks*, and the Ruin which they threatened.

The Siege being thus raised, Lieutenant Colonel *Lyon* was dispatched with News to the Imperial Court; which so much rejoiced the Emperor and the whole City, that all the former sinister Successes of the Campaign seemed forgotten, and swallowed up in the Joy of this Action;

for which the Duke of *Croy*, and General *Staremburg* were so cried up, that never any thing seemed comparable to this Stratagem, and gained them not only the Fame of valiant, but wise Generals: This News was the more welcome, because it was surprizing, and unexpected; for the Town was so ill fortified, that the Soldiers would never have been persuaded to hold out, had not the Duke liberally distributed his Money in the Garrison, and treated the Soldiers plentifully at the Rate of a Pound of Fleth, and a Quart of Wine for every Day; And indeed there was a necessity thereof in that moist Country, which is nothing but marshy and wet Places, and in that Season of the Year, subject to Rain, Fogs, Frost, and all extremities of the Weather.

Thus this Siege being happily raised, *Te Deum* was sung in *Esseck*; and all the Trenches of the Enemy being levelled, the Duke committed the Command of the Town to General *Staremburg*, and returned himself to *Vienna*.

In the mean time, Prince *Lewis* continued his march for *Zatmar*, where he arrived the first of *December*, having been Complimented all along in his march by the States of *Transylvania*; particularly at *Enget*, where Thanks were particularly returned him, for having delivered them from the Tyrannical Government of Count *Tekeli*: Which poor Prince, after many Difficulties, being come into *Walachia*, 300 *Zecklers* which had followed him did then Desert him; but marching home without leave, were pursued by some of his Troops, and cut down in such manner, that none of them escaped. The *Walachians* also, unwilling to have their Country ruined by the *Rascians*, who designing to make their Winter-quarters there, caused great Fears, so that he laboured under perpetual Troubles and Hardships.

At *Zatmar*, Prince *Lewis* was forced to continue for some Days for Refreshment, both of his Soldiers, Horses, and Mules, the which were so extremely tired by their long Marches, especially the Beasts which had carried the Baggage, that they would not stir nor rise, until they put fire under them.

In the mean time the *Turks* under the Command of the Grand Vizier's Son, continued to over-run and spoil all the Country on the other side of the *Thyffs*, and sent a Summons to the Governor of *St. Job* to Surrender the place to them; but he answered, That the Place being a Fortrefs belonging to the Emperor, of which General *Nigrelli* had the Keys, he was not capacitated to comply with their Desires. Hereof

1690. Hereof News being brought to Prince *Lewis* at *Zatmar*, who had not with him above 2000 good Horse; the Enemy being 15000 strong, did not think himself in a Condition to fight them, but sending to Colonel *Schick*, who with his Regiment was quartered near *Zalnoek*, and to the *Hussars* who were in those parts; to join as speedily as they could possibly with him, and to put themselves into a posture to meet and fight the Enemy. Whilst things were forming and contriving for this Action, a certain stout Fellow, who used to go out upon Parties, named *Kis Ballad*, had a Rencontre with the *Tartars* in the Parts adjacent, of whom he killed 100, and took 50 Prisoners. Of this Body, those that escaped carried News to the *Turks* and *Tartars*, that the Prince had quitted *Transylvania*, and lay encamped near *Zatmar*; upon which Advice, 12000 *Turks* made an Excursion into that Country: But Prince *Lewis* having now got together 4000 good Horse, adventured to seek the Enemy; and on the 20th of this month came to *Claussenburg*, where two Days before the *Turks* had been, and summoned the place to make a Surrender; but the Summons being rejected, the *Turks* having burned the Suburbs, returned to *Enget*, and in their march passing in sight of *Claussenburg*, they burnt and destroyed all Places in their way, and attacked the Foragers; and advanced Guards; took some few *German* Prisoners, with the loss only of about 50 of their Men, and so marched directly towards *Temeswar*: But Prince *Lewis* having been joined by General *Nigrelli* with 2000 Horse, by which and his own he made a Body of 4000 well armed and accoutred, he pursued them so closely at the Heels, that the Enemy entirely quitted *Transylvania*, with the greatest haste and confusion imaginable; and falling in with their Rear, cut down about a 1000 of their Men, took three pieces of Cannon, with a great many Camels and Horses, and most of their

Baggage; and hasting away with all the speed possible, more in the Nature of a Flight than a Retreat, they at length arrived at *Temeswar*, but with much diminution of their numbers, caused by toilsome and long Marches, and the excessive Colds in the Night, whereby some were frozen to Death, and others seized by Catarrhs and Rheums, which made them incapable of farther Service.

After this, the Island of *Orsona* surrendered to the *Turks* for want of Ammunition the Governor upon the Articles granted, desired to be conducted to *Belgrade*, not knowing but that it remained still in the hands of the *Germans*; and tho' the *Turks* told him the contrary, yet not believing them, he still persisted so earnestly to be Conveyed to *Belgrade*, that the *Turks* at length carried him and his People thither, consisting of 600 Men, besides Women and Children; but this mistrust of the *Turks* words cost them dear, for arriving there, they were put for two days into a Fort of the City; and afterwards commanded them to bring out their Arms, and lay them upon Waggon, on promise of sending them for *Esseck*, which being done, they commanded them to come forth two by two, that they might be the better counted. After which, they drove them back to the Fort like Cattle, and chained them there with Iron-Chains, where they kept them in so severe an Imprisonment, that most of them died with Want and Hunger, except such as were under 20 years of Age, whom they Shaved and Circumcised, and made *Turks*; but the Women and Children they Sold, and pillaged all the Goods, which they brought out with them. In this Island the Enemies found 23 great Guns, 15 Field-pieces, and three Mortars, but the Bombs and Powder were thrown into the River: And thus ended this Year, which proved the most unfortunate to the Emperor of any, that had happened since the beginning of this War.

P. Lewis prepares to fight the Turks.

The Turks return with loss to Temeswar.

C. Tekeli in a sad condition.

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THE

THE Venetian Successes

In Their WAR against the

TURKS,

In the Year 1690.

1690. **W**E concluded the Venetian Successes of the last Year's Expedition, with the Triumphant, and Glorious Entry of that Illustrious Prince *Francisco Morosini* Cavalier, Captain General, and Elected Doge of Venice, to whom his Country testified as much Honour and Glory as could be contrived and expressed; the Particulars of which are long and not necessary to be inserted in this History; only it may not be improper to recount in short some of the Exploits of this Great Man, with that Applause which is due unto his Memory.

This *Francisco Morosini* descending from the most Ancient Patrician Family in Venice, was Born in the Year 1618. He was in his Infancy dedicated by his Parents to the Service of his Country, and educated in all Martial Exercises; and rising by degrees and steps to several Offices, both Military and Civil, he at length arrived at the Supreme degree of Government in that Republic, being elected Doge during the time that he was fighting abroad in defence of his Country, he was at first made a Noble Commander of a Gally, which is the first step and degree which a Noble Venetian takes, then he was made a Vice-Admiral and Governour of a Galleas; next Captain of the Gof, Provéditeur-General of the Arms in Candia, and then Captain General, in which Office he continued a long time until the Year 1661, behaving himself with incomparable Valour; in which Year he fought a Battle with the Gallies of Barbary, under the Fortrefs of *Paloma*, he took a great Ship called a Sultana, richly laden from *Cyprus*, near the Island of *Attila*, he defended the Breches of *Candia*, and took another great Sultana, the Captain of which was called Admiral *Nicolo de Nadalin Furlan*, and made him Prisoner; he laid the

entirely ruined it; he took the Gally of 1690. the *Palma* of *Cyprus*, together with the several Fortresses of *Calama*, *Egena*, *Volo* and *Megara*; and having made himself Master of those Seas, he destroyed 13 Gallies under the Fortrefs of *Preveza*. He made many Sallies from *Candia* in the Face of the Enemy, destroying many of their Works and Intrenchments; he subdued the Fortrefs of *Calamata*, and made himself Master of two Turkish Gallies commanded by *Hali* *Palha*; he also took the Fortresses of *Toron*, *Chifme*, *Castel-Frugio*, and *Schiara*, putting them and other Islands under Contribution. He also took the Castle of *Capricorne*, and destroyed the Forts of *Calogero*, *Santa Veneranda*, and *Calami*, which commanded the Fortrefs of *Suda*. He likewise took two Ships bound from *Alexandria*, laden with Soldiers and Provisions, with another Convoy bound from the same Place for *Constantinople*, under which were divers Ships and Vessels.

In fine, after all these Successes and Triumphs, being returned to Venice, he was made Provéditeur of *Friuli* to oppose the Incursions of the Turks, who at that time threatened those Countries very much; but those Fears being blown over, he was sent back a second time to Command both the Seas, and the City of *Candia*, then straightly Besieged by the Grand Vizier *Kupriogli*, with the main force of the Ottoman Empire; the which Siege having continued for the space of almost three Years, the Turks were concluded to have lost 128000 Men before of *Morea* it. During which time this Hero behaved himself with all imaginable Wisdom and Bravery; and tho' at length he was forced after many Conflicts, and various Successes (which we have distinctly recounted in our History of the Lives of the three last Emperors,) yet the fame of that renowned Defence, accompanied with an ensuing Peace,

1690. Peace, will much more immortalize his Fame than any other of his Martial Successes, it being the most memorable Siege that ever happened in the World.

Finally in the Year 1683, when the Grand Vizier *Kara Mustapha* appeared before Vienna with an Army of 40000 Men, he was then appointed Provéditeur-General of *Friuli*, to oppose the vast Inundations of the Turks, which had happened to all those Countries, had the Success of that Vizier answered the Expectations of so mighty a Power.

After which he was sent a third time in quality of Captain-General against the Turks in the *Morea*, where in the space of five Years, he performed all those great Actions which have been before recounted; by which he acquired such immortal Honour and Fame, that he was by the Death of *Cowtarene*, exalted to the Supreme Throne of that Victorious and Renowned Republic; where we shall now leave him employed in the exercise of the Sublime Dignity, and so proceed to recount the Actions of that Noble General the Cavalier and Procurator *Giovanni Cornaro*, who when the Doge, about the latter end of the last Year, returned to Venice, was left in the Command before *Malvasia*, of the Blockade, which continued during the whole Winter past.

But the Summer coming on, and the Army and Navy reinforced considerably with Men, Provisions, and Money, dispatched from Venice under several strong Convoys, and being joyned with the Pope's and the Maltese Gallies, it was proposed to convert the Blockade into a Formal Siege. It was now full 17 Months, that the Besieged had with much patience stood out in defence of their City, so that it was believed, that they were reduced to the utmost Point of Famine, and Penury; the which Opinion, the Turks were willing to confirm in the Minds of the Besiegers, that they might take them off from the Attempts of Attacking, Bombing, or other Methods for forcing the Town. But the Captain-General having discovered, that the Defendants were still provided for a longer Subsistence, and able to hold out for some Months, resolved on some more expedite means, than by the dilatory ways of a Siege; and the lazy Formalities of a Blockade; for tho' it was most desirable for sparing the effusion of Christian Blood to take it, by safe and certain Proceedings; yet when it was made known, that the Victuals, and all sorts of Provisions, did not fail; it came to a final Determination, to take them by a lively and vigorous force: To which end the Engenier *Bassigiani*, with the Count St. Felice Sergeant-General, was ordered to take a Survey of the Town on

the Lands side, and to design, and draw out the Trenches, and Platforms for Battery, the which in a few Days, by the encouragement which the Prefect of the Captain-General gave, was performed and perfected; so that they began on all sides, with the advantage of two Palanders, to batter the Town, and with their great Guns from the Ships and Gallies, to thunder in such a terrible manner, that the Inhabitants dismayed, and dispirited by their long Sufferings, and the unexpected Attacks of their Enemies, caused their Drums to beat a Parly, and sent forth a Cadi, with two Aga's, to make Offers of Surrender on these Conditions, viz.

' That they might carry off all their Cannon, and have 20 Days given them to make a Surrender.

But these Propositions appearing unreasonable, they were without farther Discourse, or Expostulation dismissed, and sent back to the City.

The Inhabitants tired with the long Blockade of 16 Months, and fearing now a forcible Assault, after some Consultation held amongst themselves, they resolved to deliver up the City, and returned the same Messengers with these more reasonable Conditions.

The Articles agreed.

I. THAT the City should be Delivered.

II. The Soldiers and Inhabitants should go forth with their Goods, and Baggage, in the space of 10 Days, and safe Convoy given them to be Transported to *Candia*.

III. Liberty given to the Inhabitants, either to remain in the City, or depart.

In virtue of these Articles, 1200 Souls marched out of the City, a great part of which were Men. In the Town they left 78 Pieces of Cannon, part of Brass, and disarmed part of Iron, with great Quantities of Muskets, and with other Provisions, and Ammunition, sufficient for several Months.

The People having quitted the City, and Transported as was agreed to *Candia*, the Captain-General entered into it with much Pomp and Triumph on the 12th of August, where the principal Mosch being dedicated to God under the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin

1690. Virgin of *Carmen*, was delivered up to the care of the *Franciscan* Fathers, and a sufficient Garrison being put therein, the Command thereof was committed to the Government of that Noble *Venetian*, *Vicenzo Grizzi* of *St. Alvisie*, in quality of Provider. Many Gentlemen signalized their Valour and Conduct in fubduing this Fortrefs, namely the Duke of *Guadagni*, *Chabrilan* General of *Malta*, with feveral other Noble Perfons, and Subaltern Officers, worthy of immortal fame. In this laft Action, 400 Men were killed and wounded.

By the Fall of this City of *Malvafia*, taken the 12th of *Auguft*, the *Turks* were entirely beaten out of the *Morea*, and the *Venetians* became absolute Mafters thereof: But to lofe no farther time, the Captain-General *Cornaro* having given fome time for the Refreshment of his Troops, fet fail from *Malvafia* with the whole Armata, towards the Gulf; and being on the 11th of *September* come within fight of *Valona*, the *Turks* had time to form a Body of 7000 Foot, and 1500 Horfe; and having taken poffeffion of the moft advantageous Pofts, and Paffes, they endeavour'd vigorously to difpute the Landing of the *Venetians*. But things were fo well ordered, that nothing could give a flop to the Refolution of Men accuftom'd to Succels and Victory.

The first that fet Footing on Shoar, were the *Maltefes*, which were followed by the Pope's Militia; but the *Venetians* were the first to attack the Enemy under Command of Major-General *Spaar*; which they perform'd with fo much Bravery and Refolution, that having repuls'd the Enemy from the Shoar, they purfued them to the Fortrefs of *Cannina*, which is fituate on the top of a high and craggy Rock, about four Italian Miles diftant from *Valona*; thefe were feconded by the Duke of *Guadagni*, and feveral other Auxiliary Troops, together with fome *Venetian* Troops commanded by Sergeant-General *Barri*; in this Action the *Turks* loft fome Men, and the *Venetians* about 8 or 10, amongst which the Count of *St. Felice* was fhoot in the Head by a Mufket-Bullet.

The Army being alfo joyn'd with a Body of *Cimarriotes*, and *Albanefes*, and confiderably increas'd thereby, advanced fo far, as to lodge that Night in the Neighbourhood, defigning next Morning to attack the Suburbs of the Town, whilst *Lavettin*, General of the Defcent, was taking a Survey of its Situation, he was grievoufly wounded with a Mufket-shot; and in the mean time the *Turks* making a Sally with 2000 Men, were repuls'd, and forced to retire into their Houfes fortified with Stone, barricading up their Streets, and in many Pla-

ces opening Trenches to give a flop to the advanced Troops of the Enemy, by which the Captain General forefeeing that length of time might be advantageous to the Enemies, which in a fhort time expected new Forces; the Cannon, Bombs, and other Warlike Inftuments, were fent for from the Fleet, which was performed with fo much diligence, that in the fpace of 24 Hours, the great Cannon was brought, and fome Batteries rais'd, to the great Admiration and Terrour of the Enemy, againft the Fortrefs of *Cannina*; in the expedition of which Work, all the *Civna*, that is, the Slaves of the Gallies and Gallies, were greatly ferviceable, by mending and breaking the Ways to make them paffable for the Artillery; but whilst the Batteries were playing very hotly on *Cannina*, a ftrong Party of 3000 Foot, and 400 Horfe, were detached under Command of General *Spaar*, to attack the Enemy, who had made a Retreat, after the late Repulse upon the Sea-coasts, into fome fortified Houfes and Places of Retirement. *Spaar* having march'd for the fpace of 10 Miles through Woods, and Mountains, and difficult Places, came at length in fight of the Enemy, who were poffels'd with fuch Fear and Confentation, that tho' at first they made an appearance of Fighting, yet upon a more near Approach, they turned their Backs, and fled with Shame and Confufion.

In the mean time whilst General *Spaar* was in purfuit of the Enemy, General *Barri*, with feveral others of the chief Officers, made an Attack upon the Fort, without any fear or regard to the continual Fire which was made from thence, and being feconded at the fame time by the Duke of *Guadagni*, together with the *Maltefes* and the Troops of the Religion, and of the *Papalini*, or the Pope's Forces; they all in their feveral Stations affaulted the Places appointed to them, and in this general Storm the Auxiliaries forced into the middle of the Town, feparating the Defendants on the Right Hand from thofe of the Left, who finding themfelves diftreffed on all fides, fpread a White Flag, demanding to Capitulate; the which being granted, fome Perfons came forth demanding fuch exorbitant Terms, as were not thought fit to be granted. At length all was reduced to thefe Particulars; namely,

- 1. That they fhould, without further delay, Surrender the Fortrefs into the Hands of the *Venetians*, and march forth immediately with their Families, Bag and Baggage.

Thus

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Septemb.
Cannina
furrendered

Thus was the Fortrefs of *Cannina* delivered up to the Will and Pleafure of the Captain-General, out of which came forth about 3000 Souls, befides 546 of the Garri-son, and were with fafe Convoy conducd to their Camp: The lofs on the *Venetian* fide was not confiderable as to the Numbers, but for the Quality of the Perfons killed and wounded, amongst which *Alvisie Sagredo* was wounded with a Mufquet-Bullet in the Thigh; and General *Barri* through the Body, of which he died, to the great Sorrow and Lamentation of the whole Army; likewife *Monfieur de Moroglie*, Lieutenant General of the Forces of *Malta*, whole Place was fupplied by Sergeant-Major de *Bruffes*, a Perfon of approved Valour, and prudent Conduct.

Perfons of Quality killed.

The Captain-General not being willing to lofe the favourable advantage of the prefent Confentation the Enemy was in, their Army being beaten in the Field, and put to flight, and the Fortrefs of *Cannina* delivered, and the Cannon for feveral Batteries playing upon the Town of *Valona*, it was thought fit to make an appearance of the whole Army before the City, and to affright them the fooner into a Surrender, a threatening Summons was fent them, with Menaces of giving no Quarter in cafe of Refusal; but hereunto no Answer was returned by the *Turks*, fo that nothing but an obftinate Refiftance was expected, all things being filent and quiet in the Town, during the whole Night: At length in the Morning the like Quietnefs and Silence continuing, it was difcovered, that the *Turks* had privately in the Night conveyed themfelves away, and cowardly abandoned the Town to the Pleafure and Will of their Enemies, on the 18th of *September* 1690.

The *Turks* abandoned *Valona*.

In the Fortrefs of *Cannina*, and in the Town of *Valona*, 134 Pieces of Cannon were taken of feveral forts of Metal, as well of Brafs as of Iron.

And in this manner this Enterprize ending, to the great Glory of the *Venetian* Arms, *Te Deum* was fung in *Venice* with much Joy and Triumph, and greatly to the Honour and Praife of the Captain-General *Cornaro*, who with equal Valour followed the Footfteps of his fortunate Predecessor *Morofini*.

The *Pafha* of *Ardzgovina*, defignes on the *Greeks*

Not were the *Venetian* Arms lefs fuccefful under the Command of General *Molino* in *Dalmatia*, where *Zenalee* the *Pafha* of *Ardzgovina*, had a defign with a Body of 3000 Horfe and Foot, to attack the new Subjects lately conquered by the *Venetians*, the which being for the moft part *Chriftians* of the *Greek* Church, it was refolv'd to furprize them in the *Eafter* Week, when they were more attentive to Devotion, than to

the Exercife of their Arms; but this Defign was not fo fecretly managed, but that it was difcovered, and brought to the knowledge of *Pietro Duado*, Provider Extraordinary of *Catara*, who upon the News, immediately difpatched by an Exprefs, an Information thereof to the People of *Nixichi*, advifing them to be watchful againft the Surprizes of their Enemy. Accordingly at the time appointed, the *Pafha* moving from *Neufifige*, entering into the adjacent Parts of *Nixichi*, began to execute all Acts of Hoftility, burning Houfes and Villages, making Slaves, and taking a confiderable Booty. The News hereof being brought to the Churches, where the People were afsembled and intent at their Devotions; they all ran out of their Churches, and betook themfelves to their Arms, with fuch wonderful Celerity and Refolution, that they unexpectedly affailed the *Turks*, and after a fharp Conflict routed them, and put them to Flight. The *Pafha* endeavouring to flop their Career, killed two of his affrighted Officers with his own Hand; but Fear and Confentation had fo poffeffed their Minds, that nothing could give a hindrance or flop to their Courfe; for all being in Confufion, they trampled one on the other, and in the Purfuit 400 Foot, and 300 Horfe were cut to pieces; the Slaves which they had taken, were fet at liberty, and the Booty recovered; many Prifoners were taken, amongst which were fome principal *Turks*, with the *Pafha* himfelf, who being put into Chains, offered 3000 *Zechines*, with two Vests of Sables for his Ranfome, with fome fine Horfes, and Arms of confiderable value; but the People of *Nixichi* were too generous to accept of a Ranfome, and rather chofe to carry their Prifoner in Triumph unto *Catara*, than to accept of any Prefent whatsoever in lieu thereof. From *Catara*, by order of General *Molino*, the *Pafha* was on a Gally transported to *Spalatro*. And leaft the *Turks* of *Ardzgovina* being hereby incens'd, fhould be provok'd to take a Revenge with greater force, the General *Molino*, for better fecurity of that People, order'd the Commander of that Diftrict to march with a Body of 300 Men to their affiftance, and to put all People into Arms; that taking advantage on the prefent Confentation with which the *Turks* were affected, they might with more eafe enjoy the lafting Fruit of the prefent Victory.

With like happy Succels was the ftrong Fortrefs of *Filiporich* fituate in the Neighbourhood of *Glamoz* in *Dalmatia*, taken and destroyed, by order of *Molino* directed to the Provider of *Knn*, who accordingly executed the fame with fuch Prudence, and

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the *Pafha* routed.

the *Pafha* Ranfome.

the *Pafha* taken.

1690. and Vigour, that having dis-speeded 500 Men, to a Place called *Derviz*, their fortune was to take 60 *Turks*, which kept the Towers, Houses, and Moschs within that Precinct, together with four small Guns, some Musketoons, Colours, and other Arms of the *Turks*, as also a considerable number of Cows and Sheep; they also burnt three great Villages belonging to the *Turks*, consisting of 500 Houses, and took 32 Slaves.

Thus had all the Adventures of this Year answered the Expectations of the *Venetians* at Land, better than those of the *Germans* had done at the Court at *Vienne*; but yet an unhappy Encounter at Sea, gave the *Turks* more cause to rejoice, and not a little tempered the Triumph of the *Venetians*, of which happened in this manner.

About the opening of the Campaign on the 22th of March of this Year, the Captain-General gave Orders to Admiral *Valier* Commander of the Ship *St. Iffepo*, carrying 44 Brass Guns, that taking with him for his Comfort, the Ship called the *St. Mark*; he should fail to *Milo*, there to collect the usual Charach, or Tribute of that Island, being about 10000 Dollars a Year: And being towards the Evening come near the Island, a strong Gale of contrary Winds, put them off from the Shoar, driving them towards *Candia*, and so continued until Midnight, when the Wind abating, and the Weather becoming more favourable, they directed their Course towards the Island.

Upon Break of Day 10 Ships were discovered to be near, that they were easily known to be Enemies; at which Alarm the Matches were lighted, and the Ships fitted, and all prepared for a Fight: These 10 Ships proved to be Soltano's, Commanded by *Alonso Morio*, a famous Pyrate belonging to *Algier*, of which he became Dey and Captain, which having carried the usual Present to the Sultan, was some time afterwards Captain-Pasha of the Grand Scignior's Fleet.

Now returning back to *Algier*, and unhappily meeting with these two Ships in their way, six of them invested the *St. Iffepo*; and the other four undertook the *St. Mark*, a Ship of 60 Brass Guns: After some Hours Fight, an unlucky Shot from the Enemy entered the Powder-Room of the *St. Mark*, with which the Ship blew up, and thereby the Soldiers and Seamen, with all the Equipage were lost, and that brave Ship entirely perished. Hereupon the whole Number of the 10 Ships uniting together, fell upon the *St. Iffepo*, which sustained the Conflict valiantly for the whole Day, and making a running Fight, was in

hope, by the sound of the Guns, to call 1690. out some help from the Fleet, which lay then at *Napoli di Malvasia*; but no Success coming, Admiral *Valier* entered the Line into the midst of the Enemies, where by some unlucky Shots, the Masts and Helm, or Rudder were shot away. In this distressed Condition was Admiral *Valier*, when still fighting with his Sword in his Hand upon the Quarter-Deck, he called to him his Lieutenant, Captain *Petrina*, and made him swear, That whensoever he was dead, he would blow up the Ship, rather than render it up into the Hands of the *Turks*; then he threw Overboard all his Publick Letters, Orders, and Instructions, as also all the Flags and Colours in which the Lion and Arms of *St. Mark* were described, that nothing which belonged to the Republick, might fall into the Hands of the Enemy; and consequently he caused both the Pumps to be unfixed, that the Vessel might sink, and not fall into the Hands of the *Turks*. And afterwards seeing two of the Enemies Ships preparing to come Aboard, he called to those few of his Men, who were left alive, and coming on the Quarter-Deck, animated them to stand by him, and whensoever those two Ships were aboard, to give Fire to the Powder, and perish with the Enemies on either hand: But whilst *Valier* was giving these Instructions, he was taken off by a Cannon-Bullet, and immediately, as he had ordered, his Body was cast into the Sea, having protested, That neither Alive, nor Dead, would he fall into the Hands of the Enemy.

Valier being dead, and his Lieutenant, Captain *Petrina* grievously wounded, and very few Soldiers and Seamen remaining alive, or unwounded, and the Ship after a whole Days fight, entirely disabled to make any longer resistance; the *Turks* howsoever durst not adventure to come near the Ship, but at length displaying White Colours, they adventured to lay the Ship aboard with their Long-Boat, where being entered, they enquired first for the Admiral, and his Lieutenant, and being informed, that the first was killed, and his Corps thrown Overboard, and the latter mortally wounded, they made Prisoners of all those remaining alive in the Ship; and having demanded of *Petrina* the reason why he had with such obstinacy fought against 10 Ships? He answered, That it was not accustomary to suffer the Ships belonging to the Republick, to fall into the Hands of the Enemy; and that in case he had not been wounded, he would have blown the Ship up, rather than have seen the *Turks* become Masters of her: In fine, whilst the *Turks* were Aboard, Pilla-

1690. Pillaging and Plundering what they could find, about four Hours in the Night the Ship sunk with all the Cannon; only some few Seamen and Soldiers getting the Skiff, when it was very Dark, made their way for *Milo*, where finding a French Tartana, they were thence transported to the Armata. This Fight, tho' unfortunate, was yet Glorious to the *Venetians*; and for that reason, tho' it happened at the beginning of the Year, we shall yet in honour to that Republick conclude their Campaign with this glorious Action, and proceed to the next Year; in which we shall find the Imperial Forces much more fortunate, and crowned with Glory and Success, than in the preceding Year.

Anno 1691.

1691. THE *Turks* having the last Year regained *Nissa*, *Widra*, and *Belgrade*, with some other Advantages, began to recover their Courages, which before were sunk very low, and would gladly have accepted any tolerable Conditions of Peace whatsoever; but now as there was no speaking thereof on less Terms, than a Surrender of all that the Emperor had conquered and gained from the *Turks* in *Hungary*; so this Resolution was heightened and confirmed in them by the Mediation which the Ambassadors of *England* and *Holland* had offered and pressed upon them; wherefore the War going forward, the Grand Seignior returned to pass his Winter at *Constantinople*, where, and in the Black-Sea, six or eight great Ships were put on the Stocks, to serve the next Summer against the *Venetians*, on the Coast of *Morea*, with which addition to their Naval Force, they hoped to overmatch the *Venetian* Fleet, and do great Feats on the Coast of *Morea*.

In the mean time the English Trade in Turkey was in a most unhappy and unfortunate Condition; for it had not been long since the terrible, and affrighting Earthquake, which had about two Years before, (as we have already related) destroyed the whole City of *Smyrna*; and by an irruption of Fire, consumed vast quantities of Goods belonging to the English Levant Company; and what was of great Consideration, the Books, Accounts, and Papers of the Merchants perished with them. After this amazing Judgment of God, the War breaking out between *England* and *France*, the Navigation for Merchant-Ships, both in the Mediterranean Seas, and in the Ocean, became very hazardous, especially for Ships of so great a value, as those from *Turkey*, which were sufficient to open the Eyes, and

tempt the Avarice of the French at the Expence of a strong Fleet to lie in wait, and watch for them, of which the Interested were so sensible, that some of the Ships lay two Years at *Smyrna*, before they could take the Courage and Resolution to adventure on so hazardous a Voyage; but Necessity having no Law, for they must either perish in Port, or proceed, in which doubtful case they chose the latter, and with the Blessing of God arrived safe at *Leghorn*; where having joined a strong Squadron of 16 Men of War commanded by *St. Francis Wheeler*, they proceeded for *England*, and some of the Merchant-men being stout Ships, and of considerable defence, they esteemed themselves equal to any force the French could send against them: But whilst they failed forward without fear of any danger from their Enemies, the French having had Advice of all their Motions, and of that great Treasure they carried, thought it a Prize fit for their Royal Navy, and accordingly dis-speeded Monsieur *Tourville*, with all their great Ships out of *Brest*, to cruise upon them, and so well timed their Affair, that they had certainly taken fight of them, had it not pleased God to cover them with a thick Mist, which lasted until such time, as they were out of their reach, and having a prosperous Wind, arrived safe in *England* in the Month of July, to the great Joy and Triumph of the Merchants.

But to proceed to the Wars in *Hungary* Count *Tekely* in the beginning of the Month of January appeared with a good Body of Men at the Passage of *Terez*, against whom the Prince of *Hanover* was detached with a strong Party; but he being of a Valiant and a warm Spirit, natural to that most illustrious Family, advanced so far with a few Men before his Troops, that unexpectedly he fell into an Ambuscade which lay hidden and covered in Hedges and Bushes; where receiving a whole Volley of Small-shot, he was with one of his Men, (who died by his side) pierced with several Bullets near a Village called *Sernif*, and tho' the General followed close afterwards with a strong Body, yet he came too late to save this Hopeful and Gallant Prince, tho' not to repulse the Enemy, who at the noise of his coming, fled with all the precipitate haste they were able.

But Colonel *Pohlman* was more successful in his Undertaking; for he having given Orders to *Antonio* the chief Captain of the *Rascians*, to drive away all the Cattle which were grazing about the Cattle of *Facker*, and whilst he was executing the same, the *Turks* failed out upon him with all their forces, but with such ill success, that being

E e e beaten,

1691. beaten, and forced to retire unto their Castle; *Pobland* and his Men rushed in with them at the same time, and cut down 500 of their best well-mounted Spahies, besides the Foot belonging to the Garrison, which was furnished with a double Ditch, and beset with Palisades; the which having plundered, they afterwards burnt, and left it.

This Success was seconded by another upon the Palanca, or Fort called *Waradin*; in which was a Guard of 200 Men, the which they stormed and entered, killed all the Garrison, and burnt the Fort, and treated it in the same manner as they had done *Fackat*.

After this Excursion Colonel *Pobland* having retired to his Quarters to refresh his Men, the General of the *Walachians* gave a false Alarm near the Pass of *Fackau*; but in reality marched with most of his Troops to a Place called *Karansches*, spoiling and destroying the Country round about; but *Pobland* having notice thereof, attacked them, and both with his Dragoons, and Captain *Antonio* with his *Rascians*, attacked the General so briskly, that he was forced to retreat with the loss of 300 of his Men, and of all the Spoil and Plunder which they had taken.

In revenge hereof the *Turks*, and *Tartars* consisting of a very strong Body, intended to break into *Transylvania* by way of the Iron-Gate, of which *Pobland* and *Antonio* having notice, they posted themselves in such an advantageous place, that falling on them by way of Surprise, they routed them, and killed upwards of 1000 Men on the place, took more than 300 Prisoners, with much Baggage, Horses, and Booty.

In the beginning of the Month of *February*, continual Skirmishes happened with various Successes, as if both sides intended to practise and exercise themselves against the time of the great Battle which was to be fought this Year at *Salankement*.

In the first place the Garrison of *Great Waradin* made an Excursion towards *Debrezin*, and had the fortune to meet not far from thence, with a weaker Party of *Germans* and *Hungarians*, of which they killed several, and took 40 Prisoners; but they did not enjoy the pleasure of this Success; for Count *Nigrelli* having notice thereof, detached *Lucas Janos*, a Lieutenant Colonel of Horse, to pursue the *Turks*, who he overtook and surprized in their Retreat, killed 200 of them, and released the 40 Prisoners, with about 450 Horses, which the *Turks* had taken in that Adventure. Some other *Turkish* Parties had passed the *Tilissus* upon the Ice, but

were forced to retreat with great precipitation.

Likewise 400 *Turks* which had passed the *Danube* near *Iloek*, were met by 300 *Rascians*, under the Command of Captain *Teljar*, who killed about 140 of them, and took 40 more with three Standards, some good Horses, and other Booty.

In like manner the *Turks* appeared with a Body of Men before the Castle of *Novi*, which they forced to surrender upon Capitulations; but the *Croats* desirous to regain it, marched with a Body of Men towards the place; which the *Turks* with a like Body of Men resolved to oppose; whereupon a Fight ensued between these two little Armies, in which the *Turks* were worsted, 1000 of them being killed on the spot, many Prisoners taken, and amongst them a *Palsha*, with several other principal *Turks*.

The *Croats* encouraged with this Success, prosecuted their design against *Novi*, and stormed the place; the which being provided with a strong Garrison, and fresh Troops marching for its relief, the *Croats* retired with their Prisoners and Booty, in very good order.

The *Turks* more active, than fortunate, sallied out again this month from *Lugos* to pass the *Marosch*, and by the way upon the Ice, to make an Excursion into *Transylvania*. Colonel *Pobland* having notice hereof, designed with his 400 Dragoons joyned to the 1000 *Rascians* under Command of *Antonio*, to stop them in their march; and being advanced so far as *Debra*, intelligence was given him, that the Enemy was returned to *Lugos*; upon which, being desirous to try his fortune, *Pobland* drew up his Regiment of 400 Men in view of the place, placing his *Rascians* in a certain Ambuscade, well covered and undecerned; The *Turks* seeing so small a number drawn up before them, detached from the Town a Body of 700 Spahies, and 100 *Tartars*, to take a view of them: Upon appearance of this Party, the Dragoons retired to the Ambuscade, into which the *Turks* unwarily pursuing them, unhappily were fallen; and seeing their danger, betook themselves to a precipitate and disorderly flight towards their Forts; but being closely pursued, the *Rascians* and Dragoons, entered the *Palanca* together with the *Turks*, cutting down and killing all that were before them.

In this Confusion, many of the *Turks* betook themselves to the Castle, but with so much haste, that they had not time to draw the Bridge up after them; so that the *Rascians* passing thereon, cut down one of the Castle Gates with their Battle-Axes; and being come to the last Gate, the *Turks* hung out

out a white Flag, desiring to Capitulate; the which admitted of no long dispute, it being in a moment Agreed, That those who were in the Castle should have their Lives given them, and securely Conveyed to *Temeswar*; there were remaining in all no more than 152 fighting Men, with their *Tefterdar*, or Treasurer, Bey or Governor of the Castle: Out of the whole number of 1000 effective Men, as they were before this fight began; the same according to Capitulation, were safely conducted to *Temeswar*; the remainder being 850, were killed in this Action; on the other side, 10 *Germans* were killed, and about 100 *Rascians*, besides the wounded; of which there were some *Rascians*, and 22 *Germans*, amongst which *Pobland* was shot through the Arm. In this place of *Lugos*, four Brass Guns, and one Mortar piece were taken with 15 Standards. After which 700 *Rascians*, and 100 Dragoons, were left for a Garrison in the place.

The News of this Success encouraged all the *Imperialists* round about, the *Hungarians* in the Garrison at *Beche*, about eight Leagues distant from *Segedin*, sallied out with a Party of Horse and Foot, and met a Party of *Tartars*, not far from *Zatmar*, pillaging and robbing the Country, the which he having attacked with great vigour, they returned with 200 Heads, together with two of their Captains Prisoners, and 300 Horses. Another Party of *Hungarians* of the Garrison of *Zente*, met with a Party of 60 *Turks*, of which they killed 20, and made 40 Prisoners; and in their return they took the *Palanca* of *Cariawicz*, and killed all the People, and found a rich Booty in it.

The Garrison of *Segedin* being informed of all these Successes of their Neighbours, were resolved not to sit idle, but to try their fortune in the same manner; and accordingly by break of Day, attacked the City of *Clonad*, and entered it by surprize, before the *Turks* knew that their Enemy was near them: All in the Town were killed; and those in the Castle being terrified by the Flames round about them, abandoned the place the night following.

These frequent Misfortunes of the *Turks* made them more cautious and circumspect in all their Motions for the future, retiring and keeping themselves close in their strong Holds, and Fortresses. On the other side, the *Imperial* Court took all possible care to reinforce their Army, and make it more strong and numerous than it had been the last year: To which end, Orders were given to repair and strengthen the Fortifications of *Buda* and *Esseck*;

and especially the latter, where the Counterscarps were enlarged, and two whole, and two half Batteries were raised; and the Ice of the *Danube*, (for it was now the month of *March*) being thawed, the River was open to bring all necessary Materials for the Fortifications, whereby that work went on with all Diligence. This Employment did not hinder the Governor of *Esseck* from making some Attempts on the *Turks*; the which he prosecuted with some vigour, for having given Orders to a Captain of *Walkowar*, *Percilia* by Name, with 400 *Hussars* and *Heydukes*, to fall into the Dominion of the *Turks*: He accordingly surprized *Irwick*, burnt and plundered, and put all to Fire and Sword. He destroyed also the Neighbouring Villages, and cut down all the *Turks* and *Tartars* who had their Quarters in those Parts: In this Action *Percilia* got so considerable a Booty, that he laded 70 Waggon with the Spoil, besides a considerable number of stately Horses; only 40 *Turks* of Note and Quality were made Prisoners; and several Standards, as a signal of Victory, were sent to *Vienna*. With this Booty, a great quantity of Copper-Money was taken for payment of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, together with 12000 Ducats in Gold, and 3000 in Silver, with Clothing for the Soldiers, and rich Habits belonging to the General Officers. The Report of this Action being noised abroad, a *Palsha* of that Country, called *Kathana Abulapha*, with 200 *Horse* pursued and overtook them; but finding them too strong for him, and preparing to attack him, he retired and saved himself in a Castle not far distant from thence. Not was this all; for *Percilia*, meeting with another Party of *Turks*, caused his Trumpets to sound a *Turkish* March: In answer to which, the *Tartars* called, and spoke to them in the *Turkish* Language, which *Percilia* returned with good Blows, falling on them so suddenly, that they entirely routed them, took all their Colours, and a good Booty, and released many *Christians* *Tartars*, which had been enslaved by the *Tartars*; in which Action, and in the former, they killed 1200 *Turks* and *Tartars*, and so returned safe with all their Prisoners and Booty to *Walkowar* and *Esseck*.

A like Exploit was done by *Antonio*, Captain of the *Rascians*, who having joyned with 600 *Heydukes*, and 400 *Hussars*, attacked a Castle, called *Karakowar*, a place situated on a high Rock, and by a Stratagem took it, and found therein great quantities of Corn; the which he distributed amongst his Men; only he put a Garrison into the place, and left with

Ecc 2 them

1691. them 2000 Sacks of Corn for their Sub-
March. sistence.

Tho' the *Turks* had the last year been more successful than they had been any time during the War; yet by their long and tedious Marches, and by the Losses they had sustained in small Parties before-mentioned, they could not put themselves into a posture of taking the Field until the middle of the month of July: How-
May. ever, in the mean time, they made great preparations both by Land and Water; ordering their Troops from the remotest parts of *Asia* to march for *Hungary*; several of their Ships laden with Ammunition and Provisions arrived at *Widin*, with design to transport the same to *Belgrade*, where the Magazine of Stores was to be made. *Antonio*, who was now made a Colonel, had notice hereof, and suffered two of their small Ships to pass by, without interruption; herewith the *Turks* being encouraged, sent 10 more; but these *Antonio* attacked, and took two of them, and two more of them were taken by the *Rascians* near *Medava*, the rest returned back to *Widin*.

These great Preparations made by the *Turk* obliged the Emperor to do the like; and accordingly a great Train of Artillery, with vast quantities of Ammunition, Bullets, Bombs, and Carcasses, were sent down the River to *Buda* and *Esseck*; at the latter of which places the General Rendezvous of the Imperial Army was appointed.

The *Turks* on the other side began to draw some Troops out of their Garrisons of *Great Waradin* and *Temeswar*, consisting of 200 Foot, and 1000 Horse, carrying some great Guns with them in their march, seeming, as if they intended an Attempt upon *Lugos*, with hopes to surprize it; of which *Antonio* having had some intelligence, happily met with them; and having a stronger Body of Horse and Dragoons, fell on the 200 Foot, and defeated them, killed 61 of them on the place, took some Prisoners, the rest saving themselves in the Marshes and Woods adjacent: By some of these Prisoners, *Antonio* received Information, that the 1000 Horse were marched towards *Lugos*, and accordingly directing his Course thither, he surprized and took several of them who were separated from the rest; and causing all the *Rascian* Drums, Trumpets, and Kettle-Drums to sound, they struck such a Terror in the *Turks*, that they fled from their several Quarters with such Confusion, that dispersing themselves, many of them were taken, and amongst them, an Aga, with many other principal *Turks*.

The time now approaching near for Action, Count *Guido of Staremberg* drew out several Troops which were quartered in the Neighbourhood, into a Body; the other Troops which lay about *Pest*, where they had had their Winter-quarters, were drawn over to the opposite side, where joining with those of *Buda*, they encamped at *Sausberg*: Whilst these Troops were drawing together, a Party of *Rascians* surprized and took *Titul*, in which they found 400 *Turks*, and put them all to the Sword. In this interim, General *Veterani* received Intelligence, That 300 Ships laden with Provisions, under the Convoy of 4000 Men, were speedily designed from *Widin* to *Belgrade*, for subsistence of that place; and hereupon the General sent Orders to the Colonels, *Pobland* and *Antonio*, to intercept them in their passage. These two Braves having joyned their Forces, making together 4000 Men, lay in wait for the Enemy about two days, and on the third, seeing them begin to appear, they drew their Forces so close together, that they seemed not to make above 400 Men in all: The *Turks* contemning so small a number, detached a Party of 1000 Janizaries to attack them; which running upon them with fury and precipitation, were so rudely treated by the *Rascians*, that the *Turks* were forced to send a stronger Party to their assistance; the which all were so bravely received, that above 1000 *Turks* were killed on the place, and many drowned in their retreat; but the Ships braving themselves to the other side of the River, were saved.

Nor were the *Rascians* less fortunate, some days afterwards having taken 400 Waggon's laden with Ammunition and Provisions in their passage from *Belgrade* to *Temeswar*, besides several Prisoners, amongst which were three *Turks* of good Quality.

Another strong Party of *Rascians* making an Incurſion near *Mitrovitz*, attacked *Nathana Mithapha*, and killed 1500 of his Men on the place, took several Prisoners, four Guns, and all his Baggage; upon which the *Turks* quitting *Mitrovitz*, the *Rascians* entered and possessed themselves of it.

These Successes being the Preludes to the ensuing Campaigne, were good Omens of a happy and glorious Victory, the truth whereof will speedily appear, by what is to follow before the Conclusion of this Year.

By all the Misfortunes which had attended the *Turks* in this War, it was believed not only at *Vienna*, but concluded as well in *England*, as in all parts of Ger-
many,

1691. many, that the *Turks* were become weary
June. of the War, and that there was nothing now wanting to beget a Peace, but a good Mediator acceptable to both the Emperor and the Sultan. The *Turks* had already given Proofs of their Inclinations to a Peace by the Ambassadors, which (contrary to the Custom of the *Turks*, and which had never been practised before) had sent their Ambassadors in a manner to supplicate Peace with the Emperor, and who remained still in the Imperial Dominions, tho' confined to the Castle of *Putendorf*, in the nature of Prisoners; the which was excused by the *Austrians*, by the constant practice of the *Turks*, who had for the most part Imprisoned Ambassadors, or put Guards upon them, at all times when their Negotiations succeeded not; or that Propositions were offered not very pleasing to the Grand Seignior.

But be it how it will, it being now evident, that both Parties had need of a Peace, no Princes appeared capable of the Office of Mediation, but only *William King of Great Britain*, and the *States General of the United Provinces*, being both Friends to the Port, and to the Emperor and his Allies.

About that time, Sir *William Trumball*, sent by King *James II.* to reside Ambassador at *Constantinople*, being recalled, Sir *William Hufley*, one of the Members of the *Turky* Company, was Elected by that Company, according to their Privileges, to reside Ambassador at the *Ottoman* Port: And being afterwards presented to His Majesty *King William*, to receive His Royal Consent and Confirmation, he was accepted by His Majesty, and received his Commission and Instructions accordingly; by which he was appointed in the Name of *King William* and Queen *Mary*, to Offer unto the Sultan Their Majesties Mediation.

For better effecting of which, Sir *William Hufley* was appointed to take a Journey by Land to the *Ottoman* Port, and in his way to call at *Vienna*, there to receive such Directions about Treating this Peace as should be delivered him by the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, and the State of *Venice*, then in an Alliance together.

Sir *William Hufley* not leaving *England* until the latter end of the year 1690, and having his Lady, with her Women in his Company, he arrived not at *Vienna* until the beginning of the Winter; when the *Danube* being frozen up, and no passage without great danger by Land; and the Instructions according to the slow Motions of the Imperial Court not formed, nor delivered to the hands of Sir *William Hufley*

until towards the Spring; he arrived not at *Adrianople* till the Month of June, where the Grand Vizier was still remaining, and preparing for his march with the Army towards *Belgrade*. But before he departed, he first gave Audience to Sir *William Hufley* the English Ambassador; at which, little passing besides Ceremony, no Judgment could be made of the Viziers Inclinations to a Peace, whose Thoughts were taken up with the Contrivances for the War; for the *Turks* being resolved to try the fortune of the following Campaigne, would not much hearken to Proposals of Peace, especially being offered with an *Uti Possidetis*, The Grand Vizier not inclining to a Peace. that is, to make short work, That both Parties should be contented with what they had in Possession, and so an Amistie to pass. What the Vizier had in his Mind, he was not willing to declare; but by the Sequel it appeared, that he resolved to Fight, and to adventure his own Life with the Fortune of the *Ottoman* Empire, on the hazard of a Battle, esteeming it more glorious to die in the Field, than poorly and meanly in a private Chamber by a Cord applied to his Neck by the Hands of two Executioners: With these thoughts the Grand Vizier proceeded to *Belgrade* to Head the Army, which was full of Hope and Assurance of Victory, under the Auspicious Conduct of this *Kuperlee*, Son of Old *Kuperlee*, and Brother to that Prudent and Moderate Vizier, who subdued *Candia*, and put an end to the *Venetian* War, which the *Turks* had lasted for 27 or 28 Years; for the *Turks* in hope, to attribute more to the Fortune of a Man, than to the Grand Vizier, and of his Family, and the Stars under which he is Born, than to his Wisdom, Conduct and Experience: And for this reason, the *Turks* so often change their Ministers, doing as Gamblers do with their Dice and Cards, throwing them away, in hopes by this Change, to change their Fortune.

In this manner, as we said, the Grand Vizier marching hastily away to the Frontiers, the Business of the Mediation went not forwards, but this great Work being at a stand, Sir *William Hufley* proceeded to *Constantinople*, which hath for many Years been the usual place of Residence for the English Ambassadors.

On the 18th of this Month of June, Sir *William Hufley* made a Solemn Entry into the City, being met on the way by at least 50 of the English Nation, all well and bravely mounted on Horseback, with rich Furniture and Cloathing. Moreover, to make this Solemnity the more splendid, the *Holland* Ambassador the *Heer Colliers*, sent his two Brothers with the Officers of his Court, to make up the Train, and in this man-
And makes his Entry.

1691. manner the *English* Ambassador was conducted in great Order and Triumph to his House at Pera.

Much about the time, or perhaps the same Day that Sir *William Huxley* departed from *Adrianople*, being the 11 of June, *Sultan Solymán* died at that place; the News of which being known and divulged every where to the People in the space of five Hours afterwards; the *Mufti*, *Caimacham*, *Kadileskier*, *Nakib Effendi*, and all the other great Men then present at *Adrianople*, assembled together, and without any delay proclaimed *Sultan Achmet*, Brother of the

Deposed *Alabomet*, and Deceased *Solymán*, for Emperor of the *Ottoman* Empire; and having first set him on the Throne, and kissed the Hem of his Vest in token of Obedience, he was carried to *St. Jub.* as acclamatory, on Horseback; where having his Sword girt to him by the *Mufti*, he was reconducted back to the *Seraglio* amidst the Throngs of People, who attended him through the Streets with Prayers, and loud Acclamations for his Prosperity and long Life: And solemn Prayers were publicly made in two several Moschs, which continued from Break of Day, until five a Clock in the Evening, all loudly praying for the Prosperous and Auspicious Inauguration of the new Sultan, and also for the Soul of the Deceased *Solymán*.

Sultan Achmet being thus exalted to the Throne, the common People began to expect a change of Fortune, conceiving higher thoughts of this Prince, than they had done of the late *Solymán*, who merited no other Character than what we have already given him at the beginning of his Reign. The former was dull and heavy, stolid, and given to Books, and much of the Behaviour of a *Dervis*; but this present *Achmet* was more lively, free, and jocund in his Humour; he was both a Poet, and a Musician, made Verses, and sang them, plaid well upon the Cittern, and Coloffeo, after the *Perjan* manner.

In his Jovial Humours he would sometimes make Visits to the Disconsolate *Ma-bomet* his Brother, singing and playing before him with his Instruments, bidding him be Merry, and telling him that he should not lament his Fortune. *I have been (said he) a Prisoner for 40 Years, during which time you were Sultan, and did what you pleased; now my time is come, and yours may return: And then he would take his Instruments and play, and sing; saying, Brother you have let me true, and so shall you, and be merry: And in this good Humour he would often pass his time, to the great comfort of his Deposed Brother.*

The Body of *Solymán* deceased, was em-

balmed, and brought to the Royal Mosch, 1691. built at *Constantinople* by *Solymán* the *Mag-nificent*, and there Interred.

So soon as *Sultan Achmet* came to the Throne, and the Ceremonies, and Solemnities past, he immediately called the *Mufti*, and gave order to dispatch away with all expedition two *Capugi-Bathes*, the one to the Grand *Vizier* with a new Seal, a *Sci-metar* studded and set with Jewels, and a Cofsan, or Vest lined with Sables, as an encouragement and evidence of his Confirmation in the Office of Prime *Vizier*: In this manner another Messenger was dispatched with the like Present to the *Tartar Han*, with Orders forthwith to march unto *Belgrade*, and join the Grand *Vizier* with his Forces, which having been divided into three Bodies, the Han could not supply the *Vizier* with more than 8000 Men for the present Campaigne.

These Forces with several *Asiatick* *Pathas*, amongst which there was a considerable Body of *Curds*, or *Gordi*; and another of 2000 *Arabs* passed over to the *Vizier's* Army; with which, and with an Army of 12000 *Albanians*, the *Turkish* Army was so increased, that it was esteemed to amount unto 100000 Men; and in reality, and according to a moderate Computation, it did not amount unto less than 80000 good experienced, and disciplin'd Soldiers: Besides which 10000 Men were ordered for *Great Waradin*, under the Command of *Topal Husein*, *Patha* of *Silistria*, and *Seraskier*, for Reinforcement of that Garrison.

In the mean time *Tekeli* being fallen under the jealousy of the Port, he was forbidden to enter into *Transylvania*, where the People having a desire that the Son of *Apoft* should be placed over them, rather than *Tekeli*; the latter was commanded not farther to meddle in the Affairs of *Transylvania*, but only in the Concernments of the Upper Hungary.

At this time some Mutinies happened amongst the Soldiers of the *Turkish* Army, upon Pretence and Demand of Donative due to the Militia at the Inauguration of every new Sultan, which, according to ancient Custom, was six Dollars to every Soldier, besides the constant Pay; but this amounting unto a vast Sum, which was not at present to be found, the Soldiers were forced to content themselves with fair Words of being paid at the end of the Campaigne, and at their return home; in which matter, that real Compliance might be made with the Soldiery, when time should come, the *Christians* were taxed over all the Empire at four Hungarian Ducats a Head; that is, Men of some Estate, and two Ducats for those of Inferiour Condi-



The Grand Seignior Achmet the 11. 15.
Emperour of the Turks was proclaimed
Sultan the 12. of June 91.

1691. on; as also in like manner the *Armenians* and *Jews* were taxed; from which, it was believed, that a vast Sum of Money would arise.

The Grand Vizier, that he might secure his Government the better, during his absence in the War, had before his departure caused several of the principal Governours in *Asia*, who with 1000 Men, roved over all the Countries of *Sivas*, or *Sebastie*; but that being a Country far distant from the Port, gave little care or apprehension of danger to the Vizier, or Grand Seignior. But that which administered most of fear at Home, was the Commotion of the Common People, caus'd by the Copper Money; which having been permitted to pass for Current by the Government, was yet refused to be received in Payment by them; the which caused such Confusion in Trade, and especially in buying Provisions at the Markets, that there seem'd a Dearth or Famine almost in the Countries; upon which many bold Complaints and Menaces were carried to the Caimachan, who was forced to give the People good Words, assuring them that Silver Money was Coining, and that the Copper Money, by Hatterheriff of the Grand Seignior, should be no longer Current; the which for the present gave a stop to the Murmurings, and prevented a general Insurrection; tho' the great scarcity of Corn, and all Provisions, both in *Constantinople*, and *Adrianople*, made the People very uneasy, and apt to break out into Mutinies.

It is the Custom in the World, that when a Prince comes first unto the Throne, for the People to be inquisitive concerning his Humour, Temper, and Abilities for the weight of Government.

The Character of this Sultan *Achmet* being now the common Discourse, he was represented to be much more lively, brisk, and quicker of Apprehension than his Brother and Predecessour Sultan *Solyman*, who (as we have said) was as dull and as heavy as an Ox; a weak, simple Man, more fit to be a Dervish than an Emperor; but this *Achmet* was said to delight to ride on Horseback, and to throw the Gerit, a Sport used by the Cavaliers, and mettled Sparks and Soldiers amongst the *Turks*. Farther, he was said to love Justice, and to be rigorous in the execution thereof; an Enemy to Tyranny, and Oppressors of his People; but a great Admirer of the Fair Sex; which Qualities were thought very laudable, and

for them, whether true, or false, he was in high esteem with the People; and particularly because he was entered into the Project of Coining Silver Money, and debasing the Copper to half the value of what it lately passed for in ordinary Payments.

But the important Affair of all was the Success of a Battle, which the Grand Vizier resolv'd to adventure, both in confidence of the strength of his Army, and his numerous Troops, which now were said to amount unto 87226, Horse and Foot, as they were counted by faithful Persons, whom the Grand Vizier had appointed to tell them, as they pass'd the Bridges over the Save; besides 3000 Seamen, and some Spahies from *Asia*, which lagged behind, and the Rabble which attend Armies.

This great Force, with the encouragement which the French Ambassador gave the Grand Vizier to put the Dispute to the Decision of a Battle, promising him undoubted Victory, prevailed very much with the Vizier, who considering the Applications which the *English* and *Lutch* Ambassadors made for a Peace, was an Argument both to him and all the *Turkish* Officers, that the Emperor was in a dangerous condition, and unable to maintain the War: Howsoever when the French Ambassador was insinuating this Consideration into the Mind of the Caimachan at *Adrianople*, and that as his Master had already brought great Ruine and Destruction into the Dominions of the Emperor, so he would assist and support the Grand Seignior in his Wars both with Men and Money. To which the Caimachan made this Answer. *That if it were true, what the Ambassador alleged, the Imperialists could not be in such a condition as at present to come down upon the Ottoman Armies, and be able to overmatch them both in Numbers and Valour: What diversion then (said he) hath he given to the Power of the Emperor? If he hath Wars with the English and Hollanders, what is that to us? We believe nothing but what we see, nor esteem of any thing, but what brings us immediate and manifest relief.*

Sir William Haffey the *English* Ambassador, as we have said, being arrived at *Constantinople*, was admitted three Days afterwards to an Audience with the Caimachan, who received him with great State and Pomp, and in a Friendly manner demanded of him the Particulars of his long Journey, and assured him of the Protection of the Port, both for his own Person, and security of his Nation; after which, and that the usual Ceremonies were performed, the Ambassador and his Followers were vested with 22 Coifans, which was as many as at any time

Principal
Men in
Asia put to
Death.

The Copper
Money the
cause of
trouble.

August.

The Character
of
Sultan
Achmet.

The force of
the Turkish
Army.

The French
Ambassador
desperately
insinuates a
Battle.

Sir William Haffey
by at
Constantinople.

1691. time were given to the *French* Ambassadors
at other times, 18 or 19 were bestowed on
July. the *English*; but now the Number was made
equal, to show that the Esteem they made
of the *English* Nation, was equal with that
of the *French*.

But how civil forever was the Behaviour of the Chincham towards the *English* Ambassador, the Grand Vizier seem'd to be of another Temper; for he not only neglected the Addresses of the *English*, but privately gave the *French* Ambassador to understand all that had pass'd between him and the *English*; and this Confidence between the *Turks* and the *French* was much increased at that time, by the arrival of a skillful Engineer from *France*, well practis'd in all Military Exercises and Arts, relating to Mines, Steges, Encampments, &c. and with him came 22 *French* Officers, who were all clothed in good French Cloth, after the *Turkish* Fashion; and with these, Monsieur *Durana*s a famous *French* Thef, was recommended by the *French* Ambassador to the Vizier, who took this Offer the most kindly of any thing; for as the *Turks* have very few Physicians of their own, they highly esteem those who come from the Parts of *Chriftendom*; so that the Grand Vizier took this Doctor with him, and kept him always near his own Person.

August. The Ambassador, Sir *William Hussey*, having continued some few Days at *Constantinople*, to settle the Affairs of the *Turkey*-Company, and his own Domestic, and private Concernments, Count *Marigli* arrived from *Vienne*, bringing a Chiaus with him: This *Marigli* had the Title of Secretary to Sir *William Hussey*, appointed by the Emperor to assist in the Matters of Peace, being a Person well practised in all the Treaties relating to the Emperor and the *Turks*. The same Day that *Marigli* arrived, both he, and Sir *William Hussey* had a Conference with the *Dutch* Ambassador, *Heer Calier*; at which it was resolved to take a Journey to the Grand Vizier at *Belgrade*, and there again to press the Reasons and Arguments for a Peace.

Accordingly the two Ambassadors departed from Constantinople the 11th of August, and entered into Adrianople the 16th of that Month, with intention to proceed to Belgrade in a few Days, had not the News of the total Defeat of the Turkish Army in a Battle given near *Salankemeni*, with the Death of the Grand Vizier, put a stop to their Journey for a while, until a new Vizier should be created; the which was soon performed, for immediately one *Ali Pasha*, formerly *Kahya* of the deceased Vizier, and late *Pasha* of *Scio*, was constituted in the place of his Master; and he being com-

manded to proceed in 10 or 12 Days, the 1691.
Ambassadors resolved to accompany him to *Belgrade*, there to attend his Motion, and
those Overtures which might open a way
to a Treaty. August:

Now since this great Defeat given the *Turks*, in all appearance might cause an Alteration, and Change in the Affairs of *Christendom*, and be improved to a happy Agreement between the *Christians* and the *Turks*; it is most necessary, and natural to this History, to give a succinct Relation thereof.

The greatest part of the Month of *July*, ^{*the March of the Christian Troops, to the place of Rendezvous,*} was spent in the Marches of the Armies towards the Field of Battle : The Troops under the Command of the Count de Saxe, designing their Marches towards *Efflack*; they came to *Pax*, where they joined with five Companies of *Houfchins*, and five of *Amenagaz's* Regiments, and at *Mohatz* they were reinforced by 6000 *Brandenburgers*; about the middle of the Month of *July*, Prince *Lewis* arrived in the Camp, being welcomed with all the Cannon of *Mohatz*, and the same Day he took a View of all the Troops, at that Place, commanded by General *Souches*, and the next Day of the *Brandenburgers*; which having done, he sent Expresses to the Army which was behind to hasten their March to *Efflack*; to which Place the Prince in Person riding Post, he arrived the 17th of *July*, where having

the 1691.

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1691.
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*The Forces
joyn.*

The great Army on the 20th joyned with the Regiment of *Staremburg* at *Walkawitz*, which was eleeved the beff in all the Army : On the 24th they came to *Bacbin*, and there joyned with five Companies of Foot of the Regiment of *Archite*, and with the Regiment of *Hofte* of *Balfompierre* : On the 26th the Army encamped under *Iloek*, and there rested that Day, when News was brought, That the Grand Vizier was Arrived at *Belgrade*, and having laid two Bridges over the *Save*, he had begun to pass the River with his Army, which consisted of 100000 Men, extending it self from the Mountains on the side of the *Danube*, as far as to the Island of *Zigan* in the *Save*.

Besides which numerous Army the *Turks* had a vast number of Ships and Gallies, 100 of which, under the Command of a *Pasha*, were sent to attack *Tinl*, with which coming before the Place he immediately invested it; the Town was commanded by Captain *Thos*, the Garrison of which consisted only of 120 *Germans*, and 200 *Rajacians*, and with them he defended the Place for three or four Days; but considering that forwant of Ships, he could not be relieved by Water, nor by Land, by reason of the vast Deluge of Rains which had filled all the Marshes, and made them unpassable for the intended Succours; Captain *Thos* capitulated on Conditions, that the Garrison should be safely conducted to the Army of Prince *Lewis*; but this Capitulation was not well observed by the *Turks*; for as the Garrison was marching out, the Lieutenant of the *Pasha* would not suffer the *Rajacians* to pass, ordering them all to be put to the Sword; but Captain *Thos* not allowing this piece of Treachery, and Breach of Faith, he came to high Words with the *Pasha*; upon which, the *Pasha* in a Fury drew his Scimitar; but Captain *Thos* being more ready

July.

Peter Watadin *for-si-fied*.

Prince *Lewis* continuing his March, arrived the 29th of this Month at *Peter Wa-*

radin with the grofs of his Army, attended with all the Ships and Vessels, which carried the Provisions, Ammunition, and other Necessaries : This Place being very advantageous for its Situation, was ordered by Command of the Prince to be fortified; and here it was that a Regiment of Horse of the Duke of *Newburg*, and a Battalion of the Regiment of *Hafchin*, with 19 Field-Pieces joined the Army.

On the 30th of this Month of *July*, a *Rajcan* Peasant, or Country-fellow, was taken, sent by the Vizieer for a Spy, to take a view of the *Christlan* Camp; whom the Prince would not suffer to be punished; but returned him back to the Grand *Vizieer*, to give him notice, that he was marching towards him with his whole Army; the truth of which was verified soon after by the ensuing Battle, which, as we shall see, was given on the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Month of *August*.

This interval of time, between the last of July, and the 19th of the following Month, was taken up in recruiting the Forces, and other Preparations for that great Day ; so that on the beginning of this Month, 6000 *Russians*, and 3000 *Hungarians* were added to the Army, under the Command of General *Bathian*, besides 2000 *Bavarian* Foot commanded by Colonel *Zacko* ; so that now the whole Imperial Army consisted of near 66070 Men ; with which Body the Prince marched as far as *Carlowitz*, where the Army having rested some few Days, they marched to *Salankement*, and there encamped ; and in the mean time the *Turks* blew up *Titul*, making their Escape by Water to *Belgrade*.

The *Turks* hearing of this Advance of the *Christian Army*, sent 4000 *Spahies* under the Command of *Kathana Pasha*, to recognize, or take a view of them in their March; but a Party of *Hussars* commanded by *Raab*, and *Badiani* being sent out against them, the *Turks* withdrawing they retreated back to the Army, and with them a *Christian*, who having been a Slave, made his Escape, and reported, That the whole *Turkish Army* had already passed the *Sav*; so that the Prince resolving now to meet them, continued his March to *Semlin*, a Place near to *Belgrade*, between which two Places, nothing but the River intervenes.

The *Turks* being much stronger in Shipping than were the *Christians*, they were always puffing up and down the River, so that all the Ships attending the Imperial Camp were forced to remain at *Peter Wa-*^{The Turks strong in Shipping}
radin; from whence, with great inconvenience, all Provisions and Ammunition were brought by Land to the Camp; until such time as General *Dunewald* being come to

F f f Fh

1691. the Army, had dispatched 300 Germans, and 100 Hungarians, back to Salankement, to cover and secure 300 of the Christian Vef-fels, which were arrived at that place laden with Provisions; which was of great Relief to the whole Army.

The two Armies being now very near to each other, Parties were daily detached on both sides to make Discoveries, and bring Intelligence; one of which from Prince Lewis on the 8th of this Month, had an Encounter with some advanced Guards of the Turks near Semblin, which upon appearance of the Christians, immediately retreated; and a Fog covering the whole Turkish Camp on a sudden, that Party returned without being able to give other Informations.

In like manner the Grand Vizier on the 10th of this Month, came in Person with all his Horse to take a view of the Christian Camp; upon which the whole Army was drawn out into Battalia; and some Volunteers, and other Troops, advanced so far on the Turks, that being attacked by great Numbers of them, they were repulsed, and droven back with some loss, until the left Wing of the Army (in which Prince Lewis was in Person) came in to their Succor; howsoever 20 of them were killed, and the rest were pursued to the very Camp; but in revenge the Turks were also beaten back, several of them being killed in their Retreat.

The same Day the Imperial Army advanced two Leagues farther towards Semblin, where they posted themselves in such a manner, that the Danube was on their Backs, and the left Wing guarded with Chevaux de Frize, which are a kind of Turn-pikes to keep off the Horse from breaking into the Foot.

On the 12th the Army advanced in order of Battle, within Cannon-shot of the Turks Retrenchments, near to Semblin; being attacked on all sides by many Hundreds of the Enemies Horse, which never stood any Ground, but retreated to their Camp, which was so posted on a rising Hill, or Eminence, that the Generals judged it not to be attacked without great disadvantage.

On the 13th, whilst the Army rested, a certain Page to the Major of the Regiment of Piccolomini, who had been taken Prisoner formerly by the Turks, made his Escape, and informed Prince Lewis, that the Turks had certainly made an Attack on the Christian Army, had they not been dissuaded by the French, who advised them not to lose the advantage of their Trenches, but to remain in expectation of being assaulted therein by the Enemy, or at least

until they could draw out into a more advantageous Ground, or until the arrival of the Tartars, which were hourly expected.

During this time the Officers and Soldiers of the Imperial Army, kept themselves in a readiness to receive the Enemy; not stripping themselves of their Cloaths, for several Nights.

That Evening it was concluded at a Council of War, not to engage the Enemy on that Ground, but to return back to Salankement, because that there being a necessity to bring all the Provision from thence for the Army; the Convoys could not easily be defended from the Enemies Horse, which in great and strong Parties lay in continual wait for them: So that on the 14th in the Morning, by Break of Day, the Trumpets and Drums were ordered to give warning to the Army to prepare for a March, the Baggage being sent before, and in the mean time, until nine a Clock in the Morning, the Army stood in view of the Enemy, who moved not out of their Trenches, sending only a Party of Tekeli's Men to observe their motion.

On the 15th the Army lay still, and so did the Turks; and the next Day Prince Lewis marched an Hour nearer towards Salankement: And on the 17th proceeding one Hour farther, the Turks imagined that this Motion was a Flight, little thinking that it was only in design to Encamp about Salankement, where they remained near to their Ships laden with Provisions, and where they could choose the most advantageous Ground for a Battle. The Turks encouraged with this Imagination, marched after the Christian Army, and fell in the Rear of them with several Thousands of Horse; but Count Stirum General, and Count Hoffkircken Major-General of the Horse, charged them so briskly, bestowing some Shot amongst them from their Field-Pieces, as caused them to retire with loss, and to remain more quiet for a while. Howsoever about Midnight a great Number of the Enemies Horse, Camels, and Mules, having been stung by a sort of Venomous Fly, had broke their Halters and Bridles, and with their Sables, and Harneffes, came running into the Christian Camp, which gave an Alarm to the whole Army: But that being over, it was expected, that the next Day a Battle would ensue, which both the Imperial Officers, and Soldiers, did heartily desire. But the Grand Vizier following the Advice of the French, who were about him in great Numbers, would not adventure that Day to attack the Army; but instead thereof, that they might cut off all Communication between the Germans, and

1691. August.

Pr. Lewis marches back to Salankement.

The Turks repulsed.

An alarm given.

Peter

1691. Peter Waradin, they marched half a League beyond them, and there posted themselves with such haste and diligence, that in 24 Hours they had fortified their Camp with Regular Walls of a Man's height, and Battions on which Cannon was planted, leaving only a narrow Passage for coming in, and going out from the Camp.

By these means the Turks had almost cut off all Correspondence between the Imperial Army, and Peter Waradin, and so hindered the passage of all Provisions, that the Germans had infallibly perished in this unfortunate occasion, had not God Almighty visibly assisted them by His Omnipotent Hand.

To this another Misfortune happened, the News whereof was brought by a French Deserter from the Turkish Camp; how that the Regiment of Dragoons of Count Bucquoy, Commanded by their Major, Count D'Arco in all 1000 brave and well mounted Men, together with 400 others, sent for Recruits to the Regiment of Caprara and Hoffkircken, contrary to the Order of Prince Lewis, were fallen into the Hands of the Enemies; the occasion whereof was, that these Soldiers preferring the security of their Baggage before that of their Lives, resolved to take that with them; and so marching very slowly, they came to stop about two Hours in a Place, distant about a German League from the Imperial Army; where being attacked, and surrounded on all sides by the Turks, they defended themselves with much Bravery for the space of two Hours, but at length they were all cut down, not above 30 escaping of the whole Number of 1400; the Major only was taken Prisoner, and the next Day after the Battle, was found Chained Hand and Foot in the Enemies Camp.

Besides this the Turks took 250 Waggon's carrying Provisions to the Imperial Army, with a 100 Ships belonging to the Suters of the Army; the Men whereof for the most part were saved, for joyning themselves with the Rabble of the Army, they fought stoutly for their Lives, killing great Numbers of the Turks.

This great Loss was very sensible to the Christians, who having lost all their Provisions, without hopes of any other Supply, found no other Deliverance and Safety, but in their Arms, and so resolved on a Battle: The Turks on the other side growing Arrogant, and bold on these growing Arrogance, and now to condemn their Enemies, and to look only on them as so many lost Men, which they now condemned, and sentenced to Destruction, resolving to give them no Quarter in the Field.

The Christian Soldiers thus armed with

The Germans in danger.

Count Bucquoy's Regiment cut in pieces.

The Christians lost all their provisions.

Despair, on the 19th of this Month of August, by Break of Day in the Morning, having put themselves into posture of Battle, marched directly towards the Turks; and about Noon both Armies being drawn up, they faced each other at a small distance. The Prince of Baden Commanded the right, and Count Dunevalde the left Wing.

The Turkish Army consisted of about 100000 Men, of which 60000 were the best Soldiers in all the Ottoman Empire, besides 15000 of the best, and most experienced Janifaries; all which Force was advantageously posted, having the Danube on their Back, and in their Front a deep Ditch, with Earth thrown up behind them; but their left Wing was not so well fortified, but that it lay something more exposed to the Christians, whose Army was likewise drawn up in a Martial Posture.

The greatest part of their Infantry being divided into 20 Battalions; that is to say, The Regiment of Ernest Staremberg four Battalions, of Souches three, of Chizala one, of Guido Staremberg three, of Salm one, of Beck one, of Otting two, of Brandenburg three, of Cunitz one, of Paudenmont one; the which were flanked with the two Regiments of Horse of Nienburg and Holheim, with the greatest part of the biggell Cannon: The rest of the Army was drawn up after the usual form of Battle in a right Line opposite to the Enemy; and in this Posture upon firing a Bomb, which was the Signal given, they all marched in an equal Line, until they came within 200 Paces of the Enemy; and then the Cannon on each side began to play: At the first it was intended to attack the Enemies left Wing, before the right, to give room for the Foot, which was placed on the rising of a Hill opposite to the main, and strongest Intrenchment of the Turks, which was fortified with 80 Pieces of Cannon; and also to charge the Enemies Horse, which were drawn up below the Hill in the Plains, with design that having Overthrown them, to force through the Camp, unto that part where the Enemies were less fortified and secured. It seems that the right Wing was something too forward, and began to engage before the left could come up, being hindered by the high Grabs and Buihes; howsoever here was no staying or retreating for the right Wing; but, on they went, looking on the Enemy before them, and proceeded to their very Ditches and Intrenchments; but the Janifaries having a good Parapet, or Breast-work before them, fired so furiously from thence, that many both of the Chief, and Subaltern Officers were killed and wounded; and here it was that General Souches upon a numerous Sal-

1691. August. 19th.

The Disposition of the Army.

The Battle of Salankement.

1691. ly of the Enemy, was forced to give way, until the Foot came up, which was not far behind; but in the mean time being sustained by the four Regiments of *Nieuburg, Holstein, St. Croix, and Darmstadt*: under the Command of the Dukes of *Holstein and Aremberg*, they advanced to the very brink of the Enemies Retrenchments, with which Example of Bravery both Horse and Foot, being again animated, the Infantry made several Attacks on the Enemy, and tho' they were sometimes repulsed, yet being relieved, and guided by those brave Officers both of Horse and Foot; the Fight was continued from three a Clock in the Afternoon, until it was Night, by which time all the Superiour Officers of the Infantry were killed, excepting only General *Guide of Staremberg*, and Prince *Charles of Vaudemont*, tho' both of them were also wounded.

Nor was the rest of the Army in the mean time idle; for the Enemy attacking them in the left Wing, and in the Flank with great fury, were as bravely repulsed by the Brigades of *Castelli* and *Hofkirchen*; but the *Turks* rallying all their Horse into a Body, fell on with greater Fury, in despite of the small and great Shot, and charged the Brigade of General *Saran*, which was part of the Right Wing: And the *Turks* being very numerous on that side, they so overpowered them, that two of the Battalions were cut down on the Ground where they stood, in which Action, the Battalions of *Ottins, Beck*, and also the Old Regiments of *Staremberg*, and *Brandenburg*, suffered very much; so that until that time being about six a Clock, Fortune favoured the *Turks*; and things had such a dismal and desperate Face, that the Generals themselves began to despair of saving one Man from this Bloody Action; for here was no Retreat, or Sanctuary, nor Place to fly unto for Succour: And thus both Officers and Soldiers armed with Despair, redoubled their Endeavours, and in contempt of Death rushed on the Enemies Squadrons; the which being observed by those who attended the Baggage, and remained for Reserves, how that their Companions were beset on all sides, and in a continual Fire, were ashamed to be Lookers on, and Spectators of this Tragedy, came in to the Succour of those who were ready to turn their Backs, and with their Cries and Prayers, gave a stop to their Flight.

Matters standing in this desperate State and Condition, the main Body of the Army under the Command of the *Brandenburg* Generals, *Barfus* and *Brandt*, came timely in to the Assistance of Count *Saran*, who by these Succours rallied his Men, and

defended his Post, until about an Hour before Night, when the Brigades of *Hofkirchen*, and *Castelli*, with the left Wing, which at this time was Commanded by the Prince of *Baden* in Person, were advancing towards that side of the *Turkish* Army, which was not as yet Intrenched, and so furiously assaulted them, that by the Divine Assistance, and Arm of the God of Hosts, visibly appearing for them, they at last forced, and entered the Enemies Camp, driving them from the rising Grounds where they had planted their Cannon; which when the *Hungarians* and *Rafians* observed, they, who until then had been something backward, and watched the time to Escape, came thundering down with renewed Courage, and furiously entered the *Turkish* Camp, cutting down all that presented before them; by which means a Way was opened for the right Wing to advance; and so the *Turks* being brought into the middle, and attacked on all sides in a narrow Ground between their Trenches and the *Danube*, were entirely subdued, and overcome, and began to fly. And tho' the *Turkish* Cavalry for the most part found a way to escape, through a void Interval laid open for the right Wing, howsoever the Foot continued to defend themselves so furiously and firmly in their Trenches, that tho' the Field was yielded to the *Christians*, yet here they received their greatest loss; for this Action cost the Life of the Duke of *Holstein*, with a Deluge of Blood, entirely to subdue the already conquered Enemy.

The Anger, Rage, and Despair of the *Turks* on one side, and the Fury of the *Christians* on the other, was such, that the first scorned to accept Quarter, and the others not willing to give it; for which reason very few Prisoners were taken.

The remainder of the *Turkish* Cavalry, amongst which was the Grand Vizier in Person, were forced to break their way through the narrow Passages, and Distances between the Lines, with their usual Cries of *Allah, Allah*, which is a calling upon the Name of God: In this Passage many of them fell, and many were mortally wounded, so that the Roads, to the very *Sava*, were filled with dead Bodies; and on the other side thereof, the Grand Vizier, with many other principal *Turkish* Officers, ended their Days.

In this memorable Battle, which was the most Bloody of any that hath happened in several Ages, the *Turks* lost in all upwards of 25000 Men, and amongst them the Grand Vizier; what Officers were killed on both sides, or wounded, appears in the following List. The *Turkish* Fleet, bringing their Vessels close to the Shoar, and as near as they could

1691. could to their Army, landed 5000 Men out of it, which might have turned the Balance, had they come timely in unto the Assistance of their Brethren; but finding the whole Army in Confusion, and all the Field in disorder, they retired with much Precipitation Aboard their Fleet.

It would be impossible to describe all the Circumstances, Turns, Changes, Passages, and Chances of this Battle, which was fought on both sides with admirable Resolution and Courage; for which those of the *Christian* Army who were slain, deserve for ever to be Chronicled in History; and those who survive, are worthy of a lasting Fame, and Immortal Glory.

Much is owing by all *Christendom* to the Valour and Conduct of that Noble General Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; as also to the Marshal-General Count of *Dumewald*, to Count *Saucher*, General of the Artillery; to Count *Stirum*, General of the Horse; and to Lieutenant-General *Barfus* of the *Brandenburg* Troops, besides all the Sergeants, Generals, and Officers, who behaved themselves with that Bravery, Conduct, and Zeal in the Cause of *Christendom*, and of the Empire, that they merit to be mentioned with all Honour and Respect, whensoever this Battle comes to be recounted in these present Days, or in future Ages: And so bloody was this Battle, that the *French* King, to comfort the *Turks*, ordered his Ambassador to tell them, That such another Victory would ruine the Emperor.

After the Battle the Imperialists became Masters of all the Enemies Artillery; namely, 154 Pieces of Cannon of all sorts, great and small, great Numbers of Ensigns and Colours; and amongst the rest of the Standard of the Grand Vizier, with those of the *Pasha's*, and of the whole Spoil and Plunder of the Field, with all the Camels, and Mules, and Carts of Burden belonging to the Camp, which amongst the *Turks* are vastly numerous: Also 10000

Tents, 10 Waggons laden with Copper Money, found in the Vizier's Tent; in the Treasurer's 54 Trunks of Copper, and 12 with Silver, and 24 Chests of Kafans. Moreover all the Standards and Colours belonging to the Regiment of *Brequey*, taken the Day before by the *Turks*, 24 Ensigns, and four Horse-Tails were sent to *Vienna*, and amongst them the Grand Vizier's Standard, which the Emperor sent to the Pope.

The Loss the *Turks* have had in this Action, appears irreparable; for about 10 or 12000 of their best Disciplined, and *Veterane* Janissaries being killed, they have not as yet been recovered to this very Year of 1694; the which is evident, for of all the Army they could make in that Year of *Turks* and *Tartars*, with Thousands of raw, and ill composed Troops, consisting of Plow-Men, and Cow-Boys, they could not make up an Army of 50000 Men; which indeed is wonderful, and shows the strange Catastrophies of this unstable World; and deserves our serious Contemplation of the Uncertainty of Humane Affairs: For whereas the *Ottoman* Empire, which hath been famed in past Ages for Multitudes and Swarms of Men, by which, over-powering their Enemies by Numbers, rather than by Valour, made all their Conquest from *Babors*, as far as *Buda*, are now dwindled to a Condition, which many of our smaller Princes in *Christendom* are able to equal.

All which we are to attribute to the Almighty Hand of God, who commiserating the wretched Estate of *Christendom*, at a time when the Victorious Arms of *France* were employed in ruining and laying waste one end of it, the *Turks* had Invaded the other, and threatened an entire Desolation of all *Germany*.

The Killed and Wounded, on one side, and the other, are according to the following Lists.

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A LIST of the Dead and Wounded on the Emperor's side.

Of the Infantry,

DEAD.

THE Duke of *Holstein*, Sergeant-General.

Colonels.

Count *Cannitz*.
Count *Bucquo*.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Count *de Petting*, of Col. *Becks* Regiment.
Count *Stahrenberg* of *Chizzola's* Regiment.

Sergeant-Majors.

Fingerman of *Dawn's* Regiment.
N. Groves of *Otting's* Regiment.
Kilch de Lorck of *Vaudemont's* Regiment.

Captains 15
Lieutenants 6
Ensigns 8

Subaltern Officers, and

Common Soldiers 1724

Sum of the Dead 1761

WOUNDED.

Count *Souches* General of the Artillery, who Died the 26th of his Wounds.

General-Major Count *Guido* of *Stahrenberg*.
General-Major Count *Aremberg*, who Died the 24th.

General-Major *Corbelli*.
Colonels.

Prince *Charles* of *Vaudemont*.
Count *Zacko* of the *Bavarian* Regiment.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Count *Henry* of *Stahrenberg*.
Baron *D'Elmpt* of *Salm's* Regiment.

Marquis *Bagin* of *Stahrenberg's* Regiment.
Marquis *Master* of the *Bavarian* Regiment.

Count *Herberstein* of *Souches* Regiment.
Majors.

Baron *Winkelhoven* of *Beck's* Regiment.
Willprat of *Stahrenberg's* Regiment.

Baron *Loben* of *Cannitz* Regiment.
Captains 33

Lieutenants 33
Ensigns 18

Subaltern Officers and Soldiers 2460

The Sum of the Wounded 2557

Of the Cavalry,

DEAD.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Count *Zrin* of *Caprara's* Regiment.
Count *Moulion* of *Stirum's* Regiment.

George de Werth of *Darmstadt's* Regiment.
Sergeant-Majors.

Permaitter of *Sarau's* Regiment.

Captains 8
Lieutenants 12

Cornets 3
Subaltern Officers and Commons 829

Sum of the Dead 852

WOUNDED.

Lieutenant-Colonels.

Baron *Ketler* of *Dunewald's* Regiment.
Count *Hohenems* of *Nieburg's* Regiment, who Died the 24th.

Count *Marcin* of *Holstein's* Regiment.
Baron *Chauville* of the Regiment of *St. Croix*.

Sergeant-Majors.

De Fortenau of *Darmstadt's* Regiment.
Fischer of *Rabutin's* Regiment.

Captains 16
Lieutenants 20

Cornets 21
A Chaplain of a Regiment 1

Subaltern Officers and Commons 950

The Sum of the Wounded 1014

Of the Artillery,

Sixteen Men were Killed.

WOUNDED.

Sergeant-Major *Werner*.

A Captain, an Adjutant, and 15 more.

In all 34

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The *Brandenburg* Troops, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Barfu*, having behaved themselves most Valiantly in this Bloody Day, contributed very much towards the Happy Event thereof, had also their Share of Dead and Wounded, viz.

DEAD.

Colonel Baron *de Bilaw*.
Lieutenant-Colonel Mr. *Kalfeyn*.

Captains 3
Lieutenants 7

Cornets and Ensigns 3
Adjutant 1

Subaltern Officers and Commons 508

In all Killed 524

The Sum of all the Dead is 3161

WOUNDED.

Sergeant-Major *Ruchat*.

Captains 10
Lieutenants 14

Cornets and Ensigns 10
Subaltern Officers and Commons 509

540

Of the Artillery.

Killed 4
Wounded 5

And of the Wounded Men 4136

The *Turks* on their Side, had a far greater Loss; which, tho' it cannot be distinctly certified, however may be guessed at, by what will appear from the following LIST of several of their Great and Smaller Officers, found Dead on the Field of Battle, and which were known and Named by a *Turkish* Prisoner, to be, viz.

THE Great Viziers *Kapitschler Chibaf*.

Aly Beg, Chief of *Caramania*.
A Sain, or Baron of the Province of *Begh*

Shehet in *Affa*.
Another Sain of the Neighbourhood of *Sophia*.

A Captain of the Grand Vizier's Horse-Guard.

A Divan-Chiaus, who carries the Vizier's Orders.

Thurnatschi Baffa, who is the 6th Person in the Command of the Janifaries.

Aly a Ciorbaffi of the 4th Oda, or Company of *Janifaries*.

Selyman Aga-Ciorbaffi of the 6th Oda.
Ofman Ciorbaffi of the 21st Oda.

Chalill Ciorbaffi of the 15th Oda.
Ilmael Ciorbaffi of the 25th Oda.

Aly Ciorbaffi of the 77th Oda.
Haffan Aga-Ciorbaffi of the 66th Oda.

Chalill Aga-Ciorbaffi of the 31st Oda.
Chalill Aga-Ciorbaffi of the 24th Oda.

Beker Aga-Ciorbaffi of the 16th Oda.

Beker Aga of the 61st Oda.

Ofman Aga-Ciorbaffi of the 8th Oda.

Omer Ciorbaffi of the 21st Oda.

Feli Ciorbaffi of the 38th Oda.

Aibad Ciorbaffi of the 71st Oda.

Together 17 Aga's of the Janifaries.

21 Oda Baffi, or Lieutenants;

15 Pairackdar, or Ensigns.

10 Chiaufes, or Fourriers of the Janifaries.

Several Principal Men more, and Officers of the Spahces were found amongst the Dead, but unknown to the above-said *Turk*; and besides those which were found on the Field of Battle, great Numbers of Dead Corps of all sorts were found on the Road for *Belgrade*; which together with the dead *Turks* found on the Field of Battle, are esteemed to exceed 25000 Men, beside the great Numbers of Wounded, amongst which were the Grand Vizier, the Seraskier, and the Colonel of the Janifaries, all which Died of their Wounds at *Belgrade*.

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Informazione delli Stendardi.

I. Questo Stendardo è del Gran Vefiro, che suole il Gran Signore di Turchi mandar lo al Gran Vefiro quando va alla Guerra, e deve esser nella Cima differente dall' altri.

II. Questo Stendardo è d'un Serascher, che dopo il Gran Vefiro suol esser costituito, questo serve per direttore della Battaglia che si dà alla sua mano destra, dove assiste anco l' Aglia di Gianizzari.

III. Questo Stendardo è propriamente dell' Aglia di Gianizzari che fa la Differenza dalli Pascia col pomo d'oro alla Cima.

IV. Questo è del Spahilar Aghasi.

V. Questo è del Chebahezi che è la prima persona dopo l' Aglia di Gianizzari, quale vien tenuto par dalli Giobaggi, e Gianizzari, e ha più autorità in Campagna, che l'istesso Aglia di Gianizzari.

VI. Questo è un Stendardo del Pascia d' Alepo, e di Damasco.

VII. Visono dopo l' Aglia di Gianizzari quattro supremi Generali dell' Infanteria, sotto li quali Marchiano li Giobaggi: L'uno detto Zagbargi bafi del quale è questo Stendardo; il secondo detto Samfengibaffi, il terzo detto Turnagibaffi, e il quarto detto Cap' Agbaffi. Questi devono formar il Campo di Gi-

anizzari e sempre stanno alla testa della Militia.

VIII. Questo è del Samfengibaffi.

IX. Questo è del Turnagibaffi.

X. Questo è del Cap' Agbaffi.

XI. Questo è il Stendardo sotto il quale Marchiano li Volontarij che si scrivono per primi nella Zuffa, e vien costituito un Pascia per loro Capo, e Conduttore.

XII. Questo è delli Arabi.

XIII. Questo anco è delli Arabi.

XIV. Questo è d'un Giobaggi di Gianizzari.

XV. Questo è d'un Bullukbaffi di Seimani, cioè d'un Capitano da Asia, che conduce qualche cenno Seimani. Si vedono quattro Tagh, o Code, che paiono del Gran Vefiro e Seraschero.

Sopra li primi Stendardi si vede una repetizione quattro cinque volte il simbolo delli Turchi in Arabo, quale se qualche Cristiano lo pronuntiasse, deve esser fatto Turco e ammazzato, che dice: non est Deus, nisi Deus & ipse Legatus Prophetas Mehmet; e nell' altri si vede una benedictione del loro Alcorano.

And here I shall add this particular Passage.

That the Count de la Tour, Vice-Chancellor of Bohemia, assur'd Mr. Agb, now a Bishop in Ireland, That the Evening the Battle was fought at Salankemen, Count Zerins, (who was a Young Man, and the last of the Family) his Lady walking in her Garden, with some other of her Friends, suddenly perceiv'd their great Hall illuminated as it was wont to be for Funerals; but upon search all disappeared.

The same Lady sitting down in an Arbor where she us'd to sit with her Husband, she felt one hastily sit down by her; at which being surprized, she suddenly started up, but found nothing.

Soon after a Clap of Thunder and Lightning fell on the Ancient Tomb of the Zerins, broke into the Vault, and burnt up all the Bodies and Coffins that were there.

The same Gentleman asserts, That the very Evening the Battle was fought, and as near as could be guess'd, the very Moment the Turks began to Fly, an Old Turkish Prisoner, kept in the Common Prison at Vienna, suddenly cry'd out with a great Passion, *We are Ruin'd and Undone*, &c. And being ask'd, What was the Reason of his Noise, he could give no other Account, but that he had an Impulse, which forc'd him to cry out in that manner.

1691.
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MEMOIRS

O F

Sir WILLIAM HUSSEY's Reception, and Negotiations at Belgrade, dated the 30th of April 1691. To Chancellor Straatman.

AMET Passa of Dierbekir, and Seraskier in these Parts of the Save, has desired me for the Common Good of the Poor Christians hereabouts so much oppress'd, to write to your Excellency, and interpose in their behalf the good Offices of His Majesty of Great-Britain, my Master; which I the more readily perform, as being pursuant to the Orders of my King (equally a Friend to both Empires) to contribute all possible Means, and apply my best Endeavours to the removing the pernicious Effects of this so long and Bloody a War, and changing it into an honourable lasting Peace.

Your Excellency may be sensible, that besides the Obligations of Christian Charity, 'tis my Interest also to correspond and cherish (by good Offices) that Confidence and Esteem which they here express for the King my Master, and therefore I doubt not but your Excellency will comply herewith, as far as is in your Power, and likewise solicit the Court to which more ample and positive Orders, to which Charitable Work my Lord Pagett (His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at Vienna) will (I am sure) be earnestly assiduous.

I intreat your Excellency also to send this Original by a Staffettee to his Lordship, that he may understand how well I have been received here, and give an Account thereof to the King my Master.

As soon as I entred into the States of the Ottoman Empire, I was met by the Beg, or Commandant of every Place, attended by the Militia, who furnished me with all Necessaries both for my Journey and Subsistence: At Peter Waradin I was Complemented by an Aga, sent from the Seraskier; and at the Mouth of the Theysse, was met by many Barks, guarded by Janizaries, who conducted me to Belgrade, where I was presently Complemented by the principal Officers of the Seraskier's Court, who sent his own Hories to convey me and my

Family to the Tents, which were pitch'd on the Shoar, and appointed to receive me.

The next Day I was received by the Seraskier in full Divan, composed of all the Principal Officers both Civil and Military; where when I had given Thanks for the Honours received, the Passa answered me, That such were the Ancient Customs of the Ottoman Empire, which they were resolv'd to observe, and abolish the Abuses introduced by the late Grand Seignior, and his Prime Vizier Mustapha. Then the Seraskier, with much earnestness, did exaggerate the Unjust Oppression on which was practis'd by Christians to those of the same Faith, who Inhabited the Country called Syrmium, situate between the Drave, Save, and Danube, who were barbarously spoil'd of their Cloaths, robb'd of their Cattle, and oblig'd to pay excessive Impositions against all Laws of Humanity and a regulated Government; whereas on the contrary, their Sultan sent Money to be distributed among the Poor Subjects, to buy them Cattle and Seed, thereby shewing himself a Father of the Miserable, and not a Tyrant; and this Charity (continued he) which ought to be natural to you Christians towards one another, need not hinder the Hostility of Soldiers when they meet and encounter, leaving the poor Country-Men in Peace, who labour only for the Publick Good, and the Service of that Prince whom God shall place over them.

I answer'd with applauding such Pious Maxims, and that I hoped to good Dispositions would incline them more favourably to hearken to what I was to propose in the Name of my King, towards the ending this Bloody War between the two Empires; and that as to the Particulars he mentioned, I being a Stranger knew nothing of them. He then proceeded to charge Count Chizzola (Commandant of Essek) to have deceiv'd him on several Occasions after his Word given; a Crime (says he) which will be punished by God; and if the Charity of my Emperor to-

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1691. wards the Poor Subjects and Countrymen had not restrained me, what would have hindered me this Winter to have made Excursions even to *Buda*? But all I should have gained, would have been only the Tears and Curses of the Miserable: I answer'd with commending the generous Clemency and Mercy of the present Government; and our Conference ended with the usual Ceremonies of Coffee, Sherbet, and Perfumes.

In the Afternoon I was call'd for by the Seraskier to a Private Audience, at which only his Effendi, and my Secretary (who was instead of an Interpreter) were present: I represented to him, that this perilous Journey I had undertaken, and by a way so unusual to Ambassadors from *England*, was a Mark of the high Friendship and Affection which the King my Master bore to the two Empires of *Germany* and *Turkey*, who respecting sensibly the fatal Consequences of so long and bloody a War, commanded me to pass by *Vienna*, there to receive the Orders and Instructions of the Emperor of the *Romans*, towards the amicable ending of it, to which good Work should not the Grand Sultan and His Ministers likewise correspond, it might be justly feared, that the Mischief and Devolutions hereafter ensuing, would call down Vengeance from God upon the Mufelmén. The Seraskier applauding the King's Generous Design, took notice that there never yet was between *England* and the *Ottoman* Empire, either War or any alienation of Affection, but always perfect Friendship, which he beg'd God would continue: He commended the Wisdom of the present Vizier, his Humanity and Treatableness, and approved my Solicitous Earnestness to continue my Voyage, leaving it to my Choice, either to go by Land or Water. I told him, I resolv'd to go by Water as far as *Ruffick*, a Days Journey below *Nicopolis*, and to Travel thence by Land: He again renew'd the Complaints made in the Divan, in behalf of the Poor Inhabitants of *Syrmium*, and press'd me to Write to your Excellency to forbid the Plundering of Villages, and Excursions of the *Herdakes*, who behave themselves more like Thieves than Soldiers; and that your Excellency would order, that they who are Peaceable and Disarm'd, may continue not only in Repose, but also be protected to the Benefit of that Prince to whom God shall give the Government. He assur'd me further, That whatsoever Expedient shall be propos'd by the Imperialists, towards the preventing such Violences, he will readily agree to, and cause it to be rigorously ob-

served; and in this so *Christian* a Cause, 1691. I treat me to interpose the good Offices of my King. I do therefore beseech your Excellency to Correspond herein with *Amer Pasha*, either by Letter, or by Deputies on both sides, to meet on the Confines, and to be pleas'd to inform me of your Resolution herein, by an open Letter sent to the Seraskier, with whom I alter to leave a Copy of this, as I will likewise do with the Grand Vizier, not designing to expose the Confidence they have in my King to the Hazards of any Accidents which might prove equally prejudicial to both Empires.

I took this Opportunity to shew myself equally Charitable towards the Poor *Christians* taken in *Orfona*, and made Slaves (as was reported) after they had Capitulated to have safe Conduct into the Emperor's Territories. I was answer'd, That they had Surrendered themselves with condition, That if *Belgrade* were lost, they would be Prisoners of War, and that the Grand Vizier was not capable of violating the Publick Faith so shamefully. I demanded concerning some other Prisoners, recommended to me by their Friends; but was answer'd, That they were all the Grand Seignior's Captives, and without his express Order they could not treat either for their Random or Exchange: He told me, That all Officers were well treated, and kept without Irons in a Chamber apart, with their Servants, at the Expence of the Grand Seignior. I left 100 Ducats of Gold to be distributed by Capt. *Runkel*, to the Poorest of them, which was all the Service I could do them, and of which I intreat your Excellency to give their Friends an Account.

A Courier being dispatched to *Constantinople*, I have had Permission to Write to the Grand Vizier, and Sir *William Trumbal*, giving Information of my Arrival; I purpose suddenly to continue my Voyage with full intention to do all the Service I can to both Empires, in execution of the Commands of my King, in whose Name I continue to press (as desired) your Excellency, that some Means may be found out to prevent the Rapines daily practis'd upon the Poor Country People.

The inclosed short Letter for my Lord *Pagett*, I intreat your Excellency would transmit to him, as also this Original, that his Lordship being sufficiently inform'd, may better know what to solicit from the Emperor, and what to acquaint the King my Master. I am,

Belgrade, April 30. 1691.

Sir

1691. Sir William Hussy's Letters to the Lord Pagett at Vienna.

Adrianople, May 25. 1691.

My Lord,

I Sent a full Account of our Arrival at *Belgrade*, April 30. S. N. From thence we came by Water to *Ruffick*, two Days lower than *Nicopolis*, and thence in eight Days Land-Journey hither; whence we advanced forwards two Days, but met there by my Secretary and Interpreter from *Constantinople*, with Letters and Advice from Sir *William Trumbal*, that the Vizier was upon departure, and order'd us to stay his Arrival at *Adrianople*. We returned back two Days past: I have been received and treated in all Places with singular marks of Respect and Honour, equal to any in the same Character. I send this upon Fortune to inform your Lordship of our Arrival. As to our Negotiation, I must attend the Audience before I can give you any Account, still in suspense. God be praised we are all well, and my Secretary I brought from *Vienna*. The Turks pretend to have a great Army, and design chiefly towards *Transylvania*. If this meets a quick conveyance, I beg your Lordship to acquaint my Lord *Nottingham* of my Arrival. I have wrote to the Dutch Ambassador for his Advice and Consideration, in respect to me, and his Stay, or Journey hither, since I cannot be permitted to attend him at *Constantinople*. How I shall proceed to *Constantinople*, stay here, or follow the Campaign, your Lordship must expect hereafter. My Secretary has added a few Lines, I inclose to your Lordship. My humble Duty to all the Ministers. Nothing shall be wanting which is in my Power. I am, &c.

Adrianople, June 3. 1691.

My Lord,

THE Vizier made his Entrance first, with no great Train, in the Publick Streets, but pass'd direct to his Tents; half an Hours distance, the Grand Seignior enter'd, on the 29th, with a fair shew to us, but to others very short of former Splendour: he was in a Litter, one of his Court with him at the other end. The Vizier sent his Emeen Cheuse, (the 2d. in that Office) with eight more, the same Afternoon he enter'd, that he being in haste, desired me to be ready to come to Audi-

ence next Day. We were surpris'd, because our 1691. Druggermen in good Manners thinking that Day due to his Repose, did not design to have carried my Complement, and to desire leave of Audience till next Day; but I sent them immediately to perform my Duty in congratulating his Excellency's Arrival, and to concert Matters for next Day, also to desire it might be private, in regard I was without Equipage suitable to a Publick Appearance. The Cheuse Bassa told the Vizier, in regard I had no great Retinue, his Personal Attendance might be wav'd, but he commanded him to come in Person: Accordingly on Monday Morning June 1st about nine a Clock, we set forward in the best Accommodations we could: I was in my Embroider'd Scarlet Coat, six English Footmen in my English Lac'd Liveries, six in red Liveries, al modo Turchesco, 18 Cheuses in Van, two Druggermen after them, then myself with the Cheuse Bassa on my right Hand, and about 10 Gentlemen on Horseback following me, some of my own Company, others that came from *Belgrade* with me, and several other Turks, that we made a large Train, and drew Crouds of Spectators. In half an Hour we arriv'd at his Camp; conducted into his Tents, we pass'd over very large one, and through that into another; his Officers were all drawn in Lines; they brought me a Stool to sit on, and immediately the Vizier enter'd, sat down upon a Bed carpeted; his People made a Prayer at his Entrance; he bid me welcome, and I acquainted him with my Commission, delivering him the King's Letter and its Translation; after this was over, the Tent full of Officers, and his two Sons standing on his right Hand, I ask'd his Excellencies leave now, or when he pleas'd, to speak in private; he told me, after Sherbet, Coffee, &c. the Turkish Treat, the Company should retire, and he being in haste desired it now, when we discours'd according to the Relation I send inclosed *Veibacim*, as high as we four could remember, and to which we all put our Hands, viz. my self, Senior Marfigli, Mr. Coke Secretary, and Senior Antonio Perrone chief Interpreter; there remained none in the Room but the Vizier, as before mentioned, and one Druggerman more. At Departure I was Vested and 11 more, all that I had of Quality, and conducted back with some Respect. His Excellency was very courteous, and we had all the Marks possible of a very kind Reception, with as much Honour as any in the Character.

My Lord, The Point resolv'd was, That his Excellency would not own the Turks at *Vienna* under any Publick Character, would neither write to them, or send any other: When I told him the Emperor had accepted the King of *England* and *States of Holland* to assist, and was well dispos'd to a Peace, and if his Excellency did incline also, I hop'd there might

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1691. might be a happy issue; he reply'd, He was for Peace, but upon Terms of Honour, and if I had Power to treat, would call for Pen. I reply'd, It could not be expected I should have full Authority before his Excellency's Mind had been known, and that Vienna was thought the properst Place, in regard there had been some Overtures already made, and Representations of all Parties present: That to arrive at an end, there must be a beginning; and that, if his Excellency permitted, I would send my Secretary to Vienna, to persuade His Imperial Majesty to empower his General, that so his Excellency being now upon departure for the Confines, they might treat there; and if his Excellency judged my Person and Presence necessary to so bless'd a Work, I would wait upon his Excellency, and attend his Camp: He told me there was no occasion I should take so much trouble; but said, Send your Secretary to Vienna, that the Emperor send a Person according to custom, fully empowered to treat here, or else that we are as we are: And to this he added two or three Lines: To this there's no Reply.

My Lord, I spoke several times that the Commission was to me and the Dutch Ambassador equally; which I did, and now repeat to avoid all Thoughts, because the Vizier when he spoke, said, Let the Emperor send his Commission to me, not naming the Dutch, and to this no Reply: 'Tis not an Ambition I desire, nor shall I less communicate with the Dutch Ambassador, whose Counsel I shall always desire.

My Lord, I am very glad I have the Opportunity of returning Count Marigli, who will supply by Parole what I may omit, or what is not convenient for a Letter, and that your Lordship will transmit it to my Lord Nottingham: 'Tis absolutely necessary that the Emperor resolves that he adjusts the Points with the Allies, or treats without them, which the Turks would imbrace greedily; but since His Imperial Majesty will not relinquish them, nor they able to defend, but must disgorge, and be swallowed up if alone; 'tis I think very reasonable that the Emperor requires them to positive and convenient Conditions. The Turks Nature is to do at once, and therefore considering well there must be a Power intrusted. I shall be very ready to give all the possible assistance I can, and if required, readily pass to the Camp, or Confines, for obtaining so pious a Work, grateful, and most heartily wish'd by the poor Subjects of both Empires; and I hope I shall have the better fortune for the many hearty Prayers and good Wishes I have gain'd on both sides. God Almighty prosper and direct you to compleat it. What you send to me, pray let be clear, to avoid Replie, and that Count Marigli may be perfectly instructed, who knowing the posture and manner of Af-

fairs here, will, I hope, expedite their Counsels, and resolve them. The Juncture seems very favourable, and the Allies, I believe, very pressing; this Opportunity lost, God knows the Consequences. Senior Marigli will tell your Lordship some things I have charged to his Memory, and desire your Lordship to send to my Lord Nottingham. My haste and length of Letters will not permit me to use Cypher at present: I have presumed do write to His Imperial Majesty, and most of the Ministers, to acknowledge my Obligations and readiness in their Interests, which I humbly beg of your Lordship to deliver; and if the Bearer, who goes directly to your Lordship be present, he can supply all that is deficient. God Almighty prosper your good Offices. I am with all Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's Most Devoted Servant,

William Hussey.

In the last Month of July we left the two Ambassadors Sir William Hussey, and the Heer Collier at Adrianople, where having received the News of the total Defeat of the Turkish Army, with the Death of the Grand Vizier, a stop was given to their present Motion towards Belgrade, with intention to proceed with the New Vizier thither; and there to reassume the Mediation towards a Peace, for which the present Conjunction seemed very seasonable.

The New Vizier was called Ali Pascha, ^{Ali Pascha} who had been Padish of Scio, and Kabya, or Deputy to Kapringli, the Grand Vizier now slain in Battle: But whilst they were meditating of these Matters, and preparing to accompany the New Vizier in 10 or 12 Days, as was given out, unto Belgrade: The Death of the Lord Ambassador, Sir William Hussey, fell Sick, and Died the 14th of September after 13 Days of Sickness at Adrianople: He was a Person much lamented by all for his excellent Qualities and Experience in the Affairs of Turkey, of which he had learned much at Aleppo, and there gained a good Estate; with which returning for England, he married the Daughter of that Worthy Person and Citizen, Sir John Buckworth; after whose Death he was chosen by the Levant Company, to be their Deputy-Governor, in the Place of Sir John Buckworth, his Father-in-Law Deceased; in which Office having acquitted himself for some Years with much Honour, he was afterwards sent by King

1691. King William and Queen Mary, to succeed Sir William Trumbull in that Embassy: His Excellent Lady resolving to accompany him in all his Travels and Dangers, patiently bore, and sustained all the Fatigues and Inconveniences of a Journey over Land; which was never performed before by any other English Ambassador designed for Turkey; who were always Transported either in the Companies own Ships, or the King's Men of War, by Sea: But now things had changed their Face, and as it was dangerous, whilst the French were Masters of the Mediterranean Seas, to expose those rich Ships to the danger of the Enemy; so it was thought most convenient to hasten the Journey of the Ambassador by Land; and that taking the Imperial Court at Vienna in his way, he might there receive such Instructions from the Emperor and his Allies, the King of Poland, and the State of Venice, as were most proper at that time in order to a Peace with the Sultan, of which King William of England, and the States of Holland offered themselves, by their Ambassadors, to be the Mediators: Upon this Occasion Sir William Hussey, with his Lady, remained some Months at Vienna, before he could procure his Dispatches; and then the Winter coming on, when the Danube was frozen up, he departed not from Vienna, until the Spring, and arrived, as we have related before in the Month of June of this present Year. And whereas the Mediation of this Peace was of high Concernment to all Europe, we shall here insert the Methods, Rules, and Instructions, which the Emperor and his Allies gave to the English Ambassador in this Matter.

The first Paper given to Sir William Hussey at Vienna, was dated March 1691, and called, Informations for the English Ambassador, designed to be Mediator of the Peace at Constantinople, and which may serve to obviate the Objections which the Turks may make.

Annotata ad informationem à Dominis Aبلغاتس Turcicis ultimi exhibitam, pro informatione Excellentissimi Domini Legati Anglici, ad Portam Ottomanicam proficcientis.

MISSIS omnibus iis, quæ Negotii tractandi substantiam alterare non

videntur, ad ea tantum respondere visum fuit, quæ prædictam substantiam tangunt, vel contra Legationis jura admittenda præceduntur à præfatis Portæ Ottomanicæ Dominis Aبلغاتس ad concludendam pacem huc Missis.

Quorum in ordine primum occurrit, quod Domini Aبلغاتس Turcici in præterita sua informatione de Colloquio inter Eminentissimum Dominum Cardinalem à Kolonitich et illos in Cænobio PP. Augustinianorum extra urbem instituto, commemorant, in quo parum refert an Dominus Cardinalis à Kollonitich illos Aبلغاتس Turcicos, an verò hi præfatum Dominum Cardinalem à Kollonitich ad Colloquium illud invitaverint, in eo tamen substantia posita est, quod nunc asseverent Domini Aبلغاتس Turcici propositionem quam se Domino Cardinali à Kollonitich tunc fecisse faterentur, non ex mandato Portæ, verum propria mentis occurrentia nunc demum se fecisse profiteantur; etenim sæpe scriptis per literas interrogati, num super illa tractare sufficienter instructi sint? Non tantum se, adæquata Plenipotencia provisos constanter responderunt, sua affirmant, verum etiam præfata sibi diffidentiam Ministerii Cæsarei super hac qualitate conceptam sæpius repetitam ægre demum ferre cœperunt & quæstioncularum inutilium nomine appellantes moram principali negotio per hac fieri quæsi fuisse, quod si ab initio itam ejusmodi propositionem Domino Cardinali factam non ex Portæ mandato, sed sua tantum privata mente originem ducere proficisci fuissent, Ministerium Cæsareum vel ejusmodi propositionem plane ab initio non receperit, vel de modo legis timandæ dictæ propositionis dictis Dominis Aبلغاتس temperamentum aliquod idoneum suggesserit, quam circumstantiam cum tacuissent & tacere perseverassent Domini Aبلغاتس Turcici, eam nunc demum proficisci, satis constet, unde mora, & illorum detentionis causa processerit, & cui consequenter imputanda sit, nam sæpius per literas interrogati, num puncta propostia Domino Cardinali à Kollonitich & ipsis copialiter transmissa menti suæ conformia essent? Affirmative responderunt, quamvis non super iis, quæ Domino Cardinali à Kollonitich propostia fuerunt, aliquis Tractationis motus à Cæsareo Ministerio ostensus, sed tunc demum fides rei adhibita fuit, cum hanc ob causam ad se missio Secretario intimo Domino à Werdenburg puncta Domino Cardinali à Kollonitich propostia non tantum confirmasset, verum & Turcico idiomate exhibuissent, & Latine ad calumiam dictasent, tunc demum animus his adjectis, & desuper cum

cum Dominis federatis Serenissimo nimirum Polonia Rege, & Serenissima Republica Veneta communicari cepit: Quorum sentia, si prius delata fuissent, prius etiam formaliter cum illis Dominis Abligatis Turcicis ex parte Cæsarei Ministerii, tradari cepisset, eo vel maxime fundamento, quod Domini Abligati Turcici, postquam ipsi clarè scriptum fuisset, quod Sacra Cæsarea & Regia Majestas literis D. Fœderatorum suorum de eo monita fuerit, quod Abligatus Chami Tartarorum ad Serenissimum Regem Poloniae missus clare edixerit, Viennensibus Abligatis Turcicis, mutato supremo Visirio nullam concludendæ pacis Plenipotentiam superesse, ii responderint, non se à Supremo Visirio ad proponendam pacem, verum ipsomet regnante Turcarum Imperatore huc missos, nec Plenipotentiam suam à Supremo Visirio, sed ab ipsomet regnante Imperatore propria manu subscripsum attulisse & exhibuisse. Cui proinde vel fides adhibenda vel propositiones ultimas ab iis exhibitæ acceptandas non fuisset; cum verò his propositis nulli tractantium partium conveniens videretur, culpam non subsecuta Pacis sponte vel levi de causa in se fuisse, placuit confidentiam in supra qualificatam Plenipotentiam Imperatoris Ottomanici potius ostendere, quam leviter alium hoc negotium arbrum: perire; Communicatis igitur, ut dictum, exhibitæ propositionis capitulis prefatis Serenissimis Cōfederatis hactenus eorum sentia desuper expectata fuerunt, nulla ex eorum protracta dilatione in Cæsareum Ministerium resulante culpa protractæ Pacis aut Tractatum, cum sæpe sæpius dictum & scriptum fuerit Dominis Abligatis Turcicis, Sacram Cæsaream Regiamque Majestatem sine Fœderatorum suorum satisfactione aliam pacem nec concludere velle nec posse, quare cum sæpius memorari Serenissimi Fœderati sensus suos super propositis ex propinquo ostendere cepissent, huc Pottendorffium Domini Abligati revocati fuerunt, quod verò nunc demum se facultate tractandi carere profiteantur & exinde Tractationem Pacis prosequi non valeant, certè nullatenus Ministerio Cæsareo, verum Dominis Abligatis Turcicis ea, quæ ab initio candide proferre debuissent, studio tacentibus imputandum venit.

Quod porro Domini Abligati Turcici præstant, propositiones pacis Domino Secretario à Werdenburg scripto editas & ad calanum dictatas ad conditionem acceptationis intra decem dierum spatium restrictas fuisse, provocatur ad litteram exhibitarum & dictatarum propositionum, ex qua, uti nihil de decem diebus dictum esse constaret, ita nec hanc conditionem informa-

tionis fuisse nunc demum adjectam subsistere constabat. 1691.

Quod verò facie rerum mutata, ut malè præterdunt & priores conditiones Pacis & posterius oblatas evanuisse præterdant, ignoratur, quod fundamentum hoc sustineri possit, eo quod factum infectum fieri nequeat, nec res in eum casum reciderit, ut Partes belligerantes Pacem petere fidei conveniens arbitrentur; vel nova & à prioribus & posterioribus conditionibus aliam deponendi belli vel reducendæ Pacis ratio adinveniri & excogitari possit, cum materia, ob quam seu bellum geritur, seu Pax placitis utrinque conditionibus reduci possit, ob sibi imaginatam rei mutata faciem à Dominis Abligatis Turcicis nec fuisse naturâ variat, nec immutari possit.

Alterum, quod priori in ordine succedit, est querela Dominorum Aبلغاتوري Turcicorum, quod in longum hic detineantur; verum enimverò & toti Orbi & ipsis constat, traditis Recreditibus eos non animo detinendi hinc Viennâ dimissos, & Comaromium versus directos fuisse, verum enimverò cum per propositionem, se de qua Sacra Cæsarea & Regia Majestas absenti, & tunc Augustæ præcipuis Imperii Romani negotiis implicatis, ante finem Januarii, & jam tunc Dominis Abligatis Turcicis Viennâ profectis, constare potuit; Domino Cardinali à Kollonitsch factam novam fuisse retentionis causam præbuisse, nec, ut supra dictum, alterutri partium Tractantium se præcipiti abruptione Tractatum ream Mundo constitutur conveniret necessariò, ubi tunc deprehendi poterant Domini Abligati Turcici apud eodem de subsistentia & qualitate Propositionis factæ inquirendum erat, hoc cum fortè Comaromii acciderit, nulli præmeditata retentionis animo, sed forte id factum sibi certo persuadente, qui libere abvisissent, nisi materiam novis suis propositionibus redintegrandi Tractatus suppeditaret conveniens arbitrati fuissent.

Neque verò hac in re vel contra Legationis juris, vel contra Portæ Ottomanicæ intentionem factum fuisse aliquid ex sequentibus constabit. Etenim quod prius membrum spectat, ita cum Cæsareis Legatis nunc Eminentissimo Domino Cardinali à Gœss, Domino Reninger piè defuncto, ac ipsismet Dominis Hoffman, Comite Caprara, & Kunif tempore flagrantis belli prostantia exempla per Portam Ottomanicam observatum fuisse clarè demonstrant, quorum priores duo ex Portæ Ottomanicæ disjunctibus huc ad Confinia cum ipso Magno Vizirio & Exercitu decessit, & custodiis

1691. custodiis undequaque circumsepti, Cardinalis à Gœss ferò dimissus, Reninger autem retentus, & post cladem ad S. Gotthardum acceptam ex abrupto Pacis componendæ instrumentum fuit, Hoffman naturali morte apud eos obiit, Comes à Caprara ad muros Viennæ decessit, & bene custoditus dimissus quidem fuit, sed Kuniz retentus qui pari honore habitus repulsus ab Obsidione Turcis ultrò à Castris ad Urbem se recipiens profluit; alia sunt Legationum jura tempore Pacis, alia belli tempore, quorum differentia, ut per se nota est, ita longa deductione non eget, nec hac in parte Dominos Aبلغاتوري Turcicos aliquid recipere, quod cum Ministris Cæsareis observatum non fuisset, probare poterunt, qui magno honore habiti & largè alimentati ultra centum millia florenorum arario Cæsareo absumpserunt, nullo sane alio, quam restricta liberæ conversationis, quantum tamen id jure Gentium & licitum & necessarium est, incommodo affecti.

Intentionem Portæ Ottomanicæ quod attinet, quicquid Domini Aبلغاتوري Turcici dicant, & se forum ac legum Portæ Ottomanicæ cæteris gnariore esse asserunt, interpretetque litterarum editarum se adstruant, clarum tamen est, quod indubia interpretatione non egant, & litteræ à Primo Visirio ad Præsidentem Consilij Bellici ultimo scriptæ sic habent: *Verum enimverò si temporis ac statûs ratio impedimento sit, atque Negotij perfectio nequaquam ardeat, hoc posito ibi existentes Plenipotentiarii ne diutius commorentur sine causa, sed quam citissime nullo interposito die salvo passu & plenâ incolumitate ad Excelsi Imperij ditionem traducantur.* Ex quibus, ut satis constat, non pure, sed hoc supposito, quod Pacis negotium conficiendum non ardeat, revocatos fuisse, in apud præcio pariter est, quod propositione sua denovo factâ discutiendis conditionibus propositis novam occasionem suæ detentionis Domini Aبلغاتوري Turcici proprio facto suppeditaverint, præcipue cum ut sæpe dictum, Neutri belligerantium parti ex cussæ Pacis fama conveniret, quam si decessu Plenipotentiæ porro tractare & concludere non possint, certum est, quod culpa non subsecuta Pacis non in Cæsareum sed Portæ Ottomanicæ Ministerium vel ipsos Dominos Aبلغاتوري redundet.

1691. Tertium, Quod duo priora subsequebantur, est querela Dominorum Aبلغاتوري Turcicorum ob negatos fidei curiores, ut aiunt, formata; verum si res penitus introspectatur, nunquam sibi aliquid Cursorem petendum denegatum fuisse probare poterunt Domini Aبلغاتوري Turcici, etenim recordantur, quam in Sessionibus habitis gravissimis de causis, Ministris Cæsareis eos adhortati fuerint, ut Cursorem cum difficultatibus in Tractatu Pacis obortis ad recipiendas instructiones expedirent, quantoque confliterit eos ad hoc persuadere, quem ubi demum petierunt nulla morâ interpositâ obtinuerunt, obtinebuntque toties quoties illum clare petere placuerit.

Etsi verò etiam queratur, quod post propositiones posteriores super iis mentem Ministerii Ottomanici rescire & indagare per Cursorem illis non fuerit permittum, responderetur, tunc eos Cursorem non petisse, sed hoc quidem, ut acceptatis conditionibus & transactâ Pace alterutri illorum liberum foret ad Portam Ottomanicam Tractatus conclusos deferre, & liberum ratificandi arbitrium Portæ Ottomanicæ reservatum expiscari; quanta verò distinctio inter Legatum sic proficientem & Cursorem simpliciter mitti peritum interfit, constat ex rerum naturalium differentia, præcipue cum res ad statum acceptatarum conditionum, & cum acceptatis mittendum alterutrum ex Legatis propter defectum intentionis fœderatorum eo usque pervenire non poterit.

Cæterum, quæ de sua hinc inde Translatione & incompetenti eorum Tractatione D. Aبلغاتوري Turcici queruntur, non subsistere, ex supradictis cuilibet constabit, quam præterea omnium pariter Regnantium commune desiderium latere non potest, quo quisque à se missos debite honorari cupit, & vel propterea ad se missis congruentia honorifica non negat, quo in passu Sacram Cæsaream & Regiam Majestatem Religiosissimam & esse & fuisse semper omnium Principum Legati Ministri, qui ultra citroque hactenus commicati sunt, attestantur; nec ipsi Domini Aبلغاتوري Turcici, sepositis, quibus jactari videntur, animi passionibus, inficiabuntur.

Viennæ, Martii, 1691.

1691.

Conditions and Instructions given by the King of Poland, to the English Ambassador: Entitled,

Conditiones ad Tractatum Pacis ex parte Serenissimi Regis & Reipublicae Poloniae.

I.
TRACTATUS omnis & pretextus quocunque modo per fulgidam Portam acquisitus ad Podoliam & Ukrainam, uti avitas & hereditarias Regni Poloniae Provincias, ac recentem armis recuperatas, in perpetuum aboleatur, Praefidiumque Turcicum ex fortalicio Camenecensi abducatur, cum integra ejusdem fortalitii ac rei tormentariae ibidem existentis in manus Polonorum traditione.

II. Moldavia, quae jam magna ex parte armis Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Poloniae occupata: Et Valachia, quae utraque olim Provincia Serenissimorum Regum Poloniae tributariae erant, juri & possessioni Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Poloniae relinquuntur, una cum omnibus istis ditionibus, quae Budziacenses & Bialogradenses Tartari incolunt, ita ut limes sit Fluvius Danubius.

III. Hanus & Tartari Crimenses uti causatores omnium bellorum & damnorum per fulgidam Portam ab excursionibus & inferendis damnis contineantur & cohibeantur, ita ut quoties illata fuerint, fulgida Porta eadem reficiatur & refundat.

IV. Damna bellorum & Provinciae desolatae ac in cinerem redacta justo & aequo valore compensentur.

V. Vocafis univerfaliter omnibus tam Ukrainensibus: quam Zaporensibus nullo unquam pretextu Porta Ottomanica directe vel indirecte rebellionis fautorum aut protectionem praebere.

VI. Boristenes Fluvius munitionibus & Praefidiis Turcicis tam vetustioribus quam recentioribus expurgetur & evacuetur.

APPENDIX.

Conditiones ex parte Czarorum Muscoviae circa Tractatum a Serenissimis Collegatis proponendae ut locum visum habean, & a fulgida Porta acceptentur.

1691.

The Emperor's Articles and Instructions for concluding a Peace, given to the English Ambassador at Vienna, February 15. 1691.

Ad stabiliendam Pacem inter Augustissimum Romanorum Imperatorem, Germaniae, Hungariae, & Bohemiae Regem, sc. ejusque Confederatos, Serenissimum Poloniae Regem & Rempublicam, ac Serenissimam Rempublicam Venetam ex una: Et Serenissimum ac Potentissimum Turcarum Imperatorem ex altera parte sequentes conditiones a Caesareis ad hoc Negotium Deputatis, pro Responso ad Propositiones per Aبلغاتو Turcicos die 15. Februarii, 1689, exhibitas, reponuntur.

I.
CUM ex parte Portae Ottomanicae in praedictis Conditionibus offeratur Cessio hoc bello recuperatorum, quae absque hoc avito jure ad Sacram Caesarem Majestatem Regnumque Hungariae & ditiones ei ab antiquo annexas spectant, vel abinde dependent, & fere omnes aut armorum successu, aut spontanea deditione a Justitia Divina quali Jure postliminii in potestatem suae Majestatis redierunt, praetenditur ex parte Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis ad tollendum omne dissidium inter partes nunc belligerantes, futuris quoque temporibus praevendum, ut reliquae adhuc ditiones, populi & loca ab antiquo ut supra dictum ad Regnum Hungariae, Ditionesque eidem annexas pertinentia ei pariter supremo jure cedantur, & continuo evacuentur, cum omnibus ad ea antiquis vel haecenus spectantibus aut attributis territoriis & dependentiis, quorum specificatione & Confinia per praesentem Conventionem determinabuntur, nulla in iis sub pretextu tributorum, aut quacunque alia Porta Ottomanica praetensione Juris remanente; cassatis etiam & annullatis ex integro omnibus prioribus Tractatibus quatenus de supra positus aliter, quam hic conventum fuerit, disponunt.

II. Liceat verò Cuique partium paciscenti Confinia propria extructione fortalitorum & Munimentorum, vel alio quocunque meliori visum fuerit modo in propriam securitatem & populorum quietem munire ac tuta reddere.

III. In-

1691.

III. Incurfiones hostiles, devastationes & depopulationes territorii utriusque Domini, aut eorum, qui sub protectione Contrahentium Imperatorum deinceps vivunt, omnino & ita quidem prohibere fiant, ac illicitae maneant, ut omnes Turcarum Confiniariorum vel Tartarorum in Caesareas proprias aut praememoratorum suorum Clientium Ditiones factae incurfiones, invasions, depopulationes, & exactiones pacifragi penam incurrant, ac parti laesa causam damni bello vindicandi justam & sufficientem praebant, nisi ad ejus requisitionem damna data refarta; & nomine eorum satisfactum, simulque Autores damni dati exemplariter puniti fuerint.

IV. Maneat potro etiam illicitum futuris quoque temporibus receptaculum vel fomentum dare malis hominibus Rebelligis, subditis aut utriusque paciscentis Caesaris inimicis.

V. Libera sint utriusque partis subditis in omnibus & singulis utriusque partis Imperiis, Regnis, Ditionibus, Provinciis, Territoriis & Portibus terra marique Commercio, sine fraude & dolo peragenda, nullis Teiniorum & Vexigalium exactionibus addicta: Permissis etiam ut ceteris Nationibus, quibus cum Turcico Imperio commercium est, in locis ad hoc electis, Caesareis Consulibus, jure Genium, omni immunitate privilegiatis, & Caesarea protectione gaudentibus.

VI. Captivati ex utraque parte, five per Turcas five per Tartaros capti fuerint, existentes, libertati & propriis Dominis absque lytro bona fide restituantur.

VII. Custodiam Sanctissimi Sepulchri & aliorum Sanctorum locorum in Judaea circa Hiesosolymam existentium antehac Christianis & Sacerdotibus Franciscanis semper permissam, ac paucis demum ab hinc annis iisdem creptam, Graecisque traditam restituet praedicti Ordinis Religiosis & Christianis Romano-Catholicis Serenissimus ac Potentissimus Turcarum Imperator, servabique liberam & quietam praefatis Religiosis Franciscanis sub sua protectione constantem possessionem deinceps non auferendam. Concedet insuper liberam peregrinis Christianis Romano-Catholicis ad eundi & redeundi facultatem, non interturbato aut impedito iis in partibus Religionis Romano-Catholicae obeundae exercitio.

VIII. Regula & norma Carialium in recipiendis, receptis honorandis & tractan-

dis Ministris ultro citroque conmeantibus his pactis certa constituantur, deinceps ab utrinque sancte & religiose secundum distinctam Characteris missorum praerogativam inter Gentes observanda.

IX. Turcarum Imperator Sacrae Caesareae & Regiae Majestatis federatis, scilicet Serenissimo Poloniae Regi & Republicae, Et Serenissimae Reipublicae Venetae competentem praestabit satisfactionem juxta Conventionem cum iis simul & semel in eundam.

X. Moldaviae Territorium quoque a Tartaris in pristinas suas fedes ultra Boristhenem ex Budziac translatis omnino evacuabitur, sicutque Moldavia per Tartaros erepti Territorii, deinceps non eripiendi, plenaria restituito.

ANNOTATIONS.

I.
PACEM hoc modo conclusam Ablegati & Plenipotentarii Turci a Serenissimo & Potentissimo Imperatore & Domino suo, ad formam hic mutuo placitam rathabuntur nisi seque infallibiliter praestituros, ut solenne, Ratificationis Instrumentum intra spatium triginta dierum a die subscriptionis computandum, aut citius si fieri poterit, hic reciprocè recteque commutetur, se obligent, dicta ratificationis adventum hic praestolantes.

II. Pax ista, quamvis secundum propositas Conditiones conclusa, tamen demum robur Obligationis & debitorum Observantiae vinculum accipiet & inducet, cum in omnibus ac singulis, quae de locis evacuantibus & tradendis, atque etiam de Confiniis per Deputatos ab utrinque Commissarios constitutendis secundum praemissa stipulabuntur & acceptabuntur plenarie executioni mandata fuerit: Qua in re ad accelerandam Pacis executionem & publicationem sistendamque humani sanguinis effusionem placuit utrinque, ut designatis ad terminos Dominiorum ponendis & exequendam Pacem ab utrinque Commissariis spatium bimestre praefigatur, cujus decursu Confinia, prout conventum fuerit, statuant, evacuanda tradant, & Article Pacis juxta sibi commissa exequantur.

III. Quia omnia, quae supradictis conditionibus Generalibus proposita fuerunt, individualiter & localiter conceptus hujus
H h h
Paci-

1691. Pacificationis articulis exprimere, & inferre necesse est, ideò de omnibus & singulis in specie porro tractandi & conveniendi liberam sibi reservant Deputati Cæsarei facultatem.

IV. Nefandum Tókeli proditoris & Rebellis improbißimi, hujus eruenti belli Authoris & execrandi Impostoris caput secundum Juris Gentium naturalem Obligationem quondam à Turcis susceptam & male observatam, femorà omni tergiversatione post pacem conclusam mox noxæ tradent, ad fumendas de eodem meritis pœnas, & statuendum violatæ fidelitatis exemplum: Interim captivando de ejusdem persona pace conclusâ fideliter confignanda, ita sc̃ securos reddent Ablegati

Turcici, ut & Deputatis Cæsareis securam & sinceram stipulationum executionem ostendere & perfluadere possint.

Quæ annotatio Cæteris omnibus in Tractatu præponenda & de illa bonâ fide, priusquam cætera pertractentur, conveniendum erit, cum sit conditio sine qua non.

Now follow the Propositions which the Turkish Ambassadors gave to the Imperial Court; with the Emperor's Answers thereunto; upon which a Peace might probably have been established, had it not been obstructed by Men of different Interests, who hoped to have benefited themselves by the War.

DECLARATIO

ABLEGATORUM

Portæ Ottomanicæ,

IN

Negotio PACIS.

In Nomine Domini.

I

CUM, ut alma Pax inter utrumque Imperium resforecat, ac Subditi utrinque quiete ac securitate fruantur, necessum sit, ut manifestis limitibus Confinia dividantur, quibus omnia disturbia & incursionum occasiones de medio tollantur, magni Fluvii Danubius atque Savus pro limitibus ponantur.

II. Proinde à Porta ferrea usque ad Savi

Responsio Cæsarea.

PROPOSITIO, quam Domini Ablegati Turcici nomine Imperii Ottomanici offerunt, ipsa ipsa est, ad quam tractando de Conditionibus Pacis sensim perventum fuisset, si Domini Ablegati Turcici ad discussionem locorum, quam Cæsarei Commissarii ad hoc negotium Pacis conficiendum deputati sæpius proposuerunt, condescendissent, sed cum illi eam constanter deprecarentur & aliter negotium Pacis confici non valeret, serò sed nec legaliter quidem ab initio Domini Ablegati Turcici ad hanc Propositionem deveniunt, cujus velociori manifestatione, & citius vetus amicitia restabili & multo humano sanguini ob pacem dilatam hinc inde effuso parci potuisset, quod autem ad hanc propositionem ex parte Cæsarea hæcenus responsum non sit, eò factum est, quod Sacra Cæsarea Regiaque Majestas non nisi ex Condicto cum fœderatis ex Religione fœderum, quæ eidem cum ipsis intercedunt, responsum suum dare poterit, quod ob longinquitatem locorum moram aliquot Mensium causâvit: Igitur

Ad I. & II.

CUM, ut alma Pax inter utrumque Imperium resforecat, ac Subditi utrinque quiete ac securitate fruantur, necessum sit, ut manifestis limitibus Confinia dividantur, quibus omnia disturbia & incursionum occasiones de medio tollantur, proinde trans Danubium finis & limites Cæsareæ jurisdictionis & Imperii sit Porta ferrea & Varadinum, Temesvarium, Gyula, Jenova, aliaque omnia, quæ in partibus

ultra

1691. Ostium omnis cis Danubiana Ditio, itemque ab Ostio Savi usque ad pristina Croatia: Confinia cis Saviana Regio subjaceant Ottomanico Imperio restituta Alba Græcâ, & aliis locis quæcunque in prædictis cis Danubium & Savum ditionibus Cæsariis Præsidii tenentur, ita ut à pristinis Croatia: limitibus ad exitum Savi atque illinc ad usque inferiora in Regionibus cis Danubium & Savum nulla remaneat Cæsareæ Majestati præsentio.

III. Vice versa à Porta ferrea ad Ostium Savi, & ab Ostio Savi usque ad pristina Croatia: Confinia ultra Danubiana & ultra Savana Regiones cum restitutione Temesvarini & aliorum locorum, quæ in partibus ultra Danubianis armis Ottomanicis tenentur, subfint potestati Cæsareæ Majestatis, & nulla fiat à fulgida Porta præsentio.

IV. Valachica atque Transylvanica ultra Danubiana versus Hungaricas partes Confinia in pristino ante præsens bellum statu permanent.

V. Transylvania in pristinum ante præsens bellum statum restitatur, annumque suum tributum integrè fulgide Portæ solvat, & sub utriusque Imperii protectione antiquis suis privilegiis fruatur.

VI. Confinia Croatia: maneant in eo statu, in quo fuerant ante præsens bellum.

VII. His Conditionibus vel suspensio armorum plurium aut paucorum annorum, vel etiam Pax perpetua inæatur.

VIII. Ab utroque Imperio tales limites atque Coloni, atque sub talibus Generalibus & Officialibus, quorum fides ac disciplina probata sit, ad lubitum utriusque Imperatoris in Confiniis sibi subiectis collocentur, ita ut Pacem integerrime colant, nullisque disturbii aut excursionibus communem tranquillitatem interturbent.

IX. Quæcunque conditiones in antiquis sacris capitulationibus expressæ usque ad præsens bellum observatæ sunt, nec prædictis octo punctis adversantur, post hæc etiam colantur.

hæc etiam colantur, cassatis & annullatis vicifim iis, quæ prædictis repugnant.

H h 2

1691. ultra Danubianis armis Ottomanicis re-nentur, usque ad eandem Portam ferream inclusive evacuentur & respectivè maneat Cæsareæ suæ Regiæque Majestati, nulla in iis partibus remanente Portæ Ottomanicæ juris præsentione vel jurisdictione.

Ad III. E contra omnis illa terrarum plaga cis Danubium & ultra Savum jacens maneat Portæ Ottomanicæ, ita, uti fuit ante hoc bellum addicta, nulla Cæsareæ Regiæque Majestati Jurisdictione iisdem in partibus remanente.

Ad V. Transylvania Armis Cæsareis occupata, & Avito jure quæsitâ maneat; porro sub ejusdem Sacra Cæsareæ Regiæque Majestatis protectione, nulla Portæ Ottomanicæ ibidem reservatâ Juris cuiuscunque competentia.

Ad VI. Croatia: Confinia ita decurrente fluvio Unnâ terminentur, ut quæ terrarum spatium sinistra manus ripæ adjacent, Cæsareæ Regiæque Majestati addicta maneat, quæ verò dextræ manus ripæ ejusdem Fluvii aliantur, Salva Ottomanicæ Portæ permaneant: Sublatis in cuiusque Imperii competenti Territorio partis alterius jurisdictione & juris Exercitio.

Ad VII. His Conditionibus fiant inducie ad triginta annos.

Ad VIII. Placet.

Ad IX. Quæcunque conditiones in antiquis sacris Capitulationibus expressæ usque ad præsens bellum observatæ sunt, nec prædictis punctis stipulatis, aut liberrimo cuiusque possidentium dominio & usui ejusdem adversantur, aut præjudicant, post hæc etiam colantur, cassatis & annullatis vicifim iis, quæ prædictis repugnant.

Reputantur

1691.

Repetuntur præterea, quæ in responso Cæsareo ad primam Ablegatorum Portæ Ottomanicæ propositionem conditione secunda de libertate Confinia utrinque Obstru-
 one Fortaltiorum muniti: Item in tertia de inhihendis ex utraque parte incurfioni-
 bus hostilibus, præsertim Tartarorum; & quarta de receptaculis Rebelibus aliisque ma-
 lis hominibus non præbendis: In quinta, de libertate Commercio: In sexta, de
 mutua Captivorum abique lytro restitutione: In septima, de custodia Sanctissimi Se-
 pulchri aliorumque Sanctorum locorum in Judæa circa Hierosolymam, Franciscanis &
 Christianis restituenda, concedendaque peregrinis Christianis Romano-Catholicis ad-
 cundi & redendi facultate, neque ipsis Religionis Romano-Catholicæ exercitio iis in
 partibus impediendo; præterea in conditione octava, de constituenda certa norma Ci-
 vialium in recipiendis, honorandis, tractandis, remunerandisque Ministris, ultro ci-
 troque Commeantibus; sicuti & in Annotatione prima ejusdem responsi de Obligatione
 Ablegatorum Portæ Ottomanicæ ratificationes conclusi tractatus intra spatium triginta
 dierum à die subscriptionis computandum, hic reciprocè commutandi; itidem secun-
 da de Pace hac non prius quam stipulata executioni plenè mandata fuerint, robur ha-
 biturâ præfigendoque ad dictam executionem peragendam bimestri termino, & quarta
 de Tôkelio proditore noxæ tradendo, contenta sunt.

Respublica Ragusea nullo à Porta Ottomanica tributo aut alia exactione posthac gra-
 vetur, gaudeatque libertate Commercio terrâ marique.

APPENDIX.

NEGOTIUM circa Confederatos cum sua Cæsarea Majestate Princi-
 pes remittitur dispositioni ejusdem si ve-
 lit, aut à pacis Tractatibus excludat aut
 includat; si includere placebit, hoc item
 duplici ratione fieri posse videretur, sive in
 puncto separato terminis generalibus po-
 natur, ut cum inter utrumque Imperium
 Pax & amicitia renovata sit, Poloniae cri-
 am Serenissimi Rex & Respublica inter
 terminum quadraginta five quinquaginta
 dierum honestis conditionibus pacifcan-
 tur, vel expresse ac specificè item in sepa-
 rato puncto declararetur, ut Confiniis resti-
 tutis in statum, qui præcesserat bellum
 Obsidionis & Occupationis Kaminciei &
 Confusionem rerum, in iisdem confinis
 paulo ante ipsum bellum, atque Constitu-
 tis in illo ordine, in quo erant, quando
 ante diffidia illius belli firma amicitia &
 bona vicinitas inter fulgidam Portam &
 Polonos intercedebat, alma Pax inter sam-
 gidam Portam & Poloniarum serenissi-
 mum Regem & Republicam coalescat;
 Quoad DD. Venetos verò pariter hoc spe-
 cificari potest, quod retentis occupatis
 Pacem cum fulgida Porta incant.

Ad APPENDICEM.

INHÆRET porrò Cæsarea Regiaque
 Majestas iteratis suis declarationibus
 circa inclusionem suorum Dominorum
 Federatorum in hæc Pacis Tractatibus,
 nec sine iis Pacem ullo pacto aut modo
 concludat, prouti etiam ea, quæ in ulti-
 ma Dominorum Ablegatorum Portæ Ot-
 tomanicæ declaratione contenta sunt, iis-
 dem communicavit, è quorum responsis
 subsecuturis æquanimem eorum declarati-
 onem Domini Ablegati Turci fusius per-
 cipiant.

Demum Cæsarea sua Regiaque Maje-
 stas ultra dictos suos Dominos Federatos
 etiam Dominos Czaros Muscovia: cum
 eorundem Dominiis, jure amicitia, ita in
 præsentî pacificatione comprehendit, ut
 ipsis intra annum à dato hujus Tractatus
 cum Porta Ottomanica conclusi eidem ac-
 cedere, ejusque participes fieri liberum
 sit.

1691.

1691.

The Turkish Ambassador's Com- plaints and Expostulations a- bout their Imprisonment.

Ottomanicæ Portæ Ablegatorum
 pro Informatione Aulæ Cæsareæ
 Domino Werdenburgio facta De-
 claratio.

SIVE ex literis Dominorum Cæsare-
 orum Ministrorum Nobis tum in Su-
 burbio Commaromii morantibus, tum
 Potendossium ingressis traditis, five ali-
 qua ex parte ex discursu Dominationis
 Tue ita conjicimus, cum Dominis Cæsari-
 is Ministris Tractatus cum fulgida Por-
 ta reassumendi quædam inclinatio oborta
 sit, ut à speciosa & honesta ratione exor-
 dium ducatur quibusdam tanquam motivis
 fuisset persuasos. Verum enimverò, cum
 rem planè cognitam à Nobis aliter se ha-
 bere deprehendamus, sinceritatis, quam
 erga utrumque Imperium profitemur, in-
 teresse duximus, ut solide declaratis in-
 dubiis, quæ ad præsumptas suppositiones
 persent, circumstantiis, illique penitus
 à DD. Ministris perceptis, nec sibi, nec
 Nobis negotium facessat obscuritas. Etsi
 autem ex ista nostra expositione aliqua
 difficultas furoribus posse suspiciari, nos
 tamen coram D E O restamus, ex mera
 integritate illam promanasse & sanè si pe-
 nitius inspiciamur, Candorem nostrum
 laudatum iri speratur.

Primum itaque quo præcitaros Mini-
 stros ductos fuisse cogitamus id esse vide-
 tur, quod quæ in colloquio cum Domino
 Cardinali ante discessum nostrum Viennâ
 dicta sunt, ea in longam Negotiationem
 protrahantur, & ingens pro lubitu moles
 superstruitur, atque varia deductiones &
 Consequentiarum subnectuntur; status au-
 tem genuinus & exitus illius rei ita se ha-
 bet: A nobis equidem nemo ad Collo-
 quium invitatus est, ipsi Domino Cardi-
 nali Nobiscum colloqui placuit & sese ex-
 hibuit, ac tanquam à Cæsarea Majestate
 instructus facultate cum in Congressu Au-
 gustiniani Monasterii Pacis restituendæ
 rationem aliquam semetipsum indagabun-
 dum præbuisset, à Nobis quoque etiam si
 præter ante declaratam in Solemnibus
 Confessibus rationem, nulla ulterius ex-
 pressè à fulgida Porta fuerit insinuata,
 mentis tamen Nostræ observata & pro re-
 rum tunc temporis coincidentia visa pos-
 sibilis altera quoque forma ad rem com-

ponendam propofita fuit, utrinque verò
 tunc declarata fieri non posse utroque No-
 stri perseveranter adherente, & alterutro
 allatas Propositiones abnuente in ea ipsa
 sessione & Colloquium & disputatio solu-
 ta fuere & sic Viennâ discessimus, verum
 cum intentionem aliam subesse apparet
 & in Suburbium Commaromii tranſvectos
 Deputati ad Nos usque ad Confinia com-
 mandos Ministris in aprico detinentes clam
 sese subtraxerint, de detinentis Nobis
 Commissio liquidius innouit, quod litera-
 quoque & emissi subinde variis Occasioni-
 bus venientes confirmarunt, quibus nem-
 pe per Commendationem Pacis ad paci-
 ſcendum adhortabantur: Cum igitur Na-
 ves, quibus devchi debebamus, nequa-
 quam appellerent, & detentio Nostra in
 propatulo esset, nihilominus ad Omnia
 connivere cepimus & quæcumque semitas,
 five illegales, five legales, digressi ac diva-
 gati sumus, & in remotissima quoque al-
 mi Tractatus specie multum fiducia po-
 nentes, nihil omisimus, quod sinceritatem
 & candorem Nostrum explicare posset,
 atque cum superveniente Domino Wer-
 denburgio conferto sermone Nostræ men-
 ti oborta quædam pro pace punctum
 iuxta rerum tunc temporis coincidentiam
 forma edicta exposita fuit, nempe hæc
 sub conditionibus, ut acceptationis à Cæ-
 sareâ Aulâ Responſio intra decem Dies
 redderetur, alterque Noſtri ad fulgidam
 Portam dimissus ei acta referret, Portæ
 autem liberum relinqueretur ratificationis
 arbitrium.

His ita projectis, Communicationis
 cum Confederatis, seu prætextu, seu causa,
 semel iterumque ab Aulâ Cæsareâ bini
 Menses interjecti fuere, aſti nobis nequa-
 quam permissum, ut remisso Curſore
 fulgida Porta certior fieret, itaque Nobis
 voluntas aliqua suboluit ex punctis haud
 acceptatis captandæ ex industria dilatio-
 nis: Interea verò D E O ita volente mu-
 tatâ rerum facie Occasio etiam effluxit;
 & Propositiones tam priores in Confessi-
 bus pronunciata, quam Dominationi
 Tue posterius insinuatæ penitus inva-
 nuere, ut plane nihil Nobis reliquum &
 integrum sit, quod in medium afferatur;
 Septimus jam labitur Mensis, à quo ite-
 ratè literis Cæsareæ Aulæ significatum ef-
 fe candidè volumus, nullum hic Nobis
 superesse Negotium & pro continuando
 ad Portam itinere multiplices supplicatio-
 nes porrectæ sunt, preces tamen nostræ
 nequaquam exaudite fuere: Certè in ni-
 hilum dilapsæ Propositiones istius Nostræ
 hucusque detentionis in causa esse minime
 posse videntur: Cælorum ne Morus de-
 ſit? An ab illorum Opifice constituta re-
 volutio

1691. volutio Orbis cessavit: Ut rerum Universitatis eidem Cardini defixa desisset. Præterea à moderno Supremo Vizirio Dominò Nostro Nullo ad nos vel ex duabus Syllabis literas pervenisse & Nostræ custodiæ causâ omnino reali rerum notitiâ nos carere, præterito etiam anno contestati, & post-hac nulla Nos aliquid dicendi audacia pol-lerc, ingenuè fassi fuæramus; ab illo verò tempore, cum jam ferme annuum tempus elabatur, prædictis duabus de causis, multo minus aliquod verbum Nobis suppetit, quinimò et si Nostram Cognitionem nullius rei notitia tetigit, tamen quod à celeberrimi Crimensis Chani Ablegato in Polonia de Nobis prolaturum est, ab ipsis Dominis Ministris fucat Nobis significatum, quid plura? Sicuti custoditi sumus, ita à tribus annis rerum omnium & Casuum omnium notitiâ sumus orbati, quæ uti sincere relata si ab Aula Cæsareâ pensitentur, veritatis omnino congruere deprehenden-tur.

* Cæsarea alio quoque duci motivo videtur, quod nimirum erga Cæsares Mini-stris eadè normâ tractationis Ottoma-nica Porta ita sit, & pro lubitu suo juxta rerum exigentiam, illos circumduxisse fe-ratur, per DEUM testatur, versibus Ger-manos Ministros nunquam talem quam-piam formam admittam fuisse, vetera fa-cessant, sub initio præsentis belli à Cæsa-reâ Majestate ad tractandam pacem duo Interuicini missi fulgidam adire Portam, quorum alteri Baro Hoffmannus, alteri Comes Caprara nomen erat, uterque siue Adrianopoli siue Constantinopoli cum Im-peratoria Aula commorati sunt, & in trans-migratione Regiæ aulæ penes simul erit & stativa habere; Baro Hoffmannus Adri-anopoli Constantinopolim Comes autem Caprara Constantinopoli Adrianopolim proprio instinctu & postulatu unâ cum Porta profecti, famulitii sui partem Mari, partem terrâ transmissere, nemo verò eun-ctibus obstitit, in Urbibus autem plures Domos habitantes ad placitum circumva-gati sunt & cum aliarum Gentium Legatis conversati, & omni libertate usi recreaban-tur, omnimodæque rerum notitiâ informa-bantur, servitio etiam eorum destinati Vi-ziriani Aga & Regii Chausfi & Janizarii placitis illorum nequaquam reniti jussi ad amulsum illos conlocuerunt, atque obsecunda-ti sunt, consueto etiam salario exacte & ex-cessu præstito, nemo à tergo prospici-bat, & Comes Caprara tandem cum re-vocatus fuisset, illico dimissus & post bre-ve Budæ moram quo interea tempore Exercitus pergebat, sanus atque incolu-mis ad Cæsareâ Confinia traductus est, Cæsareus autem Residens in Porta quâ

1691. affluentia in Imperatoris Castris vixerit, quæve libertate famulitium ejus circumie-rat toto Orbe cognitum compertumque habetur.

* Equis ex Ministris Cæsareis receptus responforis literis ad integrum annum detentus fuit? Aut solutis tractatibus nul-lum ulterius expectans aut expectans re-sponsum è via retractus est? Aut custodiæ & detentionis tor loca commutavit? Aut à Servis Portæ enormibus verbis fuit com-pellatus & obtrectatus? Ottomanica Por-ta modone promicavit? An non Cæsarei Legati illam frequentarunt? Annon ultro substantiam ibi suam protexere, & alte-ro mortuo nonne alter sublecutus est, uti Cæsareâ Aulæ prout placuit, & ciè re fuit, ita ex fuomet instinctu agebat, quibus aut-tem rebus Porta nequaquam assuevit, qui ad eas invita compellitur? Negotia non asperitate, sed reciproca moderatione & mutuâ satisfactione ad optatum finem de-ducuntur, admittere ne aliquando Residen-tes Ottomanici Cæsareâ Aulæ, aut Lega-ti ad plures annos detentine unquam fu-ère? Nunquam à Veteri sibi calcata semi-ta defecti Portam fieri poterit, ut nova in præsens norma institutur? Esto nobis-cum cum in possessione aliena sumus, ita sit actum, tamen Portæ incumbit suam ser-vare consuetudinem, & ab ea ne latum unguem discedet, id tantum fiet, ut No-bis supervacanea afflictio, cum Porta verò acerbitas inimicitie magis augetur: Id etiam motivum, quod Aulæ Cæsareæ sug-gestum est, videant DD. Ministri, cuius-lam vigoris sit.

* Ultimam tamen, quod DD. Ministri insinuatum esse videtur, tale quidpiam videtur, quod cum nos fulgida Porta ite-rum atque iterum identidem non revoca-verit conjicitur, malle nostram hic moram quam reditum, aut verò hæc etiam aliter se habet & super ista relatione quæcunque constructur moles labascit, Nos planè Por-tæ mentem scimus, ejusque explicatio & elucidatio ad Nos attinet; quisque sui Im-perii mores bene caller, rerum scientia & multiplici cognitione imbuto animo prædi-tus modernum Imperii possessor Supremus Vizirius amplissimus Dominus Noster ab hac delegatione multum abhorrebat, propter aliquorum annorum in bellicis ex-peditionibus prosperitate qualiter excipi-endam fore prævidebat ac prædicabat, cum verò postea ipsemet supremam admi-nistrationem adornandam suscepit, vide-tur experimento comprobata sententia constantius inhaesisse, atque aprioribus & magis appositis rationibus Reipublicæ re-gimen aggressus esse, ac disposuisse, pro-
inde

1691. inde Imperii vires nobiscum & à pueritia cum doni suæ, quæ plurimum Primorum Viziriorum nudis exiti, praxin geren-darum rerum publicarum adeptus, qui-bus mediis Bellum & Pax agatur, populus Ottomanicus precatur, ut DEUS im-posterum etiam opem suam sociam illi ad-jungat.

* Hæc itaque est causa, quod neitquam ad nos repererit, verum si ulterius inter-rogabitur, & cur expresse non revocaverit, istius etiam dubii solutio clara est, cum in literis Imperialibus ad Cæsaream Majesta-tem scriptum fuerit, ut quam citissimere-mittatur, & pro eodem reditu Nostro in prioribus & posterioribus ante supremam Imperii administrationem functi Primi Vizirii literis inculcatum sit, Imperiali-bus ne literis aliquis respectus adhibeatur? An Viziriani literis assensus præstitus? Legationi isti æstimatio tributa? An al-mæ Pacis merito aliquod temperamentum allatum fuit? An non spatio ferme trium annorum Unici tantum Curiosis Expedi-tio concessa est? Et ipsemet diuturnam passus detentionem ab itinere repressus fuit? Cum ita revera res ista se habeat, qui Nos principales Nostri siue per litem siue per expresseos invitant? An ve-rò Nobiscum affligendum aliquem emi-tant? Testatur sincere miseros infimi cuiusque nullum ex suo famulitio ad se misisse: Certè si ex Nobis liquidum & candidum responsum expectatur, id est, si hic ad decennium ita detinebimur, nemo ad Nos accedet, hæcine quæ pronuncia-mus, plane verissima sunt, quævis ne his vocibus quispian offendatur, ut ex-pressi ultro citroque perneent, veterem inter Gentes consuetudinem reciprocè li-terarum Commæatus observari religiose, cui-cunque liberam permitti voluntatem, son-tem, qui à DEO ad extinguendum belli ignem erectus est, apertum esse necessum est; quousque verò his in defectu habitis Nos in isto eodem statu pervereramus, fa-nè nihil ad bonum commune perageretur, fin verò in Aula Cæsareâ ambiguit, an Nostram hic moram fulgida Porta velit, dimisso Nostri posthac fulgidæ Portæ dis-positioni remittatur & Curiosis in Portam, expeditio nobis concedatur: Favente DEO Potentissimi Imperatoris Nostri quicunque in animo est, nobis revela-bitur; speramus tamen fidem adhibendam esse nostræ contestationi, ita ut iteratis In-terrogationibus non opus sit, ac proinde nos neitquam detinendos, & si quid præ-terea temporis præsentis consentaneum & Imperii Ottomanici Magnitudinis conso-num proponendum videbitur, si placet, eo quoque pronunciato, Nos quampr-

1691. mum esse remittendos: Fortè postquam nos salvi & incolumes & contenti redierim-us, almus aliquis aditus aperietur, & utrinque permanentibus Ministris opportuno momento ac loco ex mutua propen-sione & satisfactione, si ita Divinæ Majes-tati placuerit, sacrosanctus Pacis Tracta-tus coalefcat, ex vi certè nullum emolu-mentum emanabit, hæc ex sinceritate & integritate Nostri erga utrumque Imperi-um promanet, testis est DEUS, nullam subesse hypocrisin, hæcine juxta inter Germanum & Ottomanicum Imperium intercedentes res in quoniam statu reper-antur facile ab Aula Cæsareâ deprehende-tur, ne se incautum desatiget.

The English Ambassador being Dead, an end was put to the Treaty, and all thoughts of Peace were laid aside, on one side and the other; for after the Battle of Salankee the Circumstances of things were changed, and there was a necessity of consulting again the Emperor and his Allies, before any farther Measures could be taken on the former Instructions. In like manner the Turks were in great Confusion and Distraction, not knowing which way to turn themselves; sometimes it was thought necessary, that the Grand Vizier should hasten to Belgrade to take the Care and Command of the scattered Troops, which were now at a loss for want of a Chief Head, and a Place whereto resort, and take refuge: Besides the Presence of a Vizier was esteemed of great encouragement to the broken Army, and the only means to retard the Flight of those who were ready to break up their Camp, and betake themselves to their own Habitations.

While the Vizier was consulting hereof News came that the Army at Belgrade was all, or for the most part dispersed; that the final Number of the Janisaries which sur-vived, were resolved not to remain longer at Belgrade, but were already on their March towards Adrianople, in a Naked and Poor Condition, without Money, or Cloaths. In like manner it was reported, That the Spahies, who lately went to the War with a good Equipage, and well Mounted on Horse-back, were now returning back on Foot, miserably Depeopled, and Poor, without Money, Horse, or Arms: Many of them who had Escaped with their Horses and Arms, were passing the Dardanielli into Asia, and thence travelling into their own Countries, perhaps as far as Ico-nium, Aleppo, Damascus, or some other more remote Countries; other Spahies, who had neither Horses, or Arms, were marching towards Adrianople, there
to

1691. to demand the Donative, which hath always been given by a New Sultan at his first Inauguration: This Pretension of the Soldiery, which amounted unto more than a Million, stroke great Terror into the Minds of the Chief Officers; for the Exchequer being wholly empty, and the Soldiery in the utmost Extremity, and armed with Rage and Despair, no Man knew what their Miseries might produce; and the Soldiers approaching every Day nearer and nearer, all People were affected with the same Contention, as if the *Germans*, and the worst of Enemies had been at their Gates.

In few Days after, the Aga of the Janifaries, with the small remainder of his Janifaries arriving at *Adrianople*, caused the Grand Vizier, the Mufti, Kadilefchers, (who are the Lords Chief Justices) together with the Prime Officers of the several Ogiaks to be convened, and amongst themselves they held a long Conference.

At which they concluded upon several Particulars.

First, It was resolved to Confirm, and Maintain Sultan *Achmet* upon the Throne; it being esteemed a thing unworthy of the Grandeur, and Widow of the Sublime Port to change so suddenly, and frequently, the Person of their Sultans.

Secondly, It was resolved, That the Grand Seignior should Winter that Year at *Adrianople*.

Thirdly, That the Mint should diligently Work Day and Night, to make Silver Money for Payment of the Soldiery.

And Lastly, It was resolved, that (cost what it would) *Great Waradin* was to be Succoured and Relieved.

The which Resolutions, especially that about Coyning Money for Payment of the Soldiery, gave a stop to their Mutinies, and Insurrections, which were daily feared: But what more sensibly commuted all the Miseries of the *Turks*, was the want of Bread, as well as of Money; there having never been known in those Countries to great a Dearth of Bread, as also of all sorts of other Provisions, as at that time, which joyned to all these Misfortunes, further News was brought, That there had been another Grievous Earthquake at *Smyrna*: And that an Express was come out of *Afia*, That all that Country was over-run, with Robbers, and Murderers, who were assembled in a Body near *Sebaste*, the Ancient Nest, and Nursery of Rebellion.

In the mean time the *French* Ambassador laboured by all means possible, to give Heart, and Courage to the *Turks*, to continue the War; assuring them, That his Majesty King would the next Campaign go himself in Person to the War; and continue the same, as well in Winter, as in Summer, which would make such a Diversion in the Empire, as that the Emperor should not be able to make Head, nor so much as look the *Ottoman* Army in the Face. Notwithstanding all which Assurances of the *French* Ambassador, and Promises to furnish the *Turkish* Army with 30 able Engineers; the People, or Rabbie, would give little or no Credence to all his Engagements, and Assurances; and scarce could the Great Men in the Government, preserve him from the Violence of the Soldiery and People.

After the first Conference held, as we have said, by the Prime Officers; another was called, at which, the Resolution to continue the War, was confirmed by all there present, except two Persons only; namely, the Kadilefcher of *Rumelia*, and the Chaimacam of *Constantinople*, who dissented from the others, being of an Opinion that a Peace was to be made by reason that the War could not longer be Maintained; howsoever the major Party carrying it to the contrary, Commands were sent by an Express into *Albania*, to raise Forces in that Country; it being agreed on all Hands that they were the best Soldiers in the Empire, and had done extraordinary Service in the last Battle.

In like manner at this Congress great were the Complaints against *Murad Ghirei Han*, who commanded the Forces of *Tartary* before *Vienna*, and shamefully ran away; the which being proved against him, the Council chose another called *Sefia Ghirei*, esteemed a good Soldier, and a Valiant Man, who was then at *Jamboli*, not far distant from *Adrianople*; and upon this Election, he was immediately dispatched away to take Possession of his Government; for the Grand Seignior hath a Power to Depose, and Set up any Prince of the *Crim Tartar*, provided he continues him in the right Line of Sultan *Galgaz*: And for the Deposed *Tartar* to avoid all Disturbances and Contentions, he was exiled together with his Son into the Island of *Rhodes*; and also *Battir Aga*, who was the Chief Minister, and General of the Deposed *Tartar*, was Banished into the Island of *Lemnos*, situate in the *Archipelago*.

After which divers Pasha's, and Officers of the Army, were called to this Congress, by whom several Complaints were made, and exhibited against certain Captains, and Soldiers of the Army, who in the last Battle

1691. the had ill behaved themselves and Cowardly betook themselves to flight. In which Accusations, single Allegations were sufficient to Convict any Man; and upon the sole Testimony of one Person, many were proscribed, and in the Night privately without Noise were strangled, and in the Morning found Dead in their Beds; and amongst the rest was the Kahya of the late Deceased Vizier, put to Death at *Belgrade*, upon a Suggestion, that so soon as he had seen his Master Wounded, he betook himself to flight, and was followed by all the Pages of the Court, who were well Mounted, and Armed, and might have done great Service had they not followed the Ignominious and Base Example of their Master. The like Fate attended the Spahilar-Agasee, or General of the Horse, who was said to have been the first to turn his Back on the Enemy. And at *Adrianople* three other Pasha's were put to Death, for the same Crime, or Default.

After these Executions done, the General of the Janifaries was Named for not behaving himself well, but because there are some Points of respect reserved for the Order of Janifaries, he was only dismissed from his Government, and with a good Grace sent to be Pasha of *Gaza*, the meanest Pashaluck in the whole Empire; and this would have been a Favour, had they not sent an Executioner after him, and in his way taken off his Head, as is the usual Custom amongst the *Turks*; with such Orders and Methods as these, the *Turks* re-assumed something of their Courage; dispatching without delay Commands for Lifting and Enrolling Janifaries, and other Orders of Militia, as also *Timariots*, *Zaims*, *Segmen* and others; and that they would augment their Numbers, as far as to 100000 Men, or at least to the same degree, as they were the last Year.

But before we proceed farther on the *Turkish* side, we must look a little back, and see what the *Germans* are doing after so Signal a Victory.

The 20th of this Month of *August* being the next Day after the Battle, some Parties of *Hungarians*, and *Rascians* were commanded to Pursue the Enemy in their Flight, which they did with such Expedition, that they brought back with them, many of the Fugitives, dispersed, and straggling thro' Private Ways, and unknown Paths; and reported, That the whole *Turkish* Army were Flying in the greatest Confusion imaginable; and that a great part of them had already passed the *Sava*, and had broken all the Bridges behind them; and that great Numbers of Dead Bodies, were found on the Roads, and covered the Ground

for some Distance from the Camp: For which great Victory *Te Deum* was sung on the 21st, with a Triple Discharge of all the Guns, as well of those which were taken from the *Turks*, as those belonging to the *Christian* Army: And here on the 22th the *Christian* Army repoted, and rested it self in the Field of Battle.

In the mean time before the News of the Victory, Colonel *Mackeri*, Governour of *Ferovitz*, with a Party of 1600 Men, attacking the Cattle of *Velicko*, having thrown some Bombs into it, it was forced to Surrender at Discretion, having had about 300 Men Killed, and not above 60 left Alive; the Booty was not great, unless it were the Release of *Christian* Prisoners, of which 300 obtained their Liberty.

The first Motion the Army made from the Field of Battle, was to *Carlowitz*, where the Duke of *Holstein* was Buried. The next Day, being the 25th, they marched to *Peter Waradin*, where the Dukes of *Alberemberg*, and *Artschar*, the General *Souchet*; together with several other Officers, Died of their Wounds, the great Heaviness contributed much to their Deaths.

On the 30th, a General Council of War was held in the Imperial Army, at which it was resolved, That the Duke of *Croy*, Field-Marshal, with the Generals *Saurau*, *Hoffkirchen*, and five Regiments of Horse, and as many of Foot, besides *Rascians* and *Hungarians*, should March towards *Esseck* to cover that Country, and Pass, and accordingly they began their March on the last of the Month, whilst Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* remained in the Camp to secure, and cover them in the Rear.

Of all which Matters the News being sent to *Vienna*, both as to the Victory, and the Methods taken after it, we may imagine that all the Imperial Court, as well as all Parts of *Christendom*, were filled with an extraordinary Joy for so signal a Victory; and as the Emperor sent his Gracious Encouragements to all the Officers; so more especially to the General Officers, declaring Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, Lieutenant-General of the Imperial Army in *Hungary*; where whilst these things were agitating the News came of the Victory, which King *William* of *England* had gained at the *Boyne* in *Ireland*, which served to augment the Triumphs with another triple Discharge of all the Cannon in the Army.

The Winter drawing near, the greatest part of the *Turkish* Militia, being under great Discouragements, and having a long Journey Home, thought fit to leave the Camp: So did the *Tartars*, Plundering all the

1691. their way, so did the *Armours*, and *Albanians*, and all the Soldiers whose *Towns*, and *Houles* were not at a far distance; so likewise the Spahes's stole privately away, and the *Alfatick* Horse made towards the *Dardanelles*, where they passed into *Afia*; and in this manner did all the Forces differ, that scarce any appearance remained of an Army, or a Camp; and those few who kept to their Colours, were possessed with great Consternation upon the News that the *Poles* had actually Invaded *Walachia*, and brought great Destruction, and Ruine upon that Province.

The Weather beginning now to be Cold and Wet, much incommoded the Soldiers of Prince *Lewis* his Army in their March, especially the Foot, who traßing through the Waters in a Country where was no Wood to Dry them, or Warm, and Drest their Victuals, many of them fell Sick and Died. And indeed that Country, as I have my self observed, hath neither Timber, nor Underwoods; so that the Inhabitants live in Caves under Ground, the Soil being of a stiff Clay, grows hard with Fires, like a Stone; all their Fuel being Turf, of which, by the Laziness of the Inhabitants, a sufficient store had not been gathered to furnish the present use of the Army.

Whilst the Army quartered in this barren Country, News was brought to Prince *Lewis*, That General *Isterani* having heard of the Defeat of the *Turks*, had Decamped from *Ulcra*, and was marched to *Lippa*; where coming before the Town, he sent his Summons to Surrender, which being refused, some few Bombs were cast into it, which brought the Garrison to a Desire to Capitulate, but nothing would be granted but a Surrender at Discretion.

In fine, all the Men, being 216 in number, were made Prisoners, together with three Palha's, viz. *Makomet Bey*, and one *Ali Palha* (who had been sent thither for a Place of Banishment by the Grand Vizier) and also another Bey, with a Ziorbaffi, or Captain. In the Town were three Guns, and two Mortar-pieces only, with a good quantity of Ammunition, but little of Provisions. After which Count *Gutenstern* was made Governour of the Place, with some Hundreds of Men for a Garrison: And whereas News was brought, That *Tekeli*, with five or 6000 Men was Quartered about *Tromfuer*, it gave some Apprehensions of his Design to Invade *Transylvania*; for which reason General *Veterani* kept his Station at *Lippa* to observe his Motions.

In the mean time Prince *Lewis* continued his March to *Segedin*, where he refreshed

his Army for some Days: And here it was that a certain *Turk* came from *Belgrade* under a Pretence to demand the Exchange of 4000 *Turks* against so many *Christians*; but this Proposal seeming fictitious, he was suspected for a Spy, seized, and committed to Prison.

It being thought fit to secure *Lippa* lately taken, the Prince sent his Adjutant-General with 12 Saicks laden with Provisions, and some Money, by way of the River *Maroth* to *Lippa*, to Mend and Repair the Fortifications of that Place, and raise new ones where the Works were defective; and for its better Reinforcement, 2000 *Rascians*, and *Hungarians*, both Horse and Foot, were sent to strengthen the Garrison.

The Prince likewise with the remaining part of the Army, marched to *Zelnock*, where the Horse having passed the Bridge for that purpose erected, met on the same Day of their Arrival, with the Field-Marshal Count *Mansfeld*, and Major-General *Aversberg* at the same place, who had lately been detached in two Parties; the latter of which had the fortune to surprize a Party of 600 Men belonging to *Tekeli*, of whom they killed above 100, and made 32 Prisoners; which gave so great an Alarm to others of their Companions, which were posted near *Great Waradin*, that in a precipitate Flight and Confusion, they betook themselves to their Heels, carrying withal their Bag and Baggage, with whatsoever else was portable.

Nor was Count *Schlick* who Commanded the Blockade of *Great Waradin*, less successful; for having received Information, That some Hundreds of Oxen belonging to that Garrison, were Grazing in the Meadows near thereunto; posted himself with 400 Horse in a small Wood over against the Place, ordering some *Hussars* to drive the Oxen towards the Wood where he lay in Ambuscade. The *Hussars* following their Instructions in driving the Cattle, were pursued by the Garrison till they came near the Wood, when *Schlick* sallied out upon them, and so vigorously Attack'd them, that 400 *Turks* were killed on the Place, many Prisoners taken, and the Oxen carried clear away to the great damage of that Garrison.

This Success was followed by another of the like Nature, for *Schlick* having understood from the Prisoners, that a considerable Body of *Tekeli's* Men were Quartered in a Village on the other side of the City; he took the opportunity of the Night to pass silently along, and without any Noise surprize them, and killed most of them in their Quarters, after which

1691. he repassed with the like Privacy back without the least opposition, to his own Camp.

It being now divulged that the Design of Prince *Lewis* was to turn the Blockade of *Great Waradin* into a Formal Siege, Count *Aversberg* was Detached from the Army with a Body of Dragoons and Pioneers, to Mend and Repair the Roads which were become almost unpassable, especially for Cannon, and Waggon laden with Provisions and Necessaries for the Army.

Count *Schlick* who was not as yet privy to this Design of the Prince, observing by his Motion, That *Great Waradin* was to be formally Besieged, he privately conveyed himself and Troops into some Islands between the Rivers *Koroff* and *Bozse*, and drove away the Enemies Cattle, being about 900 Head, and took some Prisoners from under the very Walls of the City, and brought them all to his Camp. As *Schlick* returned, the *Turks* of the Place called to him, and the Palha desired a Parly with him in the open Field upon Parole, which *Schlick* refused to do, until he understood that Count *Marfigli*, and his Chiaus were in the Town, having been employed on the Negotiation of Peace; and then he yielded to an Interview with the Palha, who declared to him, That the loss of their Cattle droven from under their Walls, was not so much caused by the Negligence of the Garrison, as by their attention to their New Guests, whom they were entertaining with all Freedom and Friendship; and so would seem to insinuate that for that reason, it would be but Just and Agreeable to the Laws and Rights of War, that they should be again restored; but *Schlick* would understand none of these Laws and Ceremonies, but retired without other Answer, and Count *Marfigli* was suffered to go to the Camp of Prince *Lewis*.

On the first of October, the Prince continued his March, and on the 10th arrived within a League of *Great Waradin*, where the next Day he joyined with all the Foot, and received Intelligence, That *Tekeli* had released General *Hensler* on Parole, whom he had some time before taken Prisoner; and that he was already come as far as *Hermanstadt*: And from hence it was, that Count *Marfigli*, with the Turkish Chiaus, was also dispatched to the English Ambassador at *Adrianople*; of whose Death they had not as yet received any Report whilst the Prince of *Baden* was making Preparations for a Siege before *Great Waradin*, the Duke of *Croy* Attacked the Fortresses of *Brod* in *Slavonia*, in which there was a Garrison of 300 *Turks*; who upon ap-

pearance of the Enemy before the Walls, put out five Red Ensigns, and in a manner of Defence and Scorn, Danced upon the Ramparts; but this Sport continued not long; for the Duke that Evening took a Post near the Walls with 400 Men, and immediately began to Work; and notwithstanding the continual Fire of the Enemy, they finished a Battery before One in the Morning, together with a Line of Communication, on which they planted four Guns, and one Mortar-piece, and before Day began to batter the Town: The *Turks* affrighted heret withdrew, and retired into a Fort on the other side of the River, leaving two small Guns, and some Pedreros behind them; and the Place unto their Enemy, who took possession of it, and therein placed 150 *Germans* to defend it. Howsoever the *Turks* continued to Fire out of their Fort on the other side, but without any considerable Damage to the *Germans*; for they remained not long there, before they deserted that Fortrefs also, being terrified to see *Percilie* a *Rascian* Captain with 80 *Hussars*, and about 100 Foot in small Boats to pass the *Save*; and hearing in the Night the sound of Trumpets and Drums, and all sorts of Instruments to play, they were immediately struck with a fear, and apprehension that the whole Imperial Army had passed the River with intention next Morning to Attack them, with which imagination affrighting one the other, they retired in a confused manner out of the Fort towards the Forests and Woods, being in all about 1500 Persons, besides the Peasants of the Country, who with Arms in their Hands, but without any Order fled into the same Forests; but being pursued by the *Hussars* and some *German* Horse, they were cut down, and most of them Killed, very few escaping alive.

In the mean time Prince *Lewis* was busied in preparing things, and putting all in a readiness for the Siege of *Great Waradin*; and Commanded Count *Strum*, with a considerable Body of Men, and some Artillery to approach nearer to the City, and soon after followed in Person with all the Horse and Foot, pitching his Camp on the Banks of the River *Koroff*; and having planted a Battery on a rising Ground, he thro into the Town, and raked the Streets from one end unto the other: At the same time also two Mortar-pieces being well fixed threw into the City several Bombs, which set Fire to the Houses, and burnt whole Streets. In this Consternation the Besieged attempted nothing by Sally, but only played their Great Guns, and set Fire to the Hay and Straw, of which they had raised great Stacks in their Gardens, and void Places of

1691. the City, least the Enemy should serve themselves of it.

October. The Bombs continued firing, whilst *Barfus* General of the *Brandenburgers*, and Count *Guido of Staremburg*, with nine Battalions, placed themselves in a deep Ground, where they could not be overseen by the Enemy, from whence 1500 Men issued in the Night, and opened the Trenches, whilst others were busied in raising a Battery over-against the Gate of the *Palancha Otoroff*, on the Right Hand of which, a Redoubt was made, between which and the Battery, a Line of Communication was drawn; by this time a Battery of six great Guns was perfected, and began to play; which the Enemy answered with their Guns from the Wall, firing without any intermission: The six Guns being at some distance, did not the execution which was desired; and therefore the Night following the Battery was brought nearer to the Palanca which was on the Right Hand; and next Night a New Battery was raised to the Left Hand of it; on which Guns and Mortar-pieces being planted, many Houses were set on Fire, and a great part of the Palanca consumed by them: Howsoever the *Turks* labouring with all Diligence possible, repaired what Damage and Ruine the great Guns had done, which they easily did; for the Walls being for the most part made of a strong sort of Timber, or Oak, which doth not Shiver, or Splinter, the Bullet made no greater Hole in the Walls than the size of the Shot; besides which, the Ditch was very deep about them, and six Paces broad; howsoever by frequent firing, the Holes became so wide and large, as gave Encouragement to make a Storm on the Walls; which was ordered for the 16th at Night. General *Barfus*, and Count *Staremburg* Commanded the Attack, which was performed with the greatest Resolution imaginable: The Musqueteers with Hatchets in their Hands ran to the Gates, in which the Guns having made several Holes, they cut them down with the more ease. On the other side Col. *Mollner's* *Heydkecks*, stormed the Walls with much Bravery and Resolution; one of them kneeling down, supporting himself on his Hands and Arms, another stood upon him, whilst a third climbing over both, with his Seyniter in his Mouth, threw himself into the Palanca; and in this manner many of them having passed the Wall, began to cut down all that were before them; with which the *Turks* being terrified, abandoned the Fort, and fled over the Bridge into the City.

This place being thus taken, with the loss of very few Men, some Guns were

found in it, with one Mortar-piece only. 1691. Some Battalions being lodged in the Palanca, Prince *Lewis* with his Army passed the Rivers of *Korofch* and *Pozz*, and Encamped on the other side of the Town, where that Night 1500 Men were Commanded to open the Trenches, which was performed with much diligence, and a Battery was raised, and another also in the Palanca of *Oloroff* now taken. The *Hussars* in the mean time Encamped on the other side, to distress and frighten the City the more narrowly; and now the Approaches being constantly carried on nearer, and nearer; and another Battery raised, on which 11 Guns were planted, they began to fire from thence and from the Palanca, with a like Number into the Streets which much annoyed the Town. These Batteries fired so constantly on the Walls, that a sufficient Breach was made, on which to make an Assault, and accordingly a Storm was appointed for the 24th of this Month, which the *Turks* perceiving by the Preparations that were made, had not the Courage to stand the Shock, but setting fire to the City, which they believed they could not maintain, retired to a Fort which they had raised between the City, and the Fortrefs; the City being now on Fire, and no opposition on the Walls, the *Germans* crowded into it with great Throongs, where they took much Cattle, and released some Hundreds of *Rascians*, who were Inhabitants in that City, which the *Turks*, had they not been prevented, had carried off with them. The resigning this Place, which was so well fortified with several Retrenchments and Works one behind the other, was to the great Wonder of the *Germans*, who hereby were well adverted, and assured of the fear of the *Turks*; by which they took fresh Courage, and possessed themselves in the great City over-against the Fortrefs, and in the space of two Days, they advanced very near to the Ditch of the Fortrefs; and in two Days more they finished a Work on which they planted 18 Mortar-pieces, and from thence threw such quantities of Bombs into the Fortrefs, and with that effect, that one of them falling into one of the Magazines of Powder, it blew up, and showed a dreadful Spectacle of the Arms and Heads of Men carried into the Air.

The *Turks* having other Magazines of Powder and Provisions remained resolute in their Defence; and on the other side the *Christian* Army continued to throw Bombs into the Fortrefs, by which a Steeple took fire, which spread it self through the whole Fortrefs, and in less than six Hours time one half thereof was reduced to Ashes: In

1691. In the mean time a Party of *Tartars* of about 600 fell in upon the Foragers, and took both the Men and Horses, and Booty which they had by them, but being immediately pursued and overtaken by the *Hussars*, all was seized again and brought to the Camp with seven Heads, and three Prisoners.

November. The Month of *November* being now entered, the *Turks* began to be of Opinion, that the *Christians* could not continue long before the Place; for that the long and wet Nights, Snow, and Frosts of that Country must needs force them to raise the Siege; the Consideration of which moved the Palha of the Place to refuse the acceptance of the Prince's second Summons; saying, That there would be time enough for that six Months hence. This Answer obliged the Besiegers to throw their Bombs continually into the Fortrefs, to force the *Turks*, so soon as was possible, to a Surrender: But in regard the bad Weather came on, and that Forage became so scarce in the Camp, that many of the Horses died, the Provision for Men was plentiful and cheap; it was concluded by the General Officers, that the Season of the Year was too far advanced for continuance of the Siege; and therefore it was esteemed most advisable to turn it to a Blockade; but before the *Germans* bid a Farewell to the Place, they beat down a great Tower with their Cannon, on which the *Turks* having planted several Guns, did very much annoy the *Germans*.

On the 2d Instant the throwing of Bombs was continued, and a Great Fort was raised for the securing of the Posts if the advanced Season of the Year, and the Obstinacy of the *Turks* should oblige the Prince to raise the Siege, and to leave the City narrowly Blocked up during the Winter.

On the 3d the Cannon of the Besiegers beat down a great Tower on which the Besiegers had several Guns which much incommoded the *Germans*.

The 4th and 5th the Guns and Mortar-pieces of the Besiegers continually fired on the *Turks*. That Day a *Polsish* Envoy, who came into the Prince's Army some Days before, departed from thence for *Tockay* to expect there the Arrival of the Plenipotentiaries both of the Allies and *Turks*, who had appointed to meet there for the re-establishing of the Treaties of Peace.

But about this time Forage begun to be very scarce to be had in the Army, the Horse being obliged to fetch their Hay five Miles off, for which reason many Horses perished, but Provisions for the Army were plentiful and cheap enough. Several of *Tekelians*

Men came over to the Prince before *Waradin*; all which unanimously confided, That the Body of *Turks*, *Tartars*, and Rebels, (or *Tekelians*) which hitherto were Encamped between *Gena* and *Gyula*, suffered extremely for want of Provisions, being for the most part obliged to sustain themselves with Wild Fruits, which caused them to Die in great Numbers; their Horses wanting Forage, perished likewise in abundance.

On the 6th Instant cold Rains and Snow began, and continued until the 10th, notwithstanding which the Bombing continually went forward; the Prince also sent a Letter to the *Basha*-Governour, Summoning him to Surrender the Fortrefs, which Letter the *Basha* would not at all receive, but told the Bearer it was not yet time to speak of Capitulations or Surrendering that Fortrefs.

The 10th of *November*, (on which Day the *Rascian* Lieutenant-Colonel *Antonio*, returned back to the Army with 400 Wagons, which he had taken from *Tekeli* as he marched homewards) the great Fort distant five or 600 Paces from the Gate of the Fortrefs, was finished and brought to its entire Perfection, which Fort was more elevated and higher than the Walls and Batteries of the Fortrefs, in which 1000 *Germans* and some Hundred were Commanded as a Garrison: Besides this Fort, a lesser was made on a certain Eminence, from whence the Guns fired in the infide and Streets of the Fortrefs which was provided with a proportionable Garrison. In the Great City of *Waradin*, a far greater Garrison of Horse and Foot than that in the Great Fort was ordered, and Colonel *Mollner* was Commanded to remain in the Palanca *Oloroff* with his Regiment of *Hussars*, and some Foot, which being thus ordered, and by that means the Fortrefs to closed up, that nothing could come out or go into it, there being also not the least appearance of any Succours to relieve the Place, the Prince thought it more expedient to send his Army into Winter-Quarters in the Neighbouring Villages, and Cities of *Debrezin*, and *St. Job*, then to expose them to the hardships of the long cold Nights, Wet and Snowy-Weather, especially since Count *Tekeli* was already decamped from about *Gyula*, and marched with his ruined and fatigued Army of *Turks*, and *Tartars*, and Rebels to Winter-Quarters, as it was confirmed by upwards of 300 *Tekelians* Defected from him, and arrived at *Lippa*, *Zolnoch*, *Belnegsch*, or in the Army, since that our Trenches also were carried on to the very Ditch of the Fortrefs; that their Bridges over the said

Ditches

Great
Waradin
detached.

The Palace
of Great
Waradin
taken.

1691.
November.

1691. Ditches were beaten down, and most of the Water drained thereout, that their Works were to ruin that none dared to show himself, our Guns continually firing on the inside, that our Bombs, and the noisome stinking Smell of some Fireworks, together with the restless State of the Besieged, who were always forced to stand on their Guard, and continually alarmed, having no shelter but some Sellaars and Vaults, could not but oblige them ere long to Capitulate, or Perish by Fatigues and other Wants: All which, I say, being considered by the Prince of *Baden*, he having provided his Forts, Palanca, and the City with Garri-fons very commodiously placed, sent the rest of his Army into Winter-Quarters.

The Blockade being thus resolved, a Great Fort was raised for securing the several Posts, being about the distance of five or 600 Paces from the Gate of the Fortrefs; this Fort was built upon an Eminence or some higher Ground than the Walls and Batteries of the Fortrefs; for defence of which, above 1000 *Germans* were appointed for the Garrison: Besides this, a smaller Fort was also raised on a rising Ground, and furnished with a good Garrison, from whence they could shoot into the Streets and Houses of the Fortrefs. Moreover the City it self of *Great Waradin* was maintained with a more numerous Garrison, than what the *Turks* had in their Fortrefs; and the Palanca of *Olloft* was Commanded by Col. *Melner*, and Garrison'd with his Regiment of *Hussars*, with some Foot.

Things being thus secured, and the Fortrefs on all sides closed up, that nothing could go out, or come into it; the Prince judged it more necessary to fend his Army into Winter-Quarters in the Neighbouring Villages, and Cities of *Debrezin*, and *St. Jol*, then to expose them to the Hardships of Long, Dark, and Wet Nights, and Snowy Weather, which began to fall in great abundance. In which Resolution the Prince was the more confirmed by the Report of 300 of *Tekeli's* Men, who had deserted their Commander; and assured the Prince upon Oath, That *Tekeli* with his *Turks* and *Tartars*, was already Decamped with his Army about *Gisla*, and marched into Winter-Quarters.

So now we must leave the Prince and his Army also in their Quarters, and the Fortrefs of the *Turks* straitly Blockaded, until about the Months of *May* and *June* 1692, next ensuing.

Thus have we finished the Relations of the Successes in the Campaign for the Year 1691; the which proved as Unfortunate to the *Turkish* Affairs, and Arms, as most of

the former Years since the beginning of this War; and when things go Unluckily Abroad, we cannot expect that they should look very Smiling, or Pleasant at Home.

The Sultan who had fanned to himself mighty things under the Auspicious Conduct of *Mulapha Palba Kupriogli*, such as an entire Victory in the Field over the *Germans*, and as the Consequences thereof, the Surrender of *Oseck* and *Buda*, and all other Cities and Fortresses in *Hungary*, which during these Wars, had yielded themselves to the Victorious Arms of the Emperor, being now on a sudden fallen from the hopes of all those things, (which with a strong Fancy and Imagination he had figured in his Mind; by a quite contrary Event, he was so Surprized and struck with the sudden News, That his Army was Defeated, his General the Grand Vizier killed, with the Flower of the *Turkish* Militia, all the Cannon taken, and the Camp exposed to the Violence and Rapine of the *German* Soldiery; his Spirits to funk within him, that he did nothing but Sigh, and being possessed with a Lumpish Melancholy, fell often into heavy, but not refreshing Sleeps; so that having his Mind troubled in the Day, and his Fancy with Horrid Dreams in the Night, he fell into a Fever, which endangered his Life; and gave occasion to the People to Talk much of his Death, and setting up in the Throne Sultan *Mulapha*, the Son of Sultan *Mahomet* IV, who had been Deposed: But this Passion of Mind which possessed the Grand Seignior, passing over with a little Time, he being Natural-ly of a Jolly Temper, given to Mufick and Wine, his Fever quitted him, and he recovered. So also did the Old *Ali Palba*, who had been Chimaac at *Adrianople*; and upon the Death of *Kupriogli* (as we have said) was made Grand Vizier; his Disease was the same with that of the Grand Seignior, proceeding from Afflicting himself at the News of the Rout of the whole *Turkish* Army, and the Apprehensions he had of new Turbulencies arising thereupon amongst the Soldiery, the which had struck him with a kind of Apoplexy, and a Stupidity in his Understanding; but it went off, so soon, as he perceived the Soldiery to return more mildly Home than was expected, and then he began to revive, and take upon him the Power and Authority of his Government: He was an Ancient Man, and of great Experience, but he was neither esteemed for a Wife, nor an Undertaking Man, which are two Qualities very necessary in a Grand Vizier. But the Musti made some amends for the Inabilities of that Great Minister; for being a Person

Sultan Achmet
faded into
a Fever by
ill News.

He Recovered.

The Grand Vizier fell, and recovered.

1691. of a deep Understanding, and highly esteemed by all Parties for his profound Wit-dom, he became very helpful to the Grand Vizier, who had the good quality to hearken unto the Counsels of those who were wiser than himself; it being one of his Infirmities to be irrefolute, which shows an Imbecility of Mind; and is a quality the most disagreeable to an absolute Monarchy. But being pushed forward by his Friends, he governed well; for being a Man not very Avaritious, (as few *Turks* but are) he preferred none but such as were Men of Merit, and had signalized themselves by long Services, or some great or good Actions; his Country was *Bosnia*, which hath given many Valiant and Stout Soldiers to the *Turks*, being reputed Men of Bravery, and Fidelity in their Words and Actions.

Never had the *Ottoman* Empire, since it came to be an Empire, more need of Able, Valiant, and Wise Men, than at present; and never were they more rare and hard to be found: For what with the War which destroyed their brave, and best of their Gallant Soldiers, and Commanders; and with their Seditions, and Tumults at Home, in which their Principal Officers, both Civil and Military, were cut off; none remained alive but only Upstarts, or some Leaders of the Insolent, or Seditious Soldiery: And this was the State of the Empire, not only oppressed by the Victorious Enemy on the Frontiers; but by a want of all things at *Adrianople*, even to a Famine, which raised the Out-cries and Clamours of the People against the Government, which being joyned to the Abuse of Copper-Money, (than which, at that time no other was to be seen, or currently passed) discouraged the Country-Men from bringing Provisions to the Market, and caused the People more earnestly to cry out for a Peace, and exclaim against the *French*, for having now for four Years engaged them in a War the most Bloody, the most Ruinous, and most destructive to the *Ottoman* Empire that was ever known. The *French* Ambassador fearing that these Tumults, and the Inclinations of some of the Ministers would at length prevail for a Peace, he bestowed his Money very liberally, where he thought it might be well placed (for as yet the *French* King wanted not Money, as he did some Years afterwards) but he could not as yet fix any on the Chimaac Chufaein Palha at *Constantinople*, who always told the Ambassador's Servants, that he wanted none of his Presents, being well provided with what was necessary for his Maintenance, and Equipage. The Difficulty of this Great Minister's Proceedings

did not a little trouble the Thoughts of 1691. the Ambassador, especially when he had understood that this Chimaac had wrote to the Musti to persuade to a Peace, the League with *France* being apparently destructive to the Empire; saying, as it were, *How long shall these People be a snare to us?* And hereof the Ambassador was the more apprehensive when he heard that the Sultan was returning to *Constantinople* for his Health; being persuaded by the Physicians, That the Air of that City and the Sea, would be more conducing to his Health, than that of *Adrianople*; by which he feared, that the Chimaac might have the better opportunity to inflill these Imaginations into the Head of the Grand Seignior, than he could at a distance.

But before the Departure of the Grand Seignior from *Adrianople* for *Constantinople*, a General Council of War was held by all the Chief Officers of the Army: At which three principal Points were concluded.

The First was, To do their best Endeavours, and use all possible means for the Relief of *Great Waradin*: But on the other side it was considered, That the Militia on the Frontiers was tyred out, and become weak by their Labours and Disgraces of the preceding Campaign; so that the Means for executing this Design was not prescribed.

A Second Proposal was not to confide much in the Counsels of the *French*; but to consult the Opinion of the Soldiery, whether they were inclinable to a Peace.

And Thirdly, In case the Soldiery should be averie to a Peace, that then Preparations should be made with all diligence to raise Men, and make Provisions of War for the ensuing Year.

But whilst Matters were disposing to quiet the Minds of the Soldiery, of which great Numbers were passed over into *Asia*, much harassed and discontented; so that some Insurrections were feared in those Countries: Behold on a sudden the People murmured against the base Alloy of the Money, which was nothing but Copper, or at best mixed with a little Silver, which was a mighty prejudice to Trade, and caused a dearth of all Provisions, so that the Poor were almost Starved; whereupon the Rabble, in a furious manner, assaulted the Mint-Office, and Killed the Master who was set over the Coinage, and committed many other Insolences, and were not appeased until an Order was published, That the

Refutations at a Council of War.

Tumults against Cop- per-Money.

1691. the Copper-Money should be no longer Current; at which the People differing, Silver-Money was issued from the Mint; where the Officers worked Day and Night in Coining Spfers, and greater Money; and with Promises of being paid shortly in this Money, the Soldiers were very much pleased and satisfied; tho' the Discontents of the *Asiatick* Soldiers, gave great Apprehensions and Fears to the Port of some Revolt or Insurrection in *Asia*; which had it at that time happened, it had in all probability produced a Peace. But this Blessing both to the *Christians* and the *Turks*, was reserved for a more happy time; as we shall see, if God gives us Life, some Years afterwards; with which we shall put a Period to this History.

Ann 1692.

1692. **T**HE English Ambassador Sir William Holfey, designed to Negotiate Peace, together with Monsieur Colyer the Ambassador of *Holland*, between the Emperor and the Sultan Achmet (as we have said) being Dead, an end was put for the present to that Negotiation, and the Ambassador of *Holland* returned back from *Adrianople*, without being able to effect any thing in order thereunto; the Resolution of continuing the War, was the loud Report, and Discourse common in the Mouths of all People; and that no Treaty should be set on Foot, until the Recovery of *Buda* from the *Germans*, and of *Morea* from the *Venetians*; and herein were the *Turks* more animated by the Assurances of the French Ambassador, that his Master was sending two great Men of War from *France*, laden with Bombs, Granadoes, Caracasses, and with all sorts of Military Preparations, and with them 200 French Engineers, and Gunners, of great Experience in the Management of Fire-Works, and other Warlike Instruments, fit, and proper both for Sea, and Land: And farther to shew his Zeal in this Cause, the Ambassador promised to go himself in Person to the War.

To give more life to the Ambassador's Words, the Son-in-Law to *Tekeli* returned from *France*, and in the beginning of this Year arrived at *Smyna*, whence immediately without any stop, or stay, he took Post for *Adrianople*, being fully freighted with Letters, and Promises from the French King to the Sultan, and presents to the Chief Officers of State to persuade them to Continue, and Maintain the War; so that now all Thoughts and Imaginations of a Peace were vanished, and laid aside.

Wherefore in order to a War, a Project 1692. was laid by the two Cadliskers, or Chief Justices, to raise both Men and Money by a more easy way, and manner, than had formerly been done; for these being the Chief Justices on whom all the other Inferiour Justices of the Empire depended, an Exact and Secret Calculate was made of the true Number of the Spahees, and of the People in the several Provinces, and Districts through the whole Empire.

This Calculate was secretly carried to the Vizier, and Musti, where after it had been very seriously debated, it was well approved, as a Means to ease the Publick Treasury, by a more equal Tax on all Villages and Towns, according to the Number of the Inhabitants, and hereon a great Foundation was made of raising many Thousands of Men, and much more Money than the last Year.

During all this time, the *Turks* remained in great apprehension of some suddain Insurrection of the *Arabs*; and discontented Militia in *Asia*; and whereas the greatest danger appeared to be in the Parts, and Country of *Schalle* or *Sivas*; a Teftiish Pasha, or General Inquisitor was sent with a strong Party of Horse, to enquire after all loose People, Vagabonds, or such as could give no good Account of themselves, with a full Power of Life, and Death, which the *Turks* commonly execute with all Rigour, and Arbitrary Power imaginable. I have known a Teftiish Pasha sent into *Asia*, to enquire after Vagabonds, with a Party of 500 Men, who pitching his Tents near some Town, or Village, into which he hath sent some of his Men to take up such Persons as the People should offer to bring for disorderly Livers, the which being brought before the Pasha, the Imaum, or Parish Priest hath also been cited; and setting the Persons before him in Rank and Order, it hath been demanded of the Imaum, Whether such a Person be a Good Man, or not? How he Lives? What Trade he follows? Or, Whether he comes constantly to the Mosque to Prayers, according to the Rules which the Alchoran requires? In case the Imaum answers, that he knows him not, or his Way of Living; or that he is not a Good Man, he is immediately, without other Process, Accusation, or Proof, Hanged up upon some Tree, or Bough, which is near to the Pasha's Camp.

Howsoever this could not hinder two Princes of the *Arabs*, belonging to *Arabia Deserta*, from Robbing, and Infesting the Countries about *Damascus*; who gave a stop to all *Mahometan* Pilgrims going to *Mecca*, until they had paid such Cash, or Head-Money for their Passage, as they demanded,

1692. mandated, and until the Grand Seigneur had paid them a very considerable Sum in Gold for what was in Arrears due formerly from the *Mahometan* Pilgrims.

In the mean time an Ambassador from *Persia* to the Grand Seigneur, arrived at *Scutari*, which is a Town in *Asia* on the other side of the Water, just opposite to *Constantinople*, to which Place, upon the News thereof, the Chimecam sent over four Commissioners to Entertain him. The Train, and Equipage of this Ambassador was very Noble and Great, having an Attendance with him of 338 *Persians* bravely Mounted on Horse-back, and richly Habited, with 60 Camels laden with Presents for the Grand Seigneur, and his Court; consisting of very rich *Persian* Carpets interwoven with Gold; as also many Vests of Cloth of Gold, besides other Gallantries, and Rarities of that Country, with an Elephant, and 12 White Camels.

This Ambassador stayed not more than a Night at *Scutari*, before he passed over into *Europe*, and continued his Journey to *Adrianople*, where the 2d of the Month of February, he made a Solemn, and a State-ly Entry; he was a Person of a Comely Stature, of a Cheerful Countenance, Prudent, and Generous in his Behaviour, which are Qualities greatly taking in all Courts of the World. In his Retinue he had the Sons of several Princes of *Persia*, which served to add unto the Splendour, and Grandeur of his Embassy. He was Lodged, by Command of the Sultan, in that Magnificent Palace of *Kara Mullapha*, the late Vizier, which was richly Furnished for him; but there was no great need of any of the *Turkish* Moveables, for he had spread the Rooms with his own Rich Carpets, and other Coverings, the like of which had never been seen in the *Ottoman* Court. Moreover all the Kettles, and Utensils of the Kitchen were all of Silver, together with the Tables, such as never any Ambassador had before: And for better Adornments of this Noble Palace, there were certain Fountains which spouted Water as high as the Upper Story of the House. The Original Intention of this Embassy was designed at first to Congratulate the coming of Sultan *Solyman* to the Throne; but the News of *Solyman*'s Death meeting the Ambassador on the Road; and that Sultan Achmet his Brother, had succeeded to his Place; the Ambassador staid on the way for other Instructions, which were not altered at the *Persian* Court in any other manner, than only to change the Name of *Solyman* in the Credential Letters, to that of *Achmet*.

The *Turks* hastned the Return of this

1692. Ambassador so much as was possible; how-
soever his Departure could not be precipitated before the usual and common time of other Ambassadors, to whom it is the Custom to shew the *Lutfé*, or the solemn manner of giving out the Pay to the Janisaries in the Divan, where the Ambassador is Treated with a Dinner at the Vizier's Table; but this not being to be performed until the 25th of March, the *Turks*, who had magnified so much the Grandeur of their Empire to the *Persians* on all Occasions, were in a Bodily Fear, lest in the mean time some Unhappy and Dishonourable News should come from the Frontiers; or that the *Persians* should discover the Weakness of the *Ottoman* Force, who formerly used to boast of 2 or 300000, could now scarce bring an Army of 60000 Men into the Field; howsoever the Arrival of this Ambassador did not a little trouble the Minds of some principal *Turks*, who being affectionate to their Country and People, would be very sorry to have the Nakedness thereof discovered to their Insulting Neighbours.

The Day of the Ambassador's Audience being come, a Horse was sent out of the Grand Seigneur's Stable, for the Ambassador to Ride upon, richly adorned with Furniture and Trappings, according to the Custom; likewise 47 Chiaufes with their Aga, were also appointed, with an Oda, or Chamber of Janisaries, with their *Ciorba* gee, or Captain, and likewise that Aga which had been sent lately into *Persia*, to notify the Exaltation of Sultan *Solyman*: Being now returned, they all with the Ambassador's own Retinue, attended to conduct him to his Audience with the Grand Seigneur.

Things being put into this Posture, the Ambassador in a Glorious Habit, and great Pomp mounted on Horse-back; the Presents were all sent before, valued in *Persia* at 100000 Dollars, but being at *Constantinople*, might be esteemed at double the Value; they were carried by Camels covered with Cloth of Gold, each of them bearing two great Chefts, in which were Cloaths Embroidered with Gold, and Cloth of Gold, the finest Linen of *Persia*, some Pieces of them were worked with Golden Thread: Besides there were *Persian* Girdles very rich; Turbants of the finest sort proper for Princes; some Bows and Quivers with Arrows richly Inlaid; some great and large Pieces of Amber, with a good quantity of *Lignum Aloes*, the most Precious sort of any in *India*, of which much is consumed in the Grand Seigneur's Seraglio; some Strings of large Pearl of the biggest Size, with many other Gallantries,

1692. tries, and Curiosities of India; Five very fine Persian Horfes, covered with Cloth of Gold: Sixty large Camels, of which 30 were laden with Persian Carpets woven with Silk and Gold-Thread, with various Colours rarely mixed: The like Camels were sent before by 30 Persians on Horfe-back, very richly Cloathed.

The Ambassador himself was Cloathed with the most Rich Tiffue and Weighty Cloth of Gold that could possibly be made; On his Head he had a Cap in form and Manner of a Crown, with Seven Feathers, the Handles of which were studded with Jewels and Precious Stones; the like Habit the Vice-Ambassador wore, being appointed to succeed in the Embassy, in case the first should fail by any Accident; and before him five Horfes were led. Next followed the Secretary with the Credential Letters in a Bag of Cloth of Gold, which he carried in his Hand lifted up as high as his Head, on which he wore a Turbant Embroidered with Gold, with four Feathers. On one side of the Ambassador rode the Chiaus-Bahee, and on the other the Vice-Ambassador, and by his side, the Aga who was returned from Persia; these were immediately followed by two Persians with Beards, well Mounted, and richly Habited, who were the Masters of the Horfe, each carrying a Scimeter in the Scabbard richly adorned with Jewels, and carried under the Arm after the Turkish Fashion: Next followed the Attendance of 60 Men on Horfe-back, with Beards cut short after the Persian Fashion, all well Habited, amongst which was not one, whose Beard was not grown, for the Young Youths were left at Home, being Scandalous to show them Abroad.

When the Ambassador and Vice-Ambassador were come into the Divan, where the Grand Vizier was present, they caused them to sit down in the Rank with the Viziers of the Bench, amongst which the Chimacam of Adrianople, was reckoned; but he who carried the Letters stood all the time during the Lutfé, or Payment of the Soldiers; after which, according to the usual Custom, they all sat down to Dinner, where the Grand Vizier was present: After which they were richly Vested, but without Sabres, and with them 60 others of the Retinue had Vests, which is much more than what are given to the Ambassadors of the Emperor, the Kings of England, France, or Holland; to the first of which, as I remember, are given 35 Vests, and to those of the two Kings 22 a piece, and to that of Holland 19; by which we may observe the Value which the Turks put on the Persian, before those of the Chris-

tian Powers. After the Audience with the 1692. Grand Seignior was performed, they returned to their Lodgings in the same manner as they came from thence.

This Audience being over, the Turks hoped that the Persian Ambassador would immediately, and without farther delay return back to his Master, the King of Persia; but the Ambassador had other Intentions in his Mind: For being desirous to be a Spectator of the Confusions amongst the Turks at Home, and the Weakness of their Army on the Frontiers, he pretended to renew the Ancient Capitulations, which had been made between the Persians and the Turks, which was a good Excuse to delay Time: And tho' notwithstanding the Report caused to be spread Abroad, That the Indians had declared War against the Persians, it little moved the Ambassador from his Purpose of delaying his Departure, that he might the better discover the Weakness and Nakedness of the Turks, whose Affairs could not go well Abroad, whilst they were governed by an unable Head at Home; for the Grand Vizier was Old and Cholerick, and had it not been for his Son, who was a Person well in Years, Diligent, and Considerative, who Discouraged, and Prepared all Matters, weighed, and consulted them with Persons of Experience, and Understanding, he could never have carried them to any Maturity, or remained long in that Sublime Office. Besides, he was Naturally Cruel, that upon the least Suspicion, or Murmurings of any Pasha, or great Man, he without the least noise sent the Bow-string for him, and privately cut him off: Amongst the rest, there was one Omer Pasha, who having in several Fights signalized himself by his Bravery, seemed to aspire unto some high degree of Preferment; whereof the Vizier growing Jealous, he sent and took him off. But what most confirmed him was; that he promised the Militia to deliver out their Pay to them, at the end of every three Months in good Gold and Silver, and not in Copper-Money, against which there had been such Outcries, and Tumults amongst the People; to perform which Promise, (for there was no dallying with the Licentious Soldiery) the Gold and Silver-Smiths were commanded to shut up their Shops, and prohibited to Work or make any Vessels of Gold, or Silver, but to bring the Gold and Silver which they had in their Hands, into the Mint, there to be Coined into good Money, which he altered on a sudden the manner of Traffick in Buying and Selling, that none of the Copper-Money would pass in Payments under three or four for one; by which Artifices and Pro-

The Persian Ambassador's son, who was a Person well in Years, Diligent, and Considerative, who Discouraged, and Prepared all Matters, weighed, and consulted them with Persons of Experience, and Understanding, he could never have carried them to any Maturity, or remained long in that Sublime Office.

1692. jects, he kept up, and secured the Government to himself for some time: To which we may add one thing more, which reconciled the Minds of the Multi, and of the Ulama, and Religious Votaries to him. For whereas his Predecessor, who was a Man of a Gentle, Moderate Spirit, and not so Cruel, and Barbarous, as this, had granted Licences to the Christians to sell Wine, (by which a considerable Revenue arised to the Grand Seignior.) This Vizier to show his Hatred to the Christian Religion, issued out most strict Proclamations against the use of Wine, making it Death, either to Sell, or Buy, or Drink it; which much affected the Hearts of those, who were the most Superstitious, and Hypocritical; and gained him great Credit in general with the Musselmén, or Mahometan Believers.

About the time that the Persian Ambassador made his Entry into Adrianople, and received his Audience of the Grand Seignior, Count Tekeli arrived there also, attended with 30 Officers of his own Creatures, and Confidants; he entered with great State, and Pomp, and was conducted to his Lodging in the Palace of Isaac Efendi, where the greater Honours were shown him by the Insultation of the French Ambassador.

The Day following being conducted to his Audience with the Grand Vizier, he appeared very Rich and Stately in his Habit, wearing, after the Hungarian Fashion, a large Plume of Heron's Feathers on his Head, the bottom of which, where they were fixed, being set and studded with Precious Stones of great Value; he staid above an Hour in Conference with the Grand Vizier, being treated with Careless, and Kindness beyond the Manner which is usual amongst Turks: After which he received a Coftan lined with Sables, as is given to the greatest Pashas, and with him 15 of his Officers were also Vested; at this Conference Tekeli advised the Grand Vizier to provide two great Armies, one to act on the Frontiers in Hungary, and the other in Transylvania.

After this Audience which Tekeli had with the Grand Vizier, the French Ambassador having first obtained License for the same from the Vizier, made him a Visit; at which the usual Ceremonies passed, with great Protestations of Friendship, and Promises of Assistance from the King his Master.

The Turks were very uneasy all this time, during the Abode of the Persian Ambassador at the Ottoman Court, least he should discover, as we have said, the Weakness of the Turks in Hungary, and the Comotions of the Arabs against the Ottomans;

so that every thing was Whispered, and Concealed with all the Secrecy that was possible; and accordingly what Letters came either from Hungary, or the Eastern Parts; they were committed to some of the Renegade Christians to be read, who having been Educated in all the Learning of the Seraglio, were capable to Interpret them, and being confined within those Schools, had no means of Conversation with People without the Seraglio.

Tekeli, and the Tartar Han having finished their Business at Adrianople, and agreed on all the Methods they were to act for the ensuing Campaign; they were dispatched away, the first towards Hungary, and the other to the Crim.

It being now time to prepare and provide for the War, several Changes and Alterations were made amongst the Officers. The Captain Pasha was put out of his Office, and the Treasurer of the Grand Seignior's Private Cash, was put in his Place, a Person wholly ignorant of Maritime Affairs, but preferred as an Old Servant, and for his Merits in other Employments; and his Predecessor Missiroglu, who had been always bred up a Seaman at Tripoli in Barbary, was ordered for Hungary; as was also the Chimacam of Constantinople. The Aga, or General of the Janisaries, had also been deprived of his Office, and being a Man of good Esteem amongst the Soldiery, many adhered to his Party, which began to create a strong Faction amongst the Soldiery; to prevent the increase of which, many Officers amongst the Janisaries were secretly Strangled in the Night, whereby all those Plots were overthrown which were designed to promote that General of the Janisaries, who had the Esteem for his Courage, and good Conduct, to the Sublime Office of Grand Vizier; by which the Christians received a considerable Prejudice, he being a Friend to the Peace, and an Enemy to the French. But to keep the Turks fixed, and staid to the War, the French Ambassador assured the Turks, that his Master the King had dispatched already from France 200 Officers expert in the War, who might arrive in very few Days; and that amongst them were some famous Engineers, skilful in throwing Bombs and Granadoes, and making all sorts of Artificial Fire-works. And moreover he assured them, That every Day he expected two Men of War laden with Bombs, and Arms, and all sorts of Military Instruments, with some Thousands of Muskets to Arm the Janisaries. Moreover this Ambassador offered the Port, in the Name of his Master, to maintain three Regiments of Janisaries, and to Cloath them all in Blew Vests; but

so French Ambassadors for reason suggest the Turks.

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Tekeli at Adrianople.

His Audience with the Grand Vizier.

The French Ambassador's visit him.

The death of the Grand Vizier was in his office.

1692. this piece of Generosity looking too mean and disagreeable to the Grandeur of the *Turks*, was refused with some Indignation, and Dislike: Howsoever the *French* Engineers, upon their Arrival were accepted, and Enrolled amongst the other Gunners; over which, the Master of the Artillery was a *Turk*.

The Spring coming now forward, great Preparations were making both by Sea and Land for the approaching Campaign. At the Arsenal, the new Captain *Palha* was very diligent to forward the Naval Preparations; of which twelve great Mahoones, or Gallions, and two new Gallies were preparing, with six new Frigates, besides the Gallies belonging to the Beys of the Archipelago, which are commonly 36 in number. Moreover, great Quantities of Bisket and Ammunition, were preparing to be sent on Saicks by the *Danube* for the use of the Army. Nor were the Preparations, and Recruits for the Land Army neglected; for a Door, (as they call it) was opened for making Janissaries; of which they pretended to form for this Year 25000, and to have a greater Army this Year, than they had the last, before the Battle of *Salankement*, in which the *Turks* were the more animated, and made to believe better of their own Condition than it really was, by the Applications which the *Christian* Ambassadors made to Mediate a Peace; believing that neither the Emperor, nor the *Venetians* would press so hard for a Peace, were they able to maintain the War.

But what gave some stop to the Warlike Preparations, were the Factions amongst the *Turks* themselves; by which the Musti was suspended, and sent into Banishment; and a Pitiful, Decrepid Old Fellow, who had been Imaum, or Chaplain to Old *Kapriogli*, put into his Place, of whom we have given a Character before, and that he was unconstant in all his Resolutions.

The *Persian* Ambassador still continuing at *Adrianople*, the *Turks* knew not in what manner to be rid of him; they wished for his Departure, not so much to save the daily Charge which they bestowed upon him, as to be quit of a Spy, who looked as if he came to see the Nakedness of the Land. It was not seemly to order him to be gone, but it was thought that he would not stay long after the Horse-Tail was set out, (which is a Sign that the Grand Vizier resolves in 40 Days to take the Field) upon which it was given out, That he was to be at *Sophia* about the 7th or 8th of *May*, whence in a few Days he was to proceed, and to expect the Forces of *Aha* at *Belgrade*.

In order hereunto all Preparations possible were made for the War; the Grand Vizier designing to be in the Field before the *Christians*, several Brigantines were dispatched for the *Danube* by way of the *Black Sea*, with Saicks for *Ajack* laden with Ammunition and Provisions for the War, most of which Vessels were designed up as high as *Belgrade*.

But for all this haste which the *Turks* made, the Factions amongst themselves retarded their Expeditions, and caused every thing to move slowly. We have already given a Character of the Grand Vizier, as a Man infirm both in Body and Mind, and endued with no other Abilities to conserve himself, and his Government, besides a Cruelty natural to him, by which he conserved himself by the destruction of others; he had, as we have said, put many of the Chief Officers to Death; and had caused the Musti to be displaced and banished; he also proceeded so far, as to take the *Kuslar* Aga from the daily Service of the Sultan; and in despite of his great Power in the *Seraglio*, to send him into Banishment: After which there remained but one Person, of whom he conceived any Fear, or Jealousy, and that was the *Chimacam* of *Adrianople*; and until he was taken off, he could conceive no Quier within his own Breast, nor could he think himself secure after his departure to the War, unless he first saw his Competitor under the same Fate with his other Enemies, and his Son placed in his Stead and Office: With these Thoughts this wretched Vizier went boldly to the Sultan to demand license to give the Fatal Blow to the *Chimacam*, the which recoiled upon himself; for he being much in Favour, and in Esteem with the Grand Seigneur for his Prudence and Dexterity in the Affairs, and for the Truth which he had always told him: The Sultan no sooner heard him speak against the *Chimacam*, but putting himself into a Violent Passion, called immediately for his Band of Black Eunuchs to remove him away out of his Presence, and to strangle him as a Faithless and an Unworthy Minister.

But it seems the Eunuchs, contrary to their Natural Temper, taking Compassion of an Aged and Decrepid Person, fell down at the Feet of the Sultan, imploring his Mercy and Commiseration towards an old Servant, whose Years might plead for his Pardon.

The Sultan being a Prince of an Easy Temper, hearkened to their Petitions, and causing him to be put into an inward Room for a while, sent immediately to call for the *Chimacam* to come to him; who all Pale and Wan, fearing least his Enemy the Vizier

1692.

March.

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1692. Vizier had prevailed with the Grand Seigneur against his Life, came all Trembling, and cast himself down at the Feet of the Sultan; but he was soon put out of his Fears, by the comfortable Words of the Grand Seigneur, declaring him Vizier, and therewith a Velt of Sables was thrown over him, and the Seals delivered to him. But he being a Person of Prudence, and Experience of the uncertainty of that Sublime Office in such a Conjunction of Time, as was at present; began before the Grand Seigneur, much to bewail his hard Fate, which hurried him into an Honour too high and weighty for him to support; declaring, That he only desired to live in the Degree of *Chimacam*, that he might never depart from the side of his Lord and Master.

With these, and such like Words as these, he moved the Sultan to Compassionate his Case, and to grant his Request: And in his Place was named *Fakih* *Palha*, at that time *Palha* of *Diarbekir* in *Mesopotamia*, who had been Chief Chamberlain to *Kara Mustafa*, when he lay in the Siege before *Vienna*.

To execute this Great Affair, two Aga's were dispatched immediately away by the Post, to bring this *Fakih* *Palha* to *Adrianople*; and in the mean time all the Affairs of the War remained at a stand, which was very strange at such a Season, when the Armies were ready to take the Field; and that all things must give way to the Consideration of a single Man, who was to be fetched at the distance of above 1000 English Miles from *Adrianople*; as if no Man could be found like him equal to that great and heavy Charge.

In the mean time the Deposed Vizier, was Banished to the Castles of the *Dardanelles*; the which proved not all his Punishment; for his Estate, according to the Custom of the *Turks*, was Arrested; 500 Purshes of Money, with half a Million of Dollars, were seized for Service of the Sultan, with about 18000 *Soltanias*, or Gold Ducats, belonging to the Vizier's Son; the *Kahya* also was put into Prison, of whom nothing more having been heard, it was believed that he had been put to Death.

Upon the News hereof the Soldiery at *Belgrade* conspired together to prevent before the Grand Seigneur, *Halil* *Palha* their Seraskier, or General at that time of their Army, as the fittest Person for the Office of Grand Vizier, and the most able of any to contend with those great Difficulties, which oppressed the Empire: But in regard that Post was already filled, the Post refused to hearken thereunto; and least such a

Denial should cause any disturbance, *Halil* *Palha* was sent to *Negropont*, where he formerly had shown great Bravery, and good Conduct; and thus all things remained at a stand, until the Arrival of the New Vizier, till which time also the *Persian* Ambassador could not be dispatched; nor did he hastily desire it, being taken up with Admirance and Pleasure to see so many Tragic Changes, and Confusions, far different from those Days, when the Ottoman Union, and absolute uncontrolled Power gave a Terror to *Persia*, and all the Eastern World.

In the mean time for want of the Grand Vizier all things were at a stand; for the *Tartars* refused to move until they received Instructions from the New Grand Vizier, and the *Asiatick* Troops which were upon their March at this time, and ready to pass into *Europe*, retarded, and slackened their Pace, until they knew what new Orders this Vizier would give them. Howsoever the Officers both of Horse and Foot, which were already in *Europe*, were hastened on their March with all speed, that at the Arrival of the Grand Vizier, the whole Army might be found in a good posture on the Frontiers near *Belgrade*: And the Preparations for the Sea in the mean time went forward with all Cheerfulness, it being designed, that the Maritime Force should be equal to that of the last Year, being reinforced with many Vessels from *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Algier*; in all which Expeditions the *Chimacam* of *Adrianople* was very vigilant and active.

At length, about the beginning of *May*, the Grand Vizier arrived at *Adrianople*, near which Place he was met at *Hassa*, about three Hours distant from thence, by many of the Principal Officers, and at an Hours distance from the City, by the Musti, and *Chimacam*, and others; who in great Pomp and State conducted him to the Presence of the Sultan, by whom he was graciously received, and the Seals delivered to his Hand; after which being Vested with a Cofan lined with Sables, he made a short Prayer, and withdrew himself from the Presence of the Sultan, and being come to the Vizier's Palace, he bestowed Cofians on all the *Palha's*, and Officers of his Court, confirming the Old Ones in their Places, and declaring New where they were vacant.

Having taken some Refreshment that Night, the next Day he held a Solemn Council, at which it was concluded, what Methods were to be taken, for the future; and it was agreed, That on the 31st of this Month the Vizier's Tents were to be pitched at the usual Place without the City; and

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1692. also the Janifar-Aga's; and that the Day following they were both in Person to March out into their Tents; and that on the 6th of June they were to begin their Journey towards *Belgrade*; accordingly the Janifar led the Van, as was usual, and proceeded a Day before the Vizier, and the Spahes's; but they had not marched a Day before that being united with the other Militia, they began to Mutiny, exclaiming for their Pay, and protesting that they would not proceed until first they had received their six Months Pay in Arrear, with their Vests of thick Cloth, as also the Donative due to them at the Inauguration of every New Sultan: To content these People, the Grand Vizier issued out to them with all speed their six Months Pay; and with fair Words and Promises, he so pacified them, that they quietly marched forward to *Belgrade*, protesting howsoever, not to pass the *Save* without their Cloth and Donative.

With this Pacification the Grand Vizier taking a little Breath, began to consider of the manner how to establish himself; and because an Able, and Faithful Chiamacam, who remains near the Person of the Grand Seigneur, is always a great support to a Vizier, he sent for the Pasha of *Aleppo*, named *Muslapha*, to come to him, who in the Time of *Salyman* the Grand Vizier, had been Seraskier, or General against the *Poles*: This Person being come to him, he made him Chiamacam, and displaced the other (who, as we have said, refused lately the Vizier's Office) and sent him to remain Pasha at *Erzurum*, which is in *Armenia* Major.

One would have imagined that this Vizier might have thought himself secure with that Chiamacam, who had refused, (as we have said) the Vizier's Office, so fairly and so lately offered to him by the Sultan, so that a little kind Aspect, and few obliging Words might have made him entirely his own; but there is a Fate amongst the *Turks*, that neither the Grand Seigneur is constant to his Viziers, and Chief Officers, nor they to the Inferiour Ministers, who act under them, never believing themselves secure, but with those who are their own Creatures, by which continual Revolutions all things remain in distraction, and a Vizier hath scarce learned, or become Master of his Trade, before he is disgraced, and thrown down from his Sublime Office, with all his Kindred and Dependances, to the Abyss of Misery, and Ruine, of which we have discoursed at large in another Treatise.

Upon which Maximie this Vizier called for his own Creature to make him Chiamacam,

and recalled the late Mufti, whom 1692. the preceding Vizier had Exiled, which was the more easily done, the Place being vacant by the Death of the Mufti who was last made.

All these Embroils and Changes could not do less than hinder the Proceedings of the main Business; for the *Budziack Tartar* refusing to follow the Command of the *Tartar Han*, the Grand Seigneur sent one Messenger after the other to hasten the March of the *Tartars*, commanding them with 3 or 4000 Horse to carry on each a Sack of Wheat, or Meal, for the Relief of Great *Waradin*, from whence frequent Letters came, that they being reduced to the Extremity of Famine, could no longer subsist, but should be forced to deliver themselves up into the Hands of the Enemy, unless speedily succoured.

In this manner unthought of Accidents fell out full of Disappointments, by which neither the Forces at Land, nor at Sea amounted to half the Power they were of the last Year.

Thus far in this Year of 1692, have we shown the State of Affairs in *Turky*, whilst at *Vienna* things were in preparation for the following Campaign, and many Councils of War were held by the General Officers, in Presence, and with the Assistance of Prince *Lewis of Baden*.

We being now in the Month of May, all May the Endeavours were bent for taking Great *Waradin* before the *Turkish* Army should take the Field, and come to relieve it, of which there was now no great probability, in regard that from all sides Advices came, that the Town laboured under the last Extremity of Famine; the which was not only confirmed by Letters from thence to *Adrianople*; but by a Messenger dispatched with Letters to *Giula* and *Temeswar* from the Besieged, to give an account of the miserable Condition of the Place, the Circumstances of which were reported to be so wretched, that in all probability the Place could not hold out much longer.

But because many times Reports are false, and that Men do often, especially in War, magnify, or diminish things according to their Humour or Interest; it was judged fit not to expect until Famine had forced the Besieged to surrender, for that might prove still the Work of some Months, and in the mean time give the Enemy means to relieve the Place; wherefore it was resolved to force the Surrender, and the care thereof being committed to General *Hessler*, he with all Expedition and Diligence having drawn his Troops together from their Winter-Quarters, and adjacent Places, posted himself near the Old Fort,

1692. Fort, in which the *Heydukes* had kept a Garrison during the Winter Season, from whence he sent a Summons to the *Turks* to Surrender, and deliver up the City; which they resolutely refusing to do, he began the Day following to open the Trenches, and raised two Bulwarks exactly opposite to the Bulwarks of the Enemies, called *Zingar*, and *Capuden*; and caused a Bridge to be laid from the Palancha *Olofschi*, reaching to the Old City. To disturb these Works, the *Turks* played their Great Guns continually, and made a furious Sally, but were repulsed with some loss. In like manner also the Besiegers drew another Line on the other side of the River, so that the Town was now environed on every side, and the *Christians* lodged at the Ditch of the City.

On the 7th the *Turks* made another Sally, but were repulsed: And on the 8th, made another, with much more Bravery than they had done the Day before, but were repulsed with like Loss: Upon which the Janifarites went to the Pasha to consult with him what was to be done in this present Exigency; and all agreed, To hold out some Days longer in expectation of the promised Relief; during which time, both sides employed themselves to ply their Cannon, and throw their Bombs incessantly.

On the 11th some Hundreds of the Besieged shew'd themselves without the Fortrefs, but withdrew without farther Attempt; on which Day 11 *Heydukes* were killed, and 15 wounded.

On the 13th the *Turks* made another Sally on the *Heydukes*, but were briskly received, and soon repulsed.

The 16th, 17th, and 19th, little or nothing of moment was done, by reason of the continual Rains; but by this time the more heavy Cannon being come, the Breach was made wider and larger; so that General *Hessler* supposing that the Enemy might be terrified thereby, he sent a Trumpeter to make them the last Summons, threatening them in Default thereof, to give no Quarter either to Man, Woman, or Child; but as yet the *Turks* showed no fear of the Menaces pronounced against them; and an Old, Grave *Turk* showing himself on the Walls, called to the Besiegers, and admonished them to withdraw their Troops from under the Walls of the City, which they should never take, the Besieged being resolved to Live and Die together in the fame. This declared Resolution of the *Turks*, quickned the Operations of the General, so that throwing Fire into the Town, and plying the great Guns continually Day

and Night, the Breach was made much wider than it had been some few Days before, and ready for Storm, which was designed for the 28th of the Month: The *Turks* seeing the Troops in a readiness for an Attack, their Hearts began to fail; and thereupon a White Flag was displayed, and five Deputies were sent to the Army to treat, and Hostages being given on both sides, these Articles were agreed on, and an Instrument drawn up in this Form following.

The Pasha of Waradin, His Address to the Emperor.

MOST Happy Cæsar, Emperor of the Romans, in whom resides the Height of Majesty, Honour, and Glory, and of highest Esteem amongst the Christian Princes; We the Soldiers and Muslemen of Waradin, having been frightened and oppressed by a long and tedious Siege, and being at last reduced to the last Extremities by your Imperial Army Encamped against us, and being not able longer to hold out, do cast our selves at the Happy Feet of the Imperial Majesty: And being at length constrained to yield unto Fate, and Destiny, we fly unto your Clemency, and most Pious Benignity, which is a Ray, or Emanation from the Most Sublime Creator, declaring that voluntarily, and of our own proper Motions, (since God will have it so) to save our Lives, we have Pawned and Surrendered this our Fortrefs, with all the Ammunition therein; that is, Cannon, Muskets, and other Arms, and Military Instruments, to your Commiffary, the Most Honourable, and Most Excellent Hessler. And confiding in the Grace and Favour of an Emperor who governs so many Nations, that he will not permit, or suffer these our Muslemen to be damified, or robbed, or despoiled of their Goods, or Baggage which they carry with them; but be Protected, Conducted, and Conveyed safe from the Fortrefs of Waradin, to the Neighbouring, and Adjacent Places on the Danube, that is to the Palancha called *Panzova*, and to command, That in our Way thither, no Christian of what Nation soever, shall take our Goods from us either by Day or by Night, nor damage us either Privately or Secretly: All which we offer to the Benignity and Clemency of the Imperial Majesty, in these Sixteen Articles following.

1692.

The Articles of Surrender.

I. THAT the *Turks* and their Goods be taken from the Palanca's of *Palmese*, and *Solmeso*, and that they may in Safety be Conducted, and Conveyed to the same Place with those of *Waradin*.

II. That we may be safely Conducted through all the Passages and difficult Passes of *Erdurich* and *Zanat*, until we arrive at the Palanca called *Panzova*.

III. That to this intent 1200 Carts, and 200 Horses shall be given us; and that five Days time shall be given us to sell our Goods, and that they may have time to buy what Goods they please, according to their Convenience.

IV. That all Men and Women Slaves, who are desirous to remain in the *Christian*, or *Turkish* Faith, shall not be hindered.

V. That such Rebels or Malecontents as are taken in the Fortresses, shall not be detained, but permitted to remain with us.

VI. That the Besieged may carry their Ensigns, and Arms with them.

VII. That they may carry all their Writings and Registers with them.

VIII. That in case on the Way any Wagon should chance to break, another shall be given in the place thereof; and the Goods shall not be stolen, or broken open.

IX. That no Money, or Charges, shall be demanded on the Way for Lodgings.

X. That no Child, or Youth, Male, or Female, shall be taken from us; nor shall Money, or Expence be demanded of us on the Way, but our Charges shall be Defrayed, with all necessary Provisions, until we come to *Panzova*.

XI. That when we are proceeded out of the Fortresses, until we come to *Belgrade*, neither Subjects, or others, shall stop, or detain any of us on Pretension of Debt.

XII. But that all of us shall be permitted to proceed freely with all safety.

XIII. That for the more convenient Passage of the Carts into the Fortresses, a Bridge shall be made.

XIV. That care be taken to punish all the Infidelities of those who shall forcibly rob our Goods.

XV. That the *Turks*, who have by Order of the Grand Seignior, served for Officers in the Garrison, shall receive no Molestation.

XVI. That all Strangers of different Nations who are with us, shall not be Pillaged, or Plundered; and herein a particular care is to be had to Waggoners, and other Pilfering Fellows:

Given the 20th of the Moon, called Ramazan, in the Hegeira 1103; which is the 3d of June 1692.

Seifullah Cadi di *Varadin*.

Abdulatif Pasha and Chief Governour of *Varadin*.

Ibrahim Pasha, the late preceding Governour of *Varadin*.

Osinan Agba.

An Inventory of what was found in the Fortresses.

Five Thousand Measures of Barley.
1000 Measures of Wheat.
300 Sacks of Rice.
50 Fats of Flour.
50 Brass Guns, most of which were German.

22 Mortars.
70000 Pounds of good Powder: And
723000 of old decayed Powder.
3500 Cannon Bullets.
30000 Pounds of Iron: And
4300 Pounds of Wrought Iron.

The Articles being thus signed on the 3d of June, the Day following the Bridge was repaired, and the *Turks* marched out of the Fortresses, to the Number of about 1200 Fighting Men, and in all 12000 Souls, which were ranged in good Order on a convenient Ground without the Town, where they remained until the German and *Rafician* Militia, which was in Garrison in *Pescabara*.

1692.

1692. *Pescabara* was released, and which the *Turks* had detained there contrary to the Capitulations.

And thus ended the Siege of this Important Place, the Conquest of which served much towards the Security of *Transilvania* to the Emperor.

The *Turks* being desirous of a Revenge, detached a strong Party from *Belgrade* towards *Effek*, intending by that way to make an Incurion into *Sclavonia*; but the *Raficians* having notice of this March, Attacked them at Unawares, and cut down 200 of them, and took 40 Prisoners. Another Party of *Turks* also embarking at the near *Titul*, wherein was a strong Garrison of *Raficians*, they defended the same with so much Courage, that many *Turks* being Killed and Wounded, they were forced to quit the Design, and return back with Disgrace, and some Loss; and in the Town, the Captain of the *Raficians* was killed, with about 20 Men.

Nor better Success had the *Turks* on *Titul*, which was defended by a Garrison of 1200: The *Turks* Embarking themselves on 50 Ships, made a furious Assault thereon, which lasted for several Hours; but they were so well received, that they were repulsed, and forced to retire with the loss of some Hundreds Killed, and 30 Prisoners taken.

The *Croats* had still better Success upon the *Turks* on the other side the River *Una*, which Country they had often Invaded; and particularly about the beginning of July the Governour of *Novi* advancing with 1 or 400 Horse as far as *Behatz*; the Suburbs whereof they Attacked with the Sword in their Hands, Entered and Plundered, and then Burnt the Place; putting all to the Sword, except about 20 Persons of Quality whom he made Prisoners; besides other Booty he took 100 Head of great, and 500 of smaller Cattle.

After this Action the same Troops Attacked *Ofroftatz* on two sides, and totally destroyed it, notwithstanding the vigorous Resistance which the *Turks* had made. About this time also a violent Storm cast away 35 *Turkish* Barks on the *Danube* laden with Corn, Flour, Rice, and other Provisions, and did much other Damage by Thunder and Lightning.

Such small Matters as these passed, before the Vizier was in a capacity to take the Field; nothing went well at Home, nor prosperous Abroad. For after the Vizier had changed the *Chimacam*, he sent to call a certain Person named *Mustapha Pasha*, who had continued for a long time

Seraskier at *Baba* in the War against the *Poles*; and being a Person of great Experience, and good Conduct in Civil, as well as in Military Affairs, the Vizier judged him the more proper for this Office, by which it was greatly in his Power to do him Services with the Grand Seignior during his Absence at any time from the Person of the Sultan; and of such a Faithful Friend as this, the Vizier had more than ordinary occasion at a time when he had lately discovered a New Faction Combining against him, which being necessary to be suppressed before he marched into the Field, or withdrew himself from the Presence of the Sultan, he seized on the Principal Conspirators against him; namely, the *Chimacam*, and the Aga or General of the Janisaries, and tho' he was then in readiness to begin his March, yet he Arrested him, and deprived him of his Office, placing in the same *Ismael Pasha*, who had lately been *Chimacam* of *Constantinople*, and before that time had been made a Prisoner by General *Tenevolt*; and from his Youth having been always Educated in great Places, he was esteemed the more capable of any Employment: in this Secret Plot, the Tefcedar or Lord High Treasurer, was one of the Conspirators, whom the Vizier also deprived of his Charge, with divers others of principal Note; but what most sensibly touched him, was the Disobedience of the Janisaries, which is always the Fore-runner of Misfortunes to Great Men; the Apprehension of which cast the Vizier into an Indisposition of Body, which continued upon him for three Days, but afterwards recollecting himself, and taking Courage, he raised up his Spirits, and in a handsome manner appeared the Janisaries; howsoever he lived in a continual fear of their Mutinies at *Belgrade*, having rendered himself Odious to the Soldiery and others, by his Unfavourable Avarice, which he had learned from the Principles and Methods of his Old Master *Kara Mustapha*, by which Vice he had suddenly fallen, had he not been supported by his Creature, *Ismael Pasha* the *Chimacam*, whom he had raised to that Dignity.

Had it not been for these, and the like Rubs and Confusions, the *Turkish* Army would have been before this time in the Field, tho' not so strong perhaps as the last Year; for the *Austrian* Militia came slowly in, and those in small Numbers; The Grand Vizier marched not with more than 10000 Men from *Adrianople*, and the *Albanians* (the best of their Soldiery) were sent to *Negropont* to guard that Island, upon a Report, That the *Venetians* had another Design on that Coast. Another Detach-

1692. ment was also made of certain Pasha's, with some *Tartars* to the Number of 6000, who were under one of their Sultans appointed to drive the *Poles* out of *Moldavia*, and regain the Places which they possessed, and amongst these, the late Janissar-Aga, who was dispossessed of his Office, was made Seraskier, or General of those Forces. During this Weak Estate and Condition of the *Turks*, an Unhappy Misfortune befel the *Turkish* Fleet, which lay in *Nicopolis*, and *Widin*, where 35 great Boats laden with Wheat, and Flour for the Army, were cast away by Storm.

The *Persian* Ambassador, who had continued longer at *Adrianople*, than the *Turks* desired, it being neither consistent with their Policy, nor their Riches, to entertain a Guest, whose Business was chiefly to discover the Decay, and Nakedness of their Country, did now about the end of this Month of *June* begin to think it time to return unto his Master, being well enough informed, as he imagined, of the true Estate of the *Turkish* Affairs; received his Audience of Congé from the Sultan privately in a Garden, where the Imperial Letters were delivered, and the Capitulations mutually exchanged; and a Present made to him of a Horse richly adorned with Royal Caparisons.

These and such like Troubles retarded the Grand Vizier's March towards *Belgrade*; by which Disappointments the Marquis of *Lorand* had the Fortune to arrive timely at *Constantinople*, and to disembark secretly, or *incognito*, from a *Tartana*, and thence in a Day or two he proceeded to *Adrianople*, with the Equipage of a Trumpeter, and 10 Servants, all richly clothed, and his Table nobly furnished with Plate. In few Days after his Arrival, he received his Audience of the Grand Vizier in Company with Monsieur de *Chateau-neuf*, the present residing Ambassador, at which (according to the usual Custom of the *French* at all their Audiences) their Business was to extol the Greatness and Power of their Master; and to report unto the *Turks*, That their King had furnished King *James* with a Mighty Fleet, and 30000 Men to invade *England*, which were all ready at the time of his Departure to Embark, and consisted with Men of War, and Transport Ships of more than 600 Sail; the which joining in *England* with the contrary Party to that which then Governed; would no doubt carry all before them in that Country, and consequently cause great Confusions in *Holland*, and amongst all the Allies.

Moreover that his King was ready to enter into the Field in Person, with a most formidable Army, (as he had promised

the Sultan) against the Emperor; of the Success of which they would speedily hear from their fortunate King who had ever been Prosperous in all his Enterprises: Moreover he added, That all these great things the King had done, were to support the *Ottoman* Empire, which would certainly have been staggering under that Mighty Power of the Allies, had it not been supported by the *French*, and their Forces diverted from the *Ottoman* Dominions in *Hungary*; all which the Grand Vizier heard with Pleasure and Attention, affluring the Marquis, and the Ambassador, that he never had any Design, or Imagination of making a Peace with the Emperor, without the Concurrence of the *French*. Howsoever the Marquis not knowing how constant and firm to their Resolutions the *Turks* might be, in case that things should succeed ill in the *Turkish* Army, or that the Imperialists should take *Belgrade*; he obtained Licence from the Vizier to accompany him to the War, during this Campaign, where he might be ready at hand to oppose all Proposals tending to a Peace, in case any Endeavours should be made therein.

And in this manner the Grand Vizier departed the 30th of *June* from *Adrianople*, towards *Belgrade*; having pointed out 32 Days March from one Place to the other, besides Days of *Otracok*, or Days of Repose.

But before the Vizier's Departure, two *Mixzes*, or *Tartarian* Noblemen, with six other *Tartars*, arrived at *Adrianople*, bringing News, That *Batter Gherei*, one of the Sultan *Tartars*, had entered into *Polshinia* a Province belonging to *Poland*, and had carried away Captive above 30000 Souls; which Rumour was spread abroad to encourage the *Turks*, when in truth there were not above 2000 taken; and farther to give Life to the Soldiery, it was reported, That *Adil Gherei* the Younger Brother was remaining within the Confines of *Valachia*, attending his Elder Brother, that they might with a joyn't force March into *Hungary*.

Howsoever to secure the *Tartars*, the Grand Vizier before his Departure from *Adrianople* dispatched away three Capugi-Bashees, with pressing Commands to the Han of *Budziack*, to march with all speed to *Belgrade*, and not to delay their time as they had done the last Year, and that they should have a care not to deceive him, for that he depended much on their Forces; but herein the Vizier was not well informed, for the *Budziack Tartar* could not furnish more than 3000 Men; and as to the *Noghai Tartar*, they were Numerous; but withal, they were such a sort of Savage

Crea-

1692. Creatures, Rebellious, and Disgusted by the *Turks*; that no great account could be made of them. Nor yet of Sultan *Galgba* Prince of *Crim Tartary*, who was engaged in a War against the *Cossacks*, and had enough to do to defend himself against such a Stout and an Active Enemy. Moreover to make the Assistance of the *Tartars* the less considerable this Year, the *Tartars* rebelled against their New Han, in their March towards *Belgrade*: At first this Mutiny appeared only in some Dislikes, which the Principal *Tartars* showed against their New Sultan, the which daily increasing, came to such a height, that the whole Army forsook and left him, and returned in a Body back to *Budziack*, and were followed soon after by the Han himself, with some of his Menial Servants; the News hereof being brought to the Grand Seignior, and Grand Vizier, they knew not how to carry on the War for this Year; so that all the Remedy which remained, was to re-establish the Old Han, *Selim Gherei*, in his Place; the which tho' it pleased the Soldiers better, yet by this time the Season was so far spent, that nothing of moment could be expected to be put in Action for that Year. Some small Matters indeed the *Turks* did attempt, but always with loss; in *July* they attacked a small, but a strong Fortress, called *Portsea*, near *Peter-Waradin*; the which was so well defended by a Garrison of *Rascians*, that the *Turks* were several times repulsed; and at last hearing that some Imperial *Heydukes*, and *Dragoons*, had passed the *Save*, and had cut down great Numbers of *Turks*, they quitted their design on *Portsea*, and returned back to *Belgrade*: Howsoever upon better consideration, concluding that the Place was of so high importance, that they might be called into question for quitting the Siege, they returned back again, and on the 5th of *August* made another Attack upon the Place, and resolved to carry it by force of Arms; but News coming, That a strong Body of the Imperial Troops were sent to relieve the Place, and were already in their March, they quitted the Siege; and being attacked in the Rear, they left many Dead and Wounded Men behind them.

About the same time the Vice-Ban, or Lieutenant-General of *Croatia*, having got together a strong Body of 5500 *Croats* and *Rascians*, made an Incurison towards *Meydan*; in which Expedition, he not only had the good fortune to release 400 Poor *Christians*, who were Condemned to Die, and should have been executed the next Day (had they not been seasonably relieved by the *Croatians*) but to return back with a considerable Booty of Cattle, and Move-

ables, together with some principal *Turks* of Quality and Note, whose Houses and stately Buildings they burnt and Destroyed fully or nothing more remarkable farther passed all this Campaign, unless it were a Matter of two considerable Convoys sent to *Temeswar*, the latter of which consisted of several Thousands of *Turks*, conducting 1000 Waggon and many Camels laden with all necessary Provisions; and so having provided the Town for the whole Winter, they returned back to *Belgrade*. At the same time a Body of *Rascians* broke into the *Morava*, and there attacked and beat another *Turkish* Convoy, which carried 200000 Dollars to the *Turkish* Army, which was a brave Booty for the *Rascians*; for tho' the Grand Vizier upon the News thereof, had Detached a Body of 10000 *Arginians* after them, yet the Prey had given them Wings, and they escaped safe into their Towns and Garrisons of Refuge.

Some later Actions passed besides, but none of great consequence, expecting that the *Turks* having a mind to look big, and put a good Face on it towards the latter end of the Campaign, passed the *Save*, to recognize the Imperial Camp at *Salankment*; but so soon as the News thereof was brought to the General, a strong Party of *Heydukes* and Imperial *Dragoons*, were Detached to meet them; at the noise of which the *Turks* retired, and therewith the Campaign ended in *Hungary*: For the *Janissaries* being debased in their Courages by the ill Success of the last Year, refused to return into the Field, complaining of the Cowardice of the Spahes, by whom they had been exposed in open Field, and given up to the Fury of the Enemy, whilst the Spahes fled, and saved themselves in *Belgrade*; and the *Tartars* not returning to the War, gave the *Janissaries* just cause to put an end more early than was accustomed, to this Years Campaign; who according to the Military Constitutions of the *Ottoman* Empire, may be obliged to continue in the Field until the 28th of *October*, but not longer; for in such case, if not provided with Winter-Quarters by that Day, the *Janissaries* may leave the Camp, against the Will and Command of their Generals, and shift for themselves.

Tho' the Campaign was ended in *Hungary*, yet something of Action continued in *Poland*, where on the 27th of *September*, the *Turks* attacked a Fortress called *Soroka* with an Army of 30000 Men, Commanded by the Seraskier *Muslapha Pasha*; the fame consisting of 8000 *Turks*, 2000 under the Pasha of *Silistria*, 6000 under the *Hospodar of Valachia*, 2000 under the General of the *Cossacks*, with 12000 *Tartars*

L 11 2

With

The Persian Ambassador takes his Congé of the Grand Seignior.

The Marquis of Lorand arrives from France.

His Reports made to the Turkish Court.

The Vizier promises to continue the War.

The Marquis promised to go to Belgrade.

The Turks repulsed from Portsea.

The Ban of Croatia attacks the Turks.

Poland.

With

1692. With this Army, (as we say) *Mistapha* *Pasha* Invested these small Fortresses, which was defended by a Garrison of 600 Men, with most of which, the Governour made a Sally on the same Day that the Enemy came before it, and killed about 80 of the Besiegers, and so returned to the Fort, having first burnt the Suburbs, to prevent the Enemy from taking Shelter therein. So inconsiderable a Fort as this, which might have been taken by this Powerful Army with open Breaths without the Methods of Trenches and Approaches, was now Invested with all the Formalities of a Siege: For the first Night the *Turks* began their Trenches, and to throw Bombs into the Place, and to raise a Battery of Great Guns, which they played for three or four Days and Nights continually.

On the 11th of *October* they advanced their Trenches to the Ditch-side; the which having filled up, they stormed the Fortresses, but were repulsed with the loss of 600 Men; notwithstanding which, they made a second Attempt, and entered the City, and burnt it; but being again beaten out of it, they continued the following Day to Fire without ceasing for the space of three or four Days; by which time, tho' great Breaches were made, yet the Besieged with indefatigable Industry repaired in the Night, what the Enemies had ruined in the Day.

On the 5th and 6th the *Turks* took Post in the Ditch, and endeavoured to fortify themselves there; but the Besieged Sallying out, dislodged them from thence, the *Turks* howsoever recruiting themselves with fresh Forces, recovered their Post; and having drained out all the Water from the Ditch, they encompassed the Fortresses round on all sides, throwing thereinto Bombs, Carcasses, Stink-Pots, and other Artificial Fires: But neither these, nor Batteries availing to terrify the Besieged, the *Turks* applied themselves to sink Mines; which the Besieged having discovered, made some of them useless by Countermines; howsoever the *Turks* intending to Storm the Place on the 9th of that Month, fired one of their Mines early that Morning, which threw down part of the Wall, and immediately they began to Storm the Place, which the Besieged withstood for four Hours together, driving the *Turks* from the Walls, as often as they advanced, and planted their Colours thereupon.

In this Action the Besieged took three Standards, and procuring this Success, they drove them out of most of their Posts and Lodgments, with the loss of 1000 of their Men; and having gained six Ensigns,

they returned with Joy and Triumph to their Fortresses. 1692. *October.*

This Vigorous Defence to astonish the *Turks*, and caused them to despair of taking the Fortresses; that silently in the Night they raised their Camp with much Precipitation, that they left behind them two Great Guns, and three Mortar-pieces, with much Ammunition and Provisions.

The next Morning being the 11th of the Month, the Besieged Sallying out, found no Enemy near them: The Action was very strange, and almost Miraculous, considering that the *Turks* had lost more than 4000 Men, and the *Christians* had 150 Killed, and 120 Wounded; the *Turks* had an Army of 30000 Men to oppose the *Cattle*, and the *Christians* no more than 600 to defend it: And with this Action the Campaign ended, as well in *Poland*, as in *Hungary*.

After the Death of Sir *William Hussy*, who Died, as we have said, the last Year at *Belgrade*; *William King of England*, &c. immediately dispatched away Mr. *Herbert*, in Quality of Ambassador to the Grand Seigneur, with Orders to reassume the Mediation of Peace between the Emperor, and his Allies, with the Sultan, and not to lose the present Opportunity, which looked favourable in regard to both sides.

Mr. *Herbert* had very little time given him to provide himself for so great an Undertaking and Journey over Land; and tho' he was often afflicted with the Gout, and not very well at ease, when he begun so long a Journey, yet being a Man of a great Spirit, he forced himself, that he might not lose the Merit and Honour of being the Instrument of procuring that Peace between the Emperor, and the Sultan, in which all *Europe* was concerned: the *Turks* being then very low, and much debated in their Spirits, seemed flexible and inclinable to a Peace: And not to lose this favourable Conjunction, the Journey of Mr. *Herbert* was prefigured with all the haste imaginable; but what with the Fatigue of the Journey, and the Unquietness of his Mind for being obstructed in a Negotiation so much desired by him, he became so violently Attacked by the Gout, that he was forced to yield unto his Distemper, and lay himself up for some Months at *Frankfort*, so that it was March before his Arrival at *Vienne*, and far in the Month of *April* before his Departure from thence; during which time I received two Letters from him, the chief substance of which was to complain of his want of Health, and of the little appearance of a

Peace

1692. Peace between the Emperor and the *Turks*; they desiring (as he said) all the Overtures that had been made to them, which had served only to exalt the *French* Ambassador, and to keep the *Turks* from a Peace, who imagined that such Instances would never have been made for Peace, had the *Christians* been drawn to Extremities and want of Power to support and continue a War: Howsoever Mr. *Herbert*, in Obedience to His Majesty's Commands, resolved to proceed, and try his

1692. Fortune; and being furnished by the Emperor, the *Venetians*, and the King of *Poland*, with their Conditions respectively, on the which they were contented to establish the Foundation of Peace, he took his way down the *Danube*, which was the most convenient Passage for a Person labouring under his Distemper: And on this occasion, I have thought fit to Insert the Propositions offered from the Allies unto the *Turks*, which are these which follow.

PROPOSITIONS

For a Lasting PEACE,

Offer'd at the Sublime Port, by Mr. *Herbert*,
the *English* Ambassador, 1692.

Propositions Offered by the Emperor.

In Nomine Dei.

Inter duos Imperatores pro fundamento almæ Pacis prolata Propositiones.

Prima Propositio.

NE futuris quoque temporibus inter utrumque Imperatorem aliquod intercedat diffidium, sed firma Pax coalescat, Cæsarea Majestas occupatorum aliquid partem restituens, reliqua verò retinens moderationem, & equanimitatem ostendat, si autem abnuerit, retentis occupatis fœderi terminus temporis præfigatur.

Secunda Propositio.

Sub patrocinio fulgidæ Pœnitæ existens sitaque prope Confinia Cæsareæ Majestatis Christiana Regio Transylvaniæ in pristinum ipsius statum restituatur, annuumque suum tributum Ottomanorum Im-

peratori solvat, atque prout declaratur in Sacris antehac confirmatis Diplomatis sub protectione utriusque Imperialis Majestatis quieto statu fruatur ejus incolæ.

Tertia Propositio.

Arcium, quæ hucusque tenentur à fulgida Porta, viæ quæcunque interceptæ & oblocatæ sunt, operiantur, néve in territoris & attinentiis earum aliqua fiat interurbatio seu præsentio.

Quarta Propositio.

Multum hic morari sumus, quæ de cæusâ, nescimus, jam veris tempus adveniat, in Negotio Tractatus & Conclusionis de Pace multæ difficultates oboriantur, quæ menti obversari non poterant: Pro enodandis omnibus difficultatibus, requæstabilenda quies ab armis esse necessaria videri cœpit, ne interrumpatur almi & Sacrosancti istius negotii continuatio, armistitii necessitas apparet, pro quo honestum & conveniens temporis spatium præstigendum occurrit.

The

The Articles Propofed by the Venetians, for a Peace with the Turks.

I. **L**O Stabilitimento del suo Dominio Vecchio è nuovo, è sotto questo s'intendono gl' acquisti fatti per i quali fendono.

II. Impatronita del tutto Regno di Morrea colla prefa di Napoli di Malvasia, pretendente lisiano ceduti, li fogli ed Isole aggia, centi, è qualche Territorio fuori del Iretto di Corintho verso la Livadia & Atene, à Lapantho ed à luoghi sopra 'l Golfo di Corintho à suoi Territorii, così alla fortezza della Prevefa il suo Territorio ed à luoghi, che sono sopra 'l Golfo della Prevefa, come dipendenze di St. Maura.

III. L' Territorio attorno della Valona.

IV. Nella Dalmatia pretende per Confini i due fiumi Obroazzo e Bojana, col mar' aggia, cente è le Montagne della Bosna.

La facoltà di fabricare forteffe nel proprio Territorio.

Che non si pretenda dalla parte de Turchi 'l pagamento per 'l Zante, mà questo rest' affatto abolito anco per l'avenire.

Regolamento del Commercio à regulari, quando si venisse à più stretti Trattati co' Turchi.

Sacra Cæsarea & Regia Majestas Dominus noster Clementissimus, ut sincero affectu & magno æstusio Serenissimi & Potentissimi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis & Præpotentium Dominorum Generalium Ordinum Federati Belgii ad promovendam pacem cum Porta Ottomannica officia sibi oblata acceptat, ita quemadmodum summa etiam in fortuna, & geminatis victoriis pacem honestam & tutam aquis conditionibus inire parata est; et etiamnum inire parata est; Nos jussit Excellentissimum Dominum Legatum Angliæ ad Portam Ottomannam proficiscentem super hoc negotio Pacis Viennæ jam inchoato, de ejusdem processu, & ubi hæere cœperit, plene informare, simulque ejusdem Cæsaream mentem circa ea quæ adhuc facienda restant, ut Pax intentata coalescere possit adaperire.

VENERUNT huc Turcæ pacem offerentes circa finem anni millesimi

sexcentissimi octuagesimi octavi, quæ tum proposuerunt, propositio Cæsareis Commissariis ad hoc negotium deputatis, ab ipsis Abligatis Turcicis tradita, hic sub A. apposta fufius demonstrabit, fit etiam, quæ ad hanc Propositionem Cæsarei Commissarii responderint, contra-propositio B. exhibebit; Verum cum Propositione Turcica interdicto Uti Possidetis fundaretur; sed intermixtis Territoriis Pax solida, vel armistitium durabile non videretur posse coalescere: Ideo simpliciter à Cæsareis Commissariis ad negotium Pacis deputatis acceptari non potuit; ne tamen propterea mox sub ipso ingressu tractatus Pacis abrumperetur, urserunt prædicti Cæsarei Commissarii, ut locorum respectivè cedendorum & retinendorum singulorum discussio individualis iniretur; verum cum hoc ab Abligatis Turcicis imperari non posset & hi desuper mittendum Curforem, ad reportanda mandata à Porta Ottomannica primum constanter recusarent, post ultro peterent, expedito Curfore Turcico & reduce, expectabatur quænam mandata desuper Abligati Turcici accipissent, & proposituri essent; cum verò nulla nova præter proposita se accepisse contestarentur, visum fuit illos dimittere; priusquam verò actualiter Viennæ discederint, primum specie secreti Eminentiissimo Domino Cardinali à Kollonitsch Propositionem suam posteriorem adaperuerunt,

C. runt, eamque Domino à Werdenburg postea dictam & Turcico idiomate compositam exhibuerunt, & sponte ad singula cedenda vel retinenda specificè deventur, juxta eandem propositionem illorum posteriorem Excellentissimo Domino Legato Angliæ sub C, communicatam. Et quia hæc Propositio Turcica posterior generaliter dictorum locorum cedendorum vel retinendorum continet specificationem, omnia verò de locorum appertinentiis, formâ ac modo cedendi reticet, certum est, & hanc ipsam Propositionem ulteriorem singulorum discussionem requirere: Super quo cum sufficiens tractandi materia restaret, ad facilitandam dicti tractatus reasumptionem cum Turcis, post factam prædictæ Propositionis Turcicæ Federatis communicationem & expectata desuper eorum sensa, Cæsarei Commissarii, revocatis ad hunc finem Pottendorffium sæpe dictis Abligatis Turcicis, responsum suum ad latus dictæ Propositionis Turcicæ sub nominato C. scripto exhibuerunt: Quod responsum sæpe memorati Abligati Turcici eo prætextu quod nihil novi in se contineret, & tam prima quam posterior eorum Propositio olim exhibita, mutata interim rerum facie evanuisse & sibi nullam amplius tractandi & concludendi tractatûs facultatem superesse, acceptare recusarunt; reprehensi postea desuper se responsum Cæsareum suscepturos, absque tamen eo quod & illi desuper iterum responderent, se offerre; præteritum verò errorem per id excusare cœperunt, quod gravius sibi visum fuerit, acceptare Cæsareum responsum, & ad id non replicare, quam deficiente sibi tractandi facultate illius acceptionem ab initio statim deprecari.

Quoniam verò rebus his in circumstantiis positis, duo indispensabiliter necessaria se produnt; Primum, quod si pacem Turcæ Practicabilem velint, utrique imperio tutam & honestam, necessariò distinctis limitibus utriusque Imperii Dominia ab invicem separari & distingui debeant; quare intermixtis Territoriis, nec Pacem nec armistitium turè & honestè coalescere posse, pro infallibili axiomate statuendum & observandum est: Alterum, quod ut ad distinctionem confinio-rum realem & solidam deveniri possit, præcisè requiratur, ut Porta Ottomannica congruis mandatis & ad facultatem tractandi & concludendi idoneis Abligatis suis hic degentes instruat, juxta quæ illi hinc inde respectivè cedendorum, retinendorum, vel permutandorum discussionem, modum cedendi vel appertinentias singulorum definire, & sic concordatis utrinque

placitis conditionibus, Pacis vel armistitii tractatus inire, & cum fructu prosequi ac concludere possint. Ad hunc ergo obtinendam novæ instructionis & facultatis pro sæpe dictis Abligatis Turcicis scopum, summa Negotiationis Excellentissimo Domino Legato Angliæ credite dirigenda, & eoque omni possibili conatu laborandum est, ut facultatem super præfata ultima Cæsarea Propositione tractandi Abligatis Turcicis à Porta Ottomannica mittendam obtineat, nec inde facile recedendum, cum non sit in promptu, omnia materialia, quæ his Generalibus continentur, de loco ad locum specificare & Excellentissimo Domino Legato Angliæ suggerere, multa enim ab oculari situationum inspectione dependent, de quibus haud aliter transigi poterit; Et hoc ad Articulum Primum & Secundum Cæsarei Contracti responsi.

Ad Tertium Art. Nihil Cæsareæ Propositioni addendum vel demendum venit, cò quod distinctio Confino-rum Cæsarei Domini ab Ottomannico ibidem clarè expressa habetur: Multis in contrarium facientibus argumentis & rationibus amore pacis sèpositis: Et ca propter in favorem Portæ Ottomannicæ admittit.

Ad Quartum Art. Cæsarei responsi de tractu Valachiæ & Moldaviæ nihil habetur in Cæsareo responso; non equidem propterea quod ad prædictum tractum jus fundatum desit, sed quod nec novis tricis pacis negotium involvere, nec Federatorum cuiuspiam in eo præjudicare visum fieri.

Ad Art. Quintum. Transylvania Negotium omni dubio procul erit in tractatu Petra Scandali, ad quam Jure Avito ad Regnum Hungariæ spectantem Annis Cæsareis, transfragante spontanea Magna-cum & Populi submissione, occupatam & possessam, Turcis cedendam, nihil est quod Sacram Cæsaream Majestatem compellere queat, nec faciet unquam; Ut tamen per quiete pacis nullus modus à Cæsareæ Majestate intentatus relinquatur, si Turcæ nullo modo Cæsareæ supra citate contra Propositioni C. locum dare vellent, sed olim Propositio interdicto Uti Possidetis pacem coalescere mallent, Cæsareæ Majestas nec id comprehensa & in sua possessione relicta Transylvania aspernabitur, verum non obstante multo sibi cum Ottomannica Porta communi incommodo exinde resultante, tractatum Pacis propter ea absumpti non patietur, tum ut Serenissimo Magnæ Britanniæ Regi & Dominis Federati Belgii Ordinibus Generalibus Pacem cum Ottomannica Porta summe

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desiderantibus, quantum fieri potest, deferat, tum etiam ut pro sua naturali pietate & clementia effusionis Sanguinis humani parcat, & quā licet possibilibus conditionibus fīstāt, quinimo, ut possibilibus modis realem pacis incundā promptitudinem supra memoratis potentis sibi Fœderatis testatam reddat, si Turcæ per oblatum & hæctenus in pacificationibus cum Porta Ottomannica fere semper observari solitum interdictum Uri Possidetis, inclusa Transylvania, pacem inire non posse modicis tuerentur & hujus temperamenti Cæsarea ex parte incundi spem ab Excellentissimo Domino Legato Angliæ Turcis pro obtinenda pace inijci posse permittit, scilicet si restituta Transylvania Juniori Apasi: Quem status elegerunt & cum Cæsaria tum Porta Ottomannica confirmavit: In perpetuum tamen abinde excluso proditore Tökeliu, suis antiquis iuribus, libertatibus & privilegiis, sub æquali utriusque Imperii protectione & commodo decem libere vivere sinat; Contra, Porta Ottomannica trans Danubium, Varadinum, Temesvarinum, Gyula, Jenova, Lippa, aliaque omnia loca quæ armis Ottomanicis in ultra Danubianis & Tibiscanis partibus tenentur & partium Hungaricarum nomine audiunt, ad Portam Ferream usque inclusivè, simul etiam quæ inter Danubium & Savum ultra Dravum momentanea & dubia possessione tenet, Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestati in statu quo munita cedat, nulla ibidem Portæ Ottomannicæ remanente prætensione.

Ad Art. Sextum, Nihil dicendum occurrat, sed omnia ad contenta hoc Art. Sexto Cæsareæ responsi comprehensa deducenda sunt, propterea quod de his alio modo supposita honestè & tutè pace ab utriusque faciendā transigi non possit.

Ad Art. Septimum, Cæsareæ responsi nihil dicendum cum per se clarus sit & Cæsaream intentionem sine omni æquivoco explicet.

Quæ verò Articulis, Octavo & Nono, Cæsareæ responsi comprehensa leguntur, vix est quod Pacis Negotium morentur, eo duntaxat excepto, quod Art. Nono de liberè muniendis Utriusque Imperii placitis consensu stipulandum proponitur quod nullatenus alterari vel omitti potest, eo quod utriusque Imperii securitas in hoc potissimum sita deprehendatur.

Ad Appendicem Cæsareæ ex parte præsupponitur quod, Turcis in suis exhibitio- nibus respectu Fœderatorum Serenissimorum Regis Poloniæ, & Reipublicæ Vene-

tæ exhibitis permanentibus, magna Pacis facilitandæ ratio apparitura sit, quamvis desuper cum iis potissimum transigendum maneat.

De quibus omnibus pacis incundæ & facilitandæ temperamentis, suo ordine gradatim proponendis, ut Excellentissimus Dominus Legatus Angliæ cum Portæ Ottomannicæ Ministris & Magno Vizirio præcipue colloqui, spemque obtinendum à Cæsareis commodè facere poterit, ita meminerit, dictorum temperamentorum proponendorum ac desuper Turcarum ad Pacem inclinatum, vel ab ea aversorum sensum penetrandi liberam, ut supradictum, sibi facultatem quidem creditam, verum ipsius negotii Pacis conclusionem, Augusto Imperatori, Domino Domino nostro Clementissimo reservatam habere & ita remanere debere, ut super propositis & acceptatis temperamentis deum hic Viennæ tractatus formaliter concludi debeat, cum vel maxime id præterea observandum, quod Cæsareæ Regiæque Majestatis sine Fœderatis suis Serenissimo Poloniæ Rege & Serenissima Republica Veneta Pacem, uti sæpius declaravit, nec factura sit nec facere possit; Quare ad seponendum inter Cæsarem Augustum & Turcarum Imperatorem currens bellum præcisè requiritur, ut & cum Cæsareis Fœderatis præmemoratis, de pacificatione ipsorum quoque tractetur, & ad tractandum cum ipsis Ablegati Turcici conveni- enter instruantur.

Suggerendum præterea occurrit Excellentissimo Domino Legato Angliæ quod Sacra Cæsareæ Majestas his conditionibus ultra finem Junii circiter se adstrictam permanere non intendat.

Porrò si supremus Vizirius per præsentates Portæ Ottomannicæ Ministros tractatum continuare nolle vel alios submittere veller, nullam ex parte Cæsareæ hac in re difficultatem experietur.

Et quia sæpe memorati Ablegati Turcici varias male fundatas querelas & actorum exculpationem, nomine sinceræ curi- judam informationis sub D. huc ad Aulam Cæsaream remiserunt & in dubium videtur, has ipsas querelas eorum, cum- latis sinistris informationibus, ad Portam Ottomannicam delatas fuisse; visum fuit de earum querelarum momento Excellentissimum Dominum Legatum Angliæ per adjacens scriptum E. informare, simulque materiam fundatissimæ refutationis, si quæ sibi de his apud Portam Ottomanni- cam objicerentur, suppeditare.

Deside-

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Desideratur hoc præterea ab Excellentissimo Domino Legato Angliæ; ut nihil nomine Cæsareo sed omnia quasi ex mandato sui Serenissimi Regis hic in aula Cæsareā penetrata proferat & agat, simul etiam quam Proposito apud Portam Ottomannicam ad faciendam Pacem vel continuandum bellum dispositionem repererit, expressis & festinis Curatoribus nunciare non gravetur.

PERPENSIS Instructionibus, quæ mandato Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis Excellentie Vestræ 31 Martii, Dominis Legato & Ablegatis Serenissimi & Potentissimi Magnæ Britannicæ Regis & P. P. Dominorum Ordinum Fœderati Belgii imperitare voluere respondent:

Accepta esse Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestati dicti Magnæ Britannicæ Regis & D. D. Ordinum ad promovendam cum Porta Ottomannica pacem officia, per Excellentissimos Dominos Hulseý & Collier, ad Portam Ottomannicam Legatos oblata & ipsis concessita, se grato animo percepisse, utque jam tantum negotium eo efficacius aggrediantur, de aliquibus communicatis & tractandis, quo plenius informari possint, decenter rogant.

In Propositione ab Ablegatis Turcicis data, (Litera C.) reclusa fulgidæ Portæ sententia de satisfactione Fœderatis Imperialibus præbendâ, Regi scilicet Poloniæ & S. Reip. Venetz, proferri videtur, cui nullum datur responsum, quamvis in replicatione ejusdem expectatio suggeritur, ideoque prædicti Legatus & Ablegati nonnihil mirantur Articulum tanti momenti tacitum præterfuisse Excellentias Vestras, eo magis quod ratio productæ Domini Legati Commorationis credebatur esse Fœderatorum responsi expectatio, quod & etiam jam frisse dicebatur, & de quo proculdubio Fœderati prædicti Orationes suos hic resi-

dentes, quantum ad ipsorum prætension- nes attinet, certiores fecere. Perpendere velint Excellentie Vestre expressè in Instructionibus Legatib & Ablegatis concessitis statui, ut nihil omnino, priusquam Fœderatis satisfiat consentiretur, acque igitur materiâ illâ non lucidat itea- pacem planè se putant Legati servitiâ huic tractatui utilia præstare, cum facile nimis exponi viderentur dignitas Regis & DD. Ordinum, aliqua etiam ratione Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis Consilia & Excellentissimorum Dominorum Legatorum character; non probabile enim est, fulgidam Portam velle de concilianda pace agere, priusquam resciverit, quibus legibus cum Fœderatis tractari possit, iuste suspicantè Vistrio, ne tractatu inito ipsiusque ita mente per- specta Sociorum aliquis postmodo ini- quas & non approandas exigendo Condi- tiones à quibuscumque pactis recedere, nul- lique unquam stipulationibus teneri que- at, hac soluta difficultate Excellentissimi DD. Legati alacri animo opus promptissi- mi aggrediantur. Quâ ergo par est instantiâ Excellentias Vestras orant Legatus & Ablegati, ut plenius materia ista aperiat, quæ Considerationi Excellentiarum Vestrarum remittitur, & cui necessarium creditur, ut respon- deatur.

De remittendâ Transylvania Principi Apasi cum omnibus Privilegiis, &c. tributoque quod petunt Turcæ promittendo, si arrogati pro hac cessione terri- torii partem tantum aliquam concedere immoretur Vistrius, an pertinaciter Propositioni Imperiali insistendum sit, petitur.

Si velit Magnus Vistrius tractatum inire, ea conditione, ut unicuique Imperio maneat acquisita, quomodo se gerere debeant Legati, nulla Fœderatorum mentione factâ, quaritur.

An terminus, qui ad finem Junii est fluit, non sit extendendus consideranti- onis Excellentiarum Vestrarum exhibetur; aut si post illud tempus om- nis ulterioris tractatus Propositio rejici- atur.

1692.

Instructions for the English and Holland Ambassadors, in respect to the Three Allies, Vienna, April 12th. 1692.

Collaudato Excellentissimi Domini Legati Angliæ & Dominorum Ablegatorum Angliæ & Hollandiæ de Re Christiana bene merendi sincero studio & prudenti de amovendis obstaculis quæ negotium creditum morari vel turbare possent, suscepta curâ ad puncta oblata respondendum duxerunt Deputati ad hoc Cæsarei Ministri.

Ad Primum.

IN Cæsareo ad Turcicam Propositionem ultimam concepto responso Articulum de Federatis tractantem nullatenus omissum fuisse, sed aliter quam ibi reperitur, propter ea concipi non potuisse, quod Serenissimus Polonia Rex & Serenissima Respublica Veneta, etsi in proseguendo bello Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestati federe sociati, & pariter ad pacem scorsim non faciendam, nec aliter quam simul faciendam obligati sint, nihilominus tractandam suam conditionem Pacis arbitri manserunt; quare permixta ipsius singulorum cum Turcis complanatione de iis, quæ eisdem Federatis tangebant, non nisi per generalia loquendum erat; Cæterum Ablegatus Poloniae Dominus Prosky communicationem suam conditionum cum D. D. Ministris Angliæ & Hollandiæ non quidem abnuitt, sed ulteriorem tractationem & conclusionem non aliter, quam hic Viennæ faciendam reservavit, quas allegatum A. repræsentabit. Excellentissimus Legatus Venetus, ubi Cæsaream contra Propositionem per Ablegatos Turcos repudiâam intellexit, cum sua sibi reticendum existimavit, constanter asseverans, tractatum Pacis simultaneum per Federatos cum Turcis instituendum non alibi, quam hic Viennæ prosequi & concludi posse, unde speciem confidentiæ, & reservato, ne aliter quam pro mea directione communicata crederentur, conditiones suæ Serenissimæ Reipublicæ Turcis quandoque communicandas allegato B. comprehensas mihi Commi Kinsky exhibuit: Verum cum præ-

dicti ministri uterque ulteriorem cum Turcis super suis oblatis conditionibus tractationem hic Viennæ instituendum sibi reservent, satis constat, has ipsas suas conditiones non esse ultimas, sed agendo de super cum Turcis in pluribus fortè adhuc moderandas; quare horum omnium intuitu requiruntur Domini Legati Angliæ & Hollandiæ, ut primo puncto Cæsarei scripti sibi communicato de obtinendis pro Ablegatis Turcis novis Instructionibus ad proseguendum tractatum Pacis necessariis pressè inhæreant, nec inde facile recedant, cum experientia edoctura sit, majori incommodo & minori fructu ad Pacem inter Federatos & Portam Ottomannicam faciendam tractatus alibi, quam hic Viennæ reassumendos & perficiendos fore.

Ad Secundum.

Constat, intuitu Officiorum à Serenissimo & Potentissimo Magnæ Britanniæ Regi & Præpotentibus Dominis Generalibus Federati Belgii Ordinibus oblatores Cæsaream Majestatem temperata scripto Excellentissimo Domino Legato Angliæ, & Dominis Ablegatis exhibita, non ad ipsam concludendam Pacem, sed potissimum ad introducendam dispositionem ad tractatum Pacis hic Viennæ reassumendum proposuisse; quare si Magnus Virgilius festinatus Apafio Transylvania sub equali protectione & Commodo utriusque Imperii cum suis juribus & Privilegiis petita territoria non omnia, sed tantum eorum partem concedere veller, nullatenus ipsi assensendum, sed desideratis impensè inhærendum fore, cum absque cessione petiti Territorii nihil sit, quod Sacram Cæsaream Majestatem ad restitutionem dictæ Transylvaniæ permovere, vel obligare possit; verum quia ejusmodi tractatus graves & momentosi non uno, ut dici solet, ictu perficiuntur, ubi Domini Legati Angliæ & Hollandiæ certiora de Turcarum intentionibus ad nos perscripserint, commodior tunc de porro faciendis vel omit-tendis deliberatio institui poterit.

Ad Tertium.

Federatorum satisfactionis debita, cum sine ea Pax coalescere non possit, semper erit facienda mentio & remonstranda Turcis cum iisdem Federatis de super ulterius tractandi necessitas, hoc tamen verum est, quod complanatis inter Sacram Cæsaream Majestatem & Portam Ottomannicam ad proseguendum tractatum dispositionibus Sacra Cæsarea Majestas omnia officia adhibitura sit, ut & tunc Federatos suos ad justas & honestas

1692. Pacis Conditiones acceptandas deducat.

Ad Quartum.

De prorogatione termini in Obligatione ad has Conditiones persultendi sapientissime monuerunt Excellentissimus Dominus Legatus & Illustrissimus Domini Ablegati Angliæ & Hollandiæ, quia tamen res in continuo motu constituta naturaliter & facile alteratur, ideoque difficile est, ad temperamentorum propositorum acceptationem se indefinitè obstringere & simili vinculo absque ulla restrictione inhære, ideo dicto Mensi Junio totum Mensium Julium denominando substituere visum fuit, quoniam intra si dispositio suspensa ad reassumendos tractatus, rejecta huc Viennam ejusdem conclusionis, apud Portam Ottomannicam induci non possit, non e-

quidem propterea de iis porro tractandis cessandum foret, sed ita de iis agere continuandum ut subsecuta rerum notabili alteratione de eadem complananda missis Curatoribus necessaria quæstiones inde emanata proponantur, quæ dicta rerum alteratio, si Cæsareis armis, ut in Deum confiditur, prospera foret, omni conatu de eadem Legatos Angliæ & Hollandiæ certiores reddere, & monere non intermitteretur.

Viennæ, 12 Aprilis 1692.

The following Papers, tho' in order of Time they should have been inserted in 1690, and 1691, having relation to the Transactions now on foot, were thought fit to be inserted here.

Summa Portionum in Hungaria, Transylvania, ac Partibus Regno Subjectis ab Ann. 1683, usque ad Ann. 1690. solutarum.

1683	Habuit Hungaria Inferior Portiones 70000: facit per 7 Menses Flor. 3185000
1684	— Hung. Inferior Port. 50000: — Fl. 2275000
—	— Superior — 55000: — Fl. 2047500
1685	— Infer. & Super. — 80000: — Fl. 3640000
1686	— Hungaria cum Partibus — 100000: — Fl. 4550000
1687	— — — 85000: — Fl. 3867500
—	— Transylvania Portiones — — — Fl. 1200000
1688	— Hungaria — — — 90000: — Fl. 4095000
—	— Transylvania — — — 39000: — Fl. 1774500
1689	— Hungaria — — — 50000: — Fl. 2275000
—	— Solvit Transylvania per partes — — — Fl. 1200000

Summa itaque Portionum solutarum, præter Regnum Croatia, & Partes Conquistas, ac infinitos Militum ac Officialium excessus, & extorsiones, atque transmigrationes facit ad Minimum Flor. 30126500.

Id est,

Triginta Milliones, centum sex Millia, & quingentos Florenos.

M m m 2

Deu

1692.

Deus sit vobiscum, mi Domine.

ACCEPTIS his Dominatio vestra veniat ad me Quinque Ecclesias, habeo enim aliqua, quæ conferam cum Dominatione vestra pro bono vestro: Afficuro autem Dominationem Vestram de omni securitate, liberoque ita & reditu.

Datum quinque Eccles. 14 Febr. Ann. 1690.

(L.S.)

TULLIUS MIGLIO,
Commissarius Cæsareus.

Literæ
Prædicantibus quibuslibet
in Barovia transmissæ.

Deus sit vobiscum.

QUONIAM ego quibusdam de causis negotii suæ Majestatis Concerentibus vestros Prædicantes huc ad Commissionem Cæsaream accesseris, illi autem comparere proflus recusatant; idcirco impero, & demando vobis, ne illos in pagis vestris persisterere permittatis, quin imo confortes liberoque eorum Prædicantium statim ejiciatis, & numquam eos, familiæque eorum Prædicantium immittere adeatis. Nam si contrarium meo mandato feceritis, mittam ad vos, tamquam ejusmodi obedire nescios, ducentos milites Mufcarios, qui in pagis vestris pro discretionem sunt victuri. Ne ergo damnum & injuriam suæ Majestatis incurrais, in omnibus huic meo paratis mandato, & præspecificatis Prædicantes intra quadriduum compareant ante suæ Majestatis Cæsareæ Commissarios audituri edictum. Deus vobiscum.

Datum quinque Ecclesiis, die 21 Febr. Ann. 1690.

(L.S.)

TULLIUS MIGLIO,
Cæsareus Commissarius.

Literæ Comminatoriæ
Vercinathienfibus, Szolofienfibus, Koltpeienfibus, Euzaenifibus, & Karanefienfibus incolis transmissæ. Ex Hungarico idiomate in latinum genuine transumptæ.

1692.

Deus Benedicat & Convertat vos.

VIDEO, quod nolitis mihi obtemperare, ideo quicumque veram Romanam fidem amplecti noluerit, (sine qua impossibile est salvari) cum in Episcopatu & ditione mea degere nolo.

Dominus Commissarius, & Dominus Episcopus Sirmensis cis Danubium & Dravum, & in districtu Essekienfi, Prædicantes omnes vel incaptivant, vel eliminant. Id etiam vobiscum agatur, si vel Sacerdoti Szalontienfi, vel Patribus Jesuitis quinque Eccles. non confessi fueritis, sin autem carnem ex vobis aliquis egerit, gravi luet pena. Sequenti Dominica Judices cum codicibus fide dignis ingreditur.

Datum Bavors-fzólós, die 28. Febr. Ann. 1690.

Vester bonus Dominus,

MATTHIAS RADHONAI,
Episcopus quinque Eccl. &
supremus Comes.

Literæ

Szavaientibus, Gurienfibus,
Viftoienfibus, Sterdalienfibus,
Korachlidenfibus,
Marfa, Ferchegienfibus,
& aliis districtus illius
Calvinistis exarata, &c.

(L.S.)

Deus, Benedicat, & Convertat omnes Calvinistas in Districtu Siklos gentes.

UT jam antea crebro vos verbis & literis addidimus, neminem hæreticum, prædonem, Judeum, Calvinistam, Thracem Schismaticum, scortum, & scortatorem, aut sceleratam alium, & in Deum calumniantem in Episcopatu servaturum, & perpeffurum; & eo magis si quem invenero Prædicantem: Profecto docebo, & interrogabo, ex ejus nutu & voluntate in Episcopatum meum venerit animas ad tartara dejicere. Idcirco scribo de novo, & demando, qui velit manere sub Episcopatu

1692. tu meo, fidem veram Romanam, (sine qua impossibile est salvari) amplectatur, & de omnibus suis peccatis peniteat, omnes unanimi voto Deum laudaturi & adoraturi. Qui autem animum ad hæc non induxerit, eo, ubi hæresis tolerabitur, concedat: Reperiam ad parata obediennes, Deum timentes, & veræ fidei homines, quos subsidere faciam in locum ipsorum, qui in vera fide nolunt Deo Servire. Prædicantes autem respicere nolentes Episcopatum meo illico excedant, si velint, ne cum ipsis more Prædicantis Nadafienfis & Mohacienfis, & aliorum agatur.

Actum Ocsard die 2 Martii, 1690.

Vestras Conversionis Cupidus,

MATTHIAS RADHONAI,
Episcopus quinque Ecclesi-
ensis & supremus Comes.

Literæ Szavaientibus, Garaienfibus, Czarnoraienfibus, Biffovienfibus, Judienfibus, Torsaluenfibus, Harfani, Nagi Harfaniensibus, Venczvienfibus, Odnogarenfibus, Vitoienfibus, Magienf. Gordifavienf. Haboczaenfi. Babonanaenfi. Crehienfibus, Szerdahelyenfibus, Vizloienfibus, Czepclienfibus, Kemetienfibus, St. Martonienfibus, Hederhelienfibus, Baskienfibus, Zalacenfibus, Zeyenf. Quinque Ecclesiis: Siklos, Bile, Basky, & Bigervar districtum Calvinistis incolis transmissæ.

(L.S.)

Lettres du Roy Tres-Christien à Monsieur Castaigneres.

Monsieur de Castaigneres,

J'AY reçu vos Lettres des 27 Avril, 7 & 27 May, avec les Lettres du Grand Seigneur, & du Vizir; le Decret, ou barat, pour les Religieux Frânes de Jerusalem, & toutes les autres pièces, qui y estoient jointes. Vous ne devez pas Douter, que je ne fois tres satisfait de la conduite, que vous avez tenue dans toute cette affaire, & de l'heureux succès, qu'elle a eue: Je m'assure aussi, que s'il se reconte quelque obstacle dans l'exécution des ordres, que la Porte a donné sur ce sujet, vous n'omettez

rien pour les faire lever, & pour maintenir les Religieux Latins dans la paisible possession des Saintes lieux. 305. 406. 324. 256. 228. 265. 54. 167. 53. 136. 403. 331. 38. 288. 76. 352. 294. 54. 347. 41. 77. 193. 15. 98. 38. 232. 53. 3. 159. 301. 88. 8. 288. 98. 278. 76. 167. 51. 260. 337. 167. 50. 290. 71. 195. 199. 401. J'approuve pareillement tout ce, que vous avez fait pour 47. 405. 44. 118. 341. 88. 50. 245. 181. 53. 232. 152. 288. 29. 15. 205. 401. 71. 212. 53. 197. 198. 51. 260. 2. 195. 272. 14. 51. 257. 202. 388. 206. 3. 83. 45. 215. 65. 14. 50. 401. 198. 53. 243. 50. 311. 54. 277. 195. 86. 56. 57. 98. 83. 197. 208. 80. 202. 311. 56. 288. 257. 59. 288. Mais ce n'est qu'à condition que 78. 66. 198. 88. 291. 193. 3. 6. 205. 71. 2. 44. 98. 68. 402. 347. 32. 3. 60. 88. 193. 14. 98. 331. 38. 286. 167. 51. 403. 245. 103. 53. 232. 167. 65. 54. 337. 324. 119. 59. 54. 177. 50. 166. 202. 35. 83. 104. 114. 51. 2. 185. 20. 88. 298. 233. 301. 298. 80. 337. 314. 119. 27. 53. 401. 252. 237. 2. 59. 223. 60. 53. 270. 202. 45. 118. 86. 56. 57. 98. 83. 311. 301. 53. 185. 198. 60. 195. 146. 347. 403. ne fe doit point étendre 266. 277. 185. 89. 185. 347. 15. quand à la 45. 118. 288. 8. 298. 80. 347. 35. 193. 202. 355. 39. 202. 15. 167. 50. 245. 54. 54. 59. 90. 57. 401. 177. 56. 118. 8. 321. 188. 38. 222. 51. 401. 72. 56. 86. 53. 188. 266. vous devez 235. 84. 403. 381. 38. 276. 27. 56. 98. 337. 235. 257. 195. 98. 54. 218. 59. 51. 311. 11. 97. 193. 98. 302. 59. 39. 401. 233. 202. 195. attachements aux Intereits de 205. 232. 152. 288. 30. 14. 205. 21. 2. 53. 103. 5. 205. 51. 3. 99. 9. 335. 37. 405. 53. 97. 83. 284. 42. 59. 83. 388. 166. 78. 193. 281. 202. 245. 202. 308. 59. 51. 256. 51. 202. 218. 38. 114. 50. 2. 198. 98. 298. 98. 50. 302. 106. 38. 138. 2. 59. 86. 41. 60. J'ay assez de raison dene pas souffrir 3. 60. 341. 256. 3. 59. 56. 98. 178. 337. 185. 301. 308. 205. 337. 4. 4. 403. 337. 32. 337. 44. 118. 288. 73. 2. 298. 80. 337. 195. 15. 199. 199. 59. 54. 3. 27. 56. 353. 14. 202. 256. 167. 53. 84. 185. 167. 26. 63. 347. 32. 256. 35. 83. 3. 26. 57. auparavant que 425. 252. 3. 109. 53. 167. 50. 401. 119. 59. 54. Je ne crois pas, qu'on doive faire beaucoup de fondement sur 60. 256. 203. 243. 26. 6. 195. 2. 53. 228. 88. 38. 311. 347. 256. 33. 83. 104. 114. 3. 108. 83. 166. 142. Je ne juge pas à propos de 133. 50. 302. 3. 59. 341. 39. 83. 104. 114. 146. 2. 99. 8. 260. 347. 35. 83. 177. 9. 234. 202. 84. 185. 167. 26. 63. 258. 188. 247. 321. 167. 298. 80. 305. 183. 331. 38. 109. 83. 11. 88. 2. 60. 291. 202. 355. 59. 118. 39. 256. Il suffit, que vous continuez

1692. nuez à parler dans le sens que je vous ay prescrite par mes precedentes depêches à la relation que des vus envoio de & la Viçtoire, que ma flotte à ramportée sur celle de mes Ennemis vous donnera encore de nouveaux moyens de faire voir aux Ministres, que 78. 53. 222. 26. 99. 76. 167. 93. 14. 51. 352. 234. 59. 98. 50. 63. 228. 8. 311. 68. 202. 86. 53. 161. 53. 71. 337. 79. 53. 83. 277. 118. 76. 298. 98. 50. 202. 154. 53. 181. 54. 53. 78. 53. 331. 38. 298. 286. 14. 77. 185. 164. 2. 99. 9. 109. 20. 99. 59. 51. 401. 71. 223. 50. 86. 288. Sur routes nous faites leur bien comprendre, que 78. 53. 256. 222. 26. 99. 76. 167. 53. 244. 98. 234. 38. 202. 50. 337. 202. 217. 27. 14. 60. 50. 54. 3. 38. 256. 14. 54. 185. 167. 26. 62. 198. 213. 53. 198. 133. 106. 65. 71. 52. 173. 71. 337. 274. 2. 311. 337. 195. 138. 11. 141. 53. 97. 98. 278. 5. 205. 228. 51. 195. 56. 118. 256. 78. 198. 348. 88. 352. 402. 212. 233. 341. 33. 288. 68. 27. 38. 228. 51. 106. 38. 278. 6. 245. 401. 2. 185. 98. 59. 266. 80. 352. 267. 53. 82. 54.

Ne manques pas de me faire sçavoir par vos premieres depêches, à quoy montent les effets, que le feu Seigneur Vouir à laisses. Il y ade l'apparence, que le 53. 401. 265. 54. 202. 185. 331. 59. 51. 202. 317. 2. 99. 8. 9. 183. 202. 149. formez vous de nouvelles difficultez à la 405. 59. 38. 338. 202. 167. 2. 62. 247. 341. 205. 14. 98. 133. 245. 217. 97. 53. 401. 71. 245. 368. 166. 311. 185. 256. 119. 59. 54. 11. 97. 167. 53. 83. 177. 12. 234. 50. 212. 84. 358. 308. 59. 57. 311. 347. 119. 60. 53. 198. 88. 197. 53. 208. 5. 195. 277. 402. 185. 89. 38. 311. 50. 72. 185. 331. 38. 9. 225. 98. Sur ce je prie Dieu, qu'il vous ait Monsieur de Castaigneres en sa Sainte garde. Ecrit à Versailles le 31 Juillet, 1690.

Signe,
Plus bas.

LOUIS.
COLBERT.

Monsieur de Castaigneres,
J'AY reçu votre Lettre datte de Constantinople du 15 Juin avec celles, que le Grand Seigneur & son premier Ministre m'ont écrites au sujet du Retablissement des Religieux Latines dans les Saintes lieux & je vous ay defia temoigné la satisfaction, que j'ay du succès, que vos soins ont eu dans la poursuite de cette affaire. Quelque sujet que vous ayez de 402. 119. 59.

54. 202. 233. 14. 51. 352. 275. 53. 337. 1692. 245. 121. 59. 51. 368. 41. 76. 15. 8. 108. 288. 53. 3. 59. 154. 199. 71. 337. 195. 59. 288. 88. 268. 403. à fait porter diligemment des 406. 2. 3. 38. 12. 108. 276. 44. 195. 401. Il n'y a pas lieu nean moins de croire, que 410. 63. 40. 420. 185. 167. 26. 63. 198. 207. 26. 54. 198. 84. 133. 32. 173. 2. 99. 9. 198. 53. 3. 32. 205. 14. 68. 232. 256. 167. 50. 57. 71. 245. 368. 202. 185. 59. 57. 98. Vous pouvez même 1. 407. 3. 54. 228. 98. 50. 195. 154. 199. 337. 401. Je sçay de bonne past, que la 98. 218. 225. 298. 80. 2. 193. 14. 45. 108. 198. 302. 195. 351. 202. 33. 173. 202. 84. 98. 65. 88. 38. 9. 234. 50. 195. 207. 202. 328. 347. 32. 2. 83. 284. 83. 202. 301. 202. 185. 108. 109. 14. 98. 202. 106. 88. 89. 277. 65. 202. 116. 98. 50. 228. 51. 185. 282. 26. 99. 41. 406. tout le reste de la Campagne 71. 202. 116. 266. 51. 185. 119. 202. 266. 53. 188. 202. tout ce qui est nécessaire pour 188. 282. 15. 402. a moy les Turcs ne doivent pas craindre de trouver des grandes obacles aux entreprises qu'ils voudront former: é comme mes armes par terre, & parmer ne seront pas moins formidables l'année prochaine, que cellecy, ce Ministre peut s'assurer, que s'il fait des efforts un peu considerables, il aura la gloire de retabir l'Empire Ottoman au même état, qu'il étoit avant cette guerre, & mes ennemis la confusion d'avoir perdu tout ce, qu'ils avoient acquis avant que de se brouiller avec moy. Je ne doute pas neantmoins, qu'ils ne fassent beaucoup valloir au pays on vous estez le succès, que le Prince d'Orange à eu en Irlande. Mais comme avec une armée de 40000 hommes de navoir eu à combattre, que on 5000 hommes des mes troupes, & environ 15000 Irlandois, gens ramassez, sans discipline, & fort mal armez, on ne doit tirer au lieu, où vous estez, aucune conséquence de ces achevements. D'autant plus, que mes troupes se sont retirez à Limbrick sans aucune peste considerable; & on peut juger de l'avenir par les grandes Victoires, que mes armes ont ramportez tant sur mer, que sur terre, sur le grand nombre d'Ennemis, que j'ay à combattre.

Je vous ay defia écrit, que je ne 252. 197. 26. 76. 202. 177. 38. 208. 80. 2. 60. 152. 288. 29. 14. 205. 71. 337. 324. 256. 335. 2. 65. accorde 352. 20. 88. 298. 233. 301. 298. 80. 53. 33. Lors qu'il possedoit le 405. 185. 45. 185. 311. 202. 106. 38. 104. 56. 68. 71. 277. 185. 65. 202. 50. 3. resister aux armes de l'Empereur, ainsi c'est sans fondement, que l'on vent 202. 355. 38. 202. 185. 177. 38. 208. 80. 14. 12. 401. 9. 264. 15. 232. 288. 35. 54. 232. 53. 270. 71.

1692. 71. Je vous 281. 202. 108. 83. 167. 14. 51. 3. 59. 212. 56. 152. 258. un ordre expres de moy, vous permettant seulement au ras, que 78. 53. 97. 96. 53. 83. possession actuelle 410. 53. 420. 202. 185. 388. 72. que par l'appuy que 160. 335. 252. 88. 245. 103. 232. 167. 65. 54. 185. 65. 83. 57. 98. 331. 286. 277. 235. 267. 218. 59. 99. 108. 38. En ce cas, & non autrement, vous 86. 38. 104. 114. 14. 68. 2. 84. 167. 15. 50. 278. 76. 3. 59. 199. 327. 59. 224. 35. 352. 378. 374. 2. 185. 331. 38. 341. 50. 88. 38. 311. 352. 40. 96. 32. 14. 341. 54. 337. J'avois permis au 210. 56. 53. 270. 202. 35. 44. 215. 65. 14. 50. 277. 311. 56. 203. Ne voulant pas, que vous 167. 53. 208. 14. 68. 311. 56. 288. 218. 35. 86. soit au 154. 199. 41. 60. 3. 59. 224. 36. en sorte que ce que je serai obligé de 403. 254. 50. 2. 225. 38. 71. 3. 185. 59. 56. 98. 256. 65. 311. 202. 167. 54. 83. 308. 59. 57. 245. 212. 53. 40. 96. 32. 14. 341. 53. Je ne desire pas, que vous vous donnies aucun mouvement, pour empêcher, que le Seigneur Chandos ne soit reconnu à la porte en qualité d'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, 37. 406. 2. 136. 337. 119. 59. 54. 256. 218. 66. 14. 68. 3. 53. 228. 98. 202. 237. 335. 84. 98. 253. 198. 50. 245. audience. 53. 83. 311. 56. 288. 327. 205. 288. & vous ne devez pas ainsi vous mettre en peine de la 352. 298. 256. 14. 322. 53. 56. 128. 35. 191. 32. Surce je prie Dieu, qu'il vous ait, Monsieur de Castaigneres, en la Sainte garde. Ecrit à Versailles le 9 d'Aoust 1690.

Signe,
Plus bas.

LOUIS.
COLBERT.

Excellentissimi ac Illustrissimi
Domini.

Domini Gratiosissimi,

QUALITER Maritus meus Ecclesiae Evangelicae Polanii quondam Minister, non obstante eo, quod ibidem omnes sint nobiles, & libera Religiosis Evangelicae facultate ab antiquo fruantur, ex iniqua Cleri subordinatione (de quo contra auctoritatem suae Majestatis Serenissimae inferendo nec cogitare quidem unquam quisquam poterit) aliqui vagabundi Hungari pluiquam tempore praedonico, nocturno quietis tempore, cum scopetorum dispositionibus irrumpendo; cum eorum prop-

ter ejusdem soci inhabitatorum confusum & tumultum capri non potuissent, brachialiter tandem Germanorum militum assistentia, nocturno pariter tempore, per eosdem Hungaros, & certos Cleros, misere captus, vincularum, huc & illuc ad diversa loca, ad instar canum, deductus, pede nudusque suspensus, & ineffabilibus cruciatibus afflictus, omnibusque bonis privatus, ad diros Eminentiſſi D. Cardinalis & Kolonitz carceres Sabinariens, in despectum status Evangelici, publico spectaculo expositus, lamentabiliter deductus fit, quin Excellentissimis Vestris iam infestis, non dubito. Quo propter praedicationem Verbi Divini, à sua Majestate Serenissimae diabolicelementissime concessam, satis crudeliter capto, vincularum, durissimique aliquot centenarium plagarum verberibus multis vicibus afflictus, & omnibus bonis privatus: Ego in misera jam fore constituta, eoque magis, quod jammodò sub praetextu homicidii contra suam Conscientiam à nonnullis apud Augustam Aulam ipsi innocentissimam Sanguini adscripti, ac si, inquam, tempore prioris latronibus, aliquis ex illis nocturnis latronibus, quod alias omnes omnino omni jure promeriti fuissent, interfecisset fuisset; cum illi ex adverso ipsos inhabitatores portus ejusdem loci globo trajecerint, & caecaverint: Et in praesentiarum in Eminentiſſi D. Cardinalis carcerum Sabinariensium iniqua fore, ad instar principalium notabilium, quae latronum vel bestiarum, pedibus manibusque concatenatis & vincularum, sine ulla crudelitatis remissione detineatur, & tractetur, nec non durioribus verberibus, minime variis aggravetur, & terretur, neque ad fidem contrariam amplectendam, contra diplomata Regium indies trucidius compellatur: Sed vel maxime, quod jam nec liberi, imo nullus nostrum accessum ad eum sub gravi animadversione & indignatione amplius habere possunt, paenemque piorum Christianorum Commiseratione ostentim mendicando acquiritum, nec per alium aliquem ipsi porrigere permittant: Et quod majus, centum adhuc imperiales multis minis & terribilissimis extorqueat à misero non desinant: Omnium solatio in medio destituta, & jamjam desperanda, spe adhuc in Gratiosa Excell. Vestrarum Commiserationis dextericite reposita, cum miserrimis meis liberis derelictis preces nostras ad earundem Excellentiarum Vestrarum finem Misericordiae genio flexo dirigimus, per viscera misericordiae Divinae; & vulnera Christi, omni subjectionis humilitate orantes, dignetur nos, omni jam eliberationis & solatorum medio destitutos, & misere derelictos, propterque praedicationem verbi Divini sic pres-

1692. 'fos, in eundem misericordiae finem grati-
'ofe fufcipere. Et cum nec Sacrae fuae
'Majestatis haec fuerit intentio, ut Mi-
'nistri Evangelico-Ecclesiastici verbo suo
'Regio priori Religionis professioni & ex-
'ercitio revocati, & integre reftituti, clau-
'destina tyrannica aliqua modalitate vel
'crudelitae perfequantur, & ad normam
'multorum jam Praedicantium huius quoque
'praeterlapfis temporibus captorum, & ad
'mutationem ufque Religionis duriter tra-
'ctorum, omnium cruciatuum generibus
'iterum, iterum affligantur, difpiciuntur,
'& exftruantur: Verum ut afflictio eorum
'nova gaudii vicissitudine fuppleatur, sub
'benignifque Sereniffimae fuae Majestatis
'Alis quietam vitam, & functionis, pro-
'fessionisque libertatem fecurius habere
'poffint, pro fublatis ulterioribus exceffibus,
'diffentionibus, & malis, in negotio
'Religionum fubornendis, auctoritatem
'complanationis fibi diplomaticae quam cle-
'mentiffime refervavit, & non alicui con-
'tra-parti vindicationem conceffit: Ex ea
'etiam fiducia certitudine eadem Excellen-
'tiae Veftrae gratiofa apud fua Majesta-
'tem Sereniffimam interpositione miferiis
'noftis fuccurrere, jugumque preffurae
'contra auctoritatem Regiam tam crudeli-
'ter illatum tollere, & maritum meum in
'carcerum fqualore ita lamentabiliter pati-
'entem, per eandem Dei misericordiam &
'falutem liberationis folatio fublevare ne
'graventur. Propter quod genus mi-
'sericordiae fummus ille mifericors Deus,
'ex fumma Deitatis mifericordia, mi-
'fericorditer ut iisdem Excellentiffis Vef-
'tris cumulatiffime benedicat & profe-
'ret. Eundem fundendis precibus no-
'ftris affiduis implorare non finis in-
'termiffuri.

Earundem Excell. Veftr.

Humillima Ancilla,
Praedicantis Poffeffionis Po-
lanii miffiffima Censors,
cum miferiffimis liberis,
gratiosam praefolaturae re-
folutionem.

Excellentiffime Domine.

Domine mihi Gratiiffime,

BENIGNE recordabitur Excellentia
vestra querulosa ac genuina expo-
fitionis afflictiiffimae fortis meae, eidem
Excellentiae veftrae ante complures dies
medio fupplicis libelli humillime factae:
Qualiter nempe Praepofitus Sabariensis cir-
ca festum S. Joannis Baptifae non pridem
transactum, miffis certo numero ad locum
ordinariae Refidentiae meae in Poffeffione
Polanii (alias more nobilitari) habitae
Germanicis militibus, datiffique mandatis,
me capij diverfimode excruciaci, percuti,
pedibusque fufpendi, fqueque ineflabilibus
cruciatibus affectum ad Arcem Sabarien-
fem sub iurisdictione Eminentiiffimi Prin-
cipis Cardinalis a Kolonitz confutatum,
deductum, ac compedibus vincum, ali-
quot centenarum plagarum verberibus
fauciatur, manibus fractis, aliisque cor-
poris mei membris confuffis ad fqualidos
carceres conjici curasset, ubi impraesentia-
rum miferime detineat.

'Dum autem juxta quorundam benevo-
lorum affidatione beatam desideratiffimae
liberationis meae horam momentanea ex-
pectarem, deteriora experiri cogor: Ubi
his non longe praeteritis diebus cum praes-
fenter concluderem, aerumnosus ego homo
deductus in portam arcis, nisi me per u-
nam vaccam redemiffem, aliquot plagas
fuffere coactus fuiffem. Acepi jam, Ex-
cellentiffime Domine, quadringentas pla-
gas; gloriam tamen tribuens Deo meo,
quod me dignum fecerit pati per nomine
fuo. Imo hoc me maxime angit, quod,
qui captivum me detinerent, & qui contu-
mulant me carcere exemptum, & (falvo
honore) inter canes coacte fedentem, gra-
vi sub comminatione, libratifque videlicet ad
caput meum ferreis clavis, adigerent, di-
centes, Canito, canito, inquit, fciiffi
equidem in stabulo, id est in templo, boare,
rugire, & clamitare. His & fimilibus sine
intermissione aures meae onerantur, & gra-
vantur, adque fidem Religionis meae con-
trariam omni feveriore modalitate, imo
brevis me ad tirenens mittere velle, & aliis
terriculamentis compelleret.

'Ob id iterato fcripti hujusce humilita-
te Excellentiae Veftrae demiffe fupplicio,
humillime ac per viscera Mifericordiae Di-
vinae orans, quatenus ex Zelo Mifericor-
diae dignetur afflictiiffimae fortis meae mife-
'teri

1692.

1692. 'reri feque debetis in locis gratiofis fuis
'paribus interponere, & me ex his fquali-
'dis carceribus liberari ficere. Quam
'gratiam Excellentiae Veftrae perpetua a-
'nimi devotione, grataque mentis recorda-
'tione quam demiffiffime demereri omni
'studio conabor, tanquam

Ejusdem Excellentiae Veftrae

Humillimus Clien-
Petrus Nemus, quondam
Poffeffionis Polanii
Helveticae Confessio-
nis Praedicans, nunc
Sabariae in Eminenti-
ssimi Cardinalis car-
cere patiens.

Sacratiffima Caesarea Regiaeque Majestas.

Domine, Domine nobis Clementiffime,

FIDEI & Conscientiae noftrae Domi-
ni unice praepotenti Deo earun-
dem directori, intemeratae vero fidelitatis
noftre obsequium Majestati Veftrae Sa-
cratiffimae, qua post Deum fummo in his
terris Monarchae, Regique ac Domino,
Domino noftro Clementiffimo, nos omni-
no debere, effato divino edocti, dum huic
conformi, parendi studio inexplicabilibus
turbinum fluctibus agitatae, incomparabi-
libusque procellis, periculosis fcoptis ali-
liffe, indeque confuffae & laceratae status no-
ftri Evangelici Naviculae, inter accipitia,
fummaque difcrimina jamnum verfantem
miferam formem fupra biennium, & dicta
nimirum Pofonienfi, ad ufque anni
praeteriti difceffum, Majestatis Veftrae Sa-
cratiffimae Auguftam-Vindelicorum confi-
tutum, medio certorum hominum noftro-
rum, copiofiffimis fupplicibus libellis no-
ftris, in omni fubjectionis humilitate, ei-
dem Majestati Veftrae Sacratiffimae reprae-
fentaffemus, contrafacturumque tabularum
memoratae calamitofiffimae Naviculae no-
ftrae Evangelicae reparationem, priorique
fuae redintegrationi ad mentem Articuli I.
Ann. 1608. ante Coronationem editi,
mediante alius diplomate Regio Ann. 1647.
in fuum genuinum & nativum fenfum re-
dacti & declarati, fubfequenterque etiam
Ann. 1659. pari Majestatis Veftrae Sa-
cratiffimae diplomate ad Conditionem, sex-
tum Articuli I. quin & Articulo 25, 1681.

1692. 'dierat Sopronienfis per expreffum confir-
'mati, per determinationem intimi fui Con-
'filij dignandam reftitutionem, & Maje-
'ftate Veftra Sacratiffimae de fubmittiffimo
'genu impense efflagitaffemus: Fatemur
'equidem, nos haud parvum fubiffi gaudi-
'um, poftquam fub praememoratum Maje-
'ftatis Veftrae Sacratiffimae difceffum per
'Ser. Principem a Dittichftein, fupremum
'Auguftiffimae Majestatis veftrae aulae Prae-
'fectum praetracti homines noftros Cle-
'mentiffimam Majestatis veftrae Sacratiffimae
'imploratae medelae ex intimo fuo Confilio
'factam determinationem jam extra datam,
'manibusque Eminentiiffimi Principis Car-
'dinalis a Kolonich, tanquam Excellen-
'Delegatae Caesareo-Regiae Commiffionis
'fupremi Praefidis debita & indilata Ex-
'peditio & effectuatiioni mancipandam,
'assignatam effe, adeoque abinde concupi-
'tam expeditionem noftram, poft faepe re-
'petitum difceffum Majestatis Veftrae, ipfi-
'met expectandam venire affidati fuiffent,
'nofque eatenus per eodum etiam certio-
'res redditi fuiffemus. Aft ubi ex debito
'obtemperandi obsequio altetitulati Prin-
'cipis a Dittichftein factae amandationi i-
'dem homines noftros condignum moram
'gerentes fuam Eminentiiffimam Principalem
'praereperita Majestatis veftrae Sacratiffimae
'extra data benigniffimae determinationis
'convenientis expeditionis clargiendae, aque
'fa quam devotiffime requiffuiffent, aque
'fua Eminencia ad Ill. D. intimi Confilij
'Bellici Secretarium a Krapff, cujus officij
'& muneris effcet eodum juxta praedeclara-
'tam Majestatis Veftrae Sacratiffimae deter-
'minationem expedire, remiffi fuiffent, per
'fuam tamen Illuftritatem, ut ex conceden-
'ter requiffam, faepe faepiusque interpella-
'tam, in tantum protractum effe praemenci-
'onatae expeditionis noftrae negotium, ut
'altememoratae fuae Eminen. Principalis
'Cardinalis a Kolonich quoque inopinatus
'difceffus Romae fuperveniret, eoque ipfo
'ruptum, ac tandem diverfis certorum ne-
'ceffariorum Aftorum, praeviae expeditioni
'accommodandorum, non reperibilium, &
'fors per fuam Eminen. Principalem, vel
'inclytam Cancellariam Hungaricam, co-
'tum abfentem, & ad latus Majestatis Vef-
'trae Sacratiffimae exiffentem, reclusorum
'protectionibus interjectis, maxima omni-
'um noftri cum infelicitate, & fumma Con-
'ficientium noftrearum, liberique Exercitij
'noftri Evangelicij cum coangulatione, ad
'praetractae fuae Eminen. Principis re-
'ditum relegatum, in fuo priori turbato fla-
'tu remanente impraesentiarum, citra ul-
'lue cordialium gendiciorum noftro-
'rum effectuatiorem, & Majestatis Veftrae Sa-
'cratiffimae pietiffimam Ordinationem.

N n n

' Et

1692. 'Et cum vel maxime ex cognitione ab-
sentiae & longedistantiae Majestatis vestrae
Sacratissimae medio tempore plurimum do-
minorum Catholicorum eo liberorem in
nos grassandi, contraque novissimos Dia-
tales Articulos ulterius quoque impune
nos injuriandi sibi fumpissent licentiam, a-
deo, ut Tokaini, loco alias articulare
denominato, templo perprius jamnum
vero parochia, per Evangelicos ex funda-
mento exstructa, una cum universis pro-
ventibus Conservationi Ecclesiae eorumdem
dicatis (in quorum continuo & actuali usu
fuisent, ad mentemque 26 Articuli, Ann.
1681. diatae Soproniensis pro actualibus
eorundem possessoribus usuanda relinqui
debuissent) per Dominos Catholicos oc-
cupatis, ac ejusdem loci Ministro expulso
Evangelici liberum eorumdem Religionis
exercitii interruptum querelarentur cur-
sum. Idem Comitatus Zempliniensis
Oppidum Thallya, praevio modo Artic-
lari indulto gaudens, capto suo Praedican-
te Evangelico, Cassoviamque deducto, ubi
de facto captivus detineretur, sui infimul
exercitii & accessiorum Evangelicorum
orbatur suspicaret statum. Comitatus ad-
huc Abauyvarienis oppidum Sepffy, aequè
sicut praementionata loca, in possessione
sui templi, parochiae, & scholae Articula-
riter relictum, isdem non tam pridem pri-
vatis, inque exitium Ecclesiae suae Ministro
& Rectore Evangelicis pulsus, ultiorque
exercitio ibidem quoquomodo impofterum
usuando severe inhibito, suam lamentare-
tur violenter ademptam indemnitate.
Comitatus porro Szathmarienis privilegia-
tum alias oppidum Felkó Banyá dictum,
Templi, parochiae, & Scholae, in quo-
rum continuo usu & possessione ante, in
& post diatam Soproniensem fuisset, per
inclytam Cameram Sepusiensem, ante
circiter tres Menses factam violentam
occupationem, Praedicanthque sui de-
ploraret expulsiorem. Ejusdem iden-
titer Comitatus Szathmarienis pos-
sessio Torthalu nuncupata, Praedican-
tis etiam sui Evangelici privata au-
thoritate Residentiae Nagybanayensis
Patris Jesuitae Pravatz nominati fa-
ctam injuriarum incaptivationem, vin-
clisque ad carceres Szathmarienfes, ubi
etiam nunc asservaretur, curatam de-
ductionem conquereretur. Et supra
huc praevii omnes, sicut & alii etiam
Superiorum Hungariae partium
Evangelici ratione harum & simili-
um aliarum illatarum gravium injuria-
rum suarum, Majestatis Vestrae Sacratif-
simae supplicandi severam interminatio-
nem ingemiscerent.

1692. 'Post auspiciatissimum proinde & felicif-
simam Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimae re-
ditum summe omnino necessarium duxi-
mus, (nisi innata Majestatis vestrae Sa-
cratissimae Pietate & Clementia, quae tantis
importunitatibus nostris, ex infinitis per-
pellis, Majestatique vestrae Sacratissimae
mediantibus demississimis Memorialibus
nostris fuisse alias deductis injuriis su-
bortis, gratiosissimam nobis impertitura
sunt veniam;) praecedentiam infelicitate-
m nostram, citra expectationem no-
stram, cum gravi impensorum sumptuum
& fatigiorum dispendio, multarumque
millenarum Conscientiarum oppressione
remorata & protracta, clementissime ali-
oquin per Majestatem vestram Sacratif-
simam, uti supra attackum, propter bonum
domesticae Pacis & Unionis Articulare
restituendis nobis determinata & ordinata
expeditionis nostrae, Commiserativo Ma-
jestatis vestrae Sacratissimae qua Regis &
Domini, Domini nostri benignissimi finit,
solita nempe justitiae nostrae sedi, medio
supplicis hujus libelli nostri, profundissima
animatorum nostrorum cum demissione infu-
nuare: Reperitisque prioribus universis
gravaminibus nostris, iidemque adjunctis
supplicibus Memorialibus, Majestatem
vestram Sacratissimam ardentissime, ut fi-
deles subditos addeceret, exorare, quatenus
post tam longi etiam temporis patientissi-
mam praesolationem nostram, praescita
Communi omnium nostri calamitati &
adversitati misereret, condignaque medela
auctoritate sui Imperatoria & Regia, vi
gratiosissimi sui decreti, ex intimo Consi-
lio clementissime clargiendi, adhibita, u-
niversos nos, quo nimiope lesos, inju-
riatos, & damnificatos, quoad justissimam
postulata nostra jam tandem in integrum
restitutum, afflictumque statum nostrum E-
vangelicum pristinae & firmae fuae securita-
ti, in qua juxta gloriosissimorum Praede-
cessorum suorum, ac etiam Majestatis
Vestrae Sacratissimae Diplomata Regia,
Verbo Regio confirmata, legaleque Regni
Sanctiones, constituti eramus, quam
propensissime collocari facere non dedig-
nentur.

'Quam Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimae
gratiam ut Deus Opt. Max. non solum
Majestati vestrae Sacratissimae, sed & Au-
gustissimae suae Domui Austriae, copio-
sissimis & gloriosissimis de hostibus suis
triumphis, longeva item Augustissimi
Caesareo-Regii sui, ac desideratissimorum
prolium, indubiatorum successorum suo-
rum, Throni ampliacione & firmatio-
ne, largissima, omnigenaque Celesti
sua

1692. 'sua benedictione compenfer, incessan-
tes fundemus preces. Clementem op-
ratamque expectantes resolutionem, ma-
nemus,

Ejusdem Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimae,

Humillimi perpetuoque
fideles subditi Superio-
rum & Inferiorum Regni
Hungariae Partium,
Comitatum, Regiarum,
ac Liberarum, Monta-
narumque Civitatum,
Oppidorum item ac Pa-
gatorum Universi Evan-
gelici.

Exhib. suae Majest. die 17 Martis 1690.

Sacratissima Caesarea Regiaque Majestas.

Domine, Domine nobis Clementissime,

MAJESTATI vestrae Sacratissimae
tot ac tantis S. R. I. Regnorumque
suorum pacandorum curis alias implicata,
rebusque publicis Christianis conservandis
patenter intenta, subinde ac subinde impor-
tunos nos esse debere fateamur, erubesci-
mus: Verum justo dolore assiduus gemitus
querimoniarum nostras exprimentem, urgen-
tissima necessitate cogimur & compellimur,
dum jam supra duos annos integros & me-
dium hic apud Majestatis vestrae Sacratif-
simae Augustam Aulam multifariam contra
Articulos Sopronienses laesae Religionis no-
strae negotium continua quasi actione me-
dio ceterorum hominum nostrorum quam
humillime sollicitamus: Neque vero ea-
tenus ad innumera fere memorialia nostra
eidem Majestati vestrae Sacratissimae, ejus-
demque summis Ministris in omni vi-
missione porrecta aduque quicquam certae
& solidae resolutionis obtinere potuimus,
praeter quod proxime ex relatione Celestissi-
mi Principis à Dietrichstein Supremi Aulae
praefecti intellexerimus, Majestatem ve-
stram Sacratissimam praetactos Articulos
Sopronienses de negotio Religionis condi-
tos sanctè omnino & illibate conservare,
isdemque firmiter inhærere velle. Interea
nos obscura quadam ac à longe petita
interpretatione eorumdem Articulorum
plura, quam iidem continent, & admit-
terent, petere. Hinc conformia nos iis

1692. dem postulare, adeoque Gravamina no-
stra juxta evidentissimas continentias co-
rundem Articulorum edocere debere, sic-
que etiam nos convenienter expedien-
dos fore gratiosissime resolvissè & decla-
rassè.

'Cui Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimae be-
nignissimae Resolutioni nosmet in omni hu-
militate obsequiosissime accommodantes,
(quamvis satis superque Gravamina, &
injurias nostras ad manifestum Articulo-
rum Soproniensium sensum ac tenorem de-
duxerimus) ut jam tandem clementissimo
Caesareo-Regiam Resolutionem adeoque
ad desideria nostra concupitum expeditio-
nem assequi valeamus, praesenti iterata
dictorum Articulorum Soproniensium per
contigua eorumdem membra formalis con-
textus primum partitione & configuratio-
nem, tandem multiplicium grandium inju-
riarum, tam per ordinatas Commisiones
Regias, quam carum homines, ac alios
etiam ingentes diversiforme exquisita
sub praetextibus nobis illatarum, juxta
quodlibet memoratorum Articulorum
membrum, perspicua declaratione & re-
monstratione, justissima denique, & per
omnia clarissima Articulorum sensui con-
formis Instantiae nostrae luculentae deductio-
ne & elucidatione nos iidem Articulis,
donec futurarum diatarum occasione ex
toto in integrum restituamur, stare, nec
transversa aliqua interpretatione, quam
idem expressissimis verbis se solos clare
explicarent, aliud, sed nec plus, quam
permitterent, petere: Sumpto fiduciali ad
Gratiae, Clementiae, & Justitiae plenissi-
mum Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimae Thro-
num recursum nostro Majestati vestrae Sa-
cratissimae in profundissima subjectione re-
capitalis Gravaminibus nostris reprae-
sentandum conveniens duximus, & qui-
dem modalitate sequenti.

Primo, quoad Articuli. XXV.

Ann. 1681. Diatae Soproniensis,
ejusque Primum Membrum, cu-
jus formalis Continentia haec est.

ET quia propter bonum Pacis, Tranquilli-
tatemque Regni publicam, in Negocio
Religionis quoque sua Majestas sese benignè
respondere dignata est, ideo eandem etiam Re-
solutionem Articuli Regni status & Ordinis
inferant. Ac imprimis quidem, cum liberata
Religionis exercitium jam antea in Anno
1606. vigore Pacificationis Vienneensis coi-
cessim;

1692. cessant, his motibus à parte nonnullorum interturbatum fuisse, confirmato hic loci Articulo I. dicta Pacificationis, idem Exercitium omnibus & ubique per Regnum (salvo tamen iure Dominorum terrestrium) juxta Artic. I. Ann. 1608. ante Coronationem editum, liberum permittitur.

* Contra hoc Membrum primum in eo nos injuriatos resentimus, quod cum benignissima hac Majestatis vestra Sacratissima resolutione, & tenore hujus Articuli membri primi liberum Religionis Exercitium, priorum annorum sub tumultibus à parte nonnullorum interturbatum, generaliter omnibus & ubique per Regnum, nullo regnicolarum, cujuscumque tandem status & conditionis esset, sed nec ullo etiam loco Regni Castrensis, Comitatus, Civitatis, Oppidani, Confiniario, & Villano exceptis, ad mentem præallegatorum Articulorum denuo liberum permittitur, & nec ad hunc, vel illum locum restrictum, quin tali generalitate confirmata libertatis coactio amplectendarum Religionum penitus sublata esset.

* Excelsæ nihilominus Commissiones Regiæ, ad Superiores & Inferiores Regni Hungariæ Partes diversis temporibus Annorum præteritorum emissa, partim per se, partim vero per homines privatos tali libero Exercitio Religionis libere alias & manifeste, etiam in privatis actibus, per totum Regnum, non tamen simpliciter, verum medio ministrorum ante & post dictam Soproniensem exercito & usitato, non solum.

* Primo, complures libera, Regias, ac Montanas Civitates, signanter in inferiori Hungaria, Pusztiensem, Kufzeghiensem, Szent-Györgyensem, Baziniensem, Tyrnaviensem, Szakolczensem, Vetrozolensem, Carponensem, (de nomine alias in Articulo 26. specificatam) & Breznobaniensem. In Montanis Civitatibus vero, Schemniczensem, Libethbaniensem, Belobaniensem, & Uybaniensem: Et in superiore Hungaria, recentissime Nagybaniensem, contra expressas Articulas Sanctiones, & eorum permissiones, & quidem

I. Civiti primi Membri ad verba: Ideo confirmato hic loci Articulo I. dicta Pacificationis idem Exercitium omnibus & ubique per Regnum liberum permittit.

II. Ibidem Confirmata Pacificationis primi Articuli ad expressa verba: Nimirum, quod omnes & singulos Status & Ordines, tam in-

tra ambitum Regni Hungariæ solum existent, tam Magnates, Nobiles, quam liberas Civitates, Oppida privilegiata immediate ad Coronam spectantia: Item in Confiniis quoque Regni Hungariæ Milites Hungaros in sua Religione & Confessione nusquam & nunquam turbabit, nec per alios turbari & impediri sinet, (scilicet sua Majestatis Sacratissima) verum omnibus prædictis Statibus & Ordinibus Regni liber Religioni ipsorum usus & exercitium permittetur.

III. Ibidem ibidem allegati & confirmati, Ann. 1608. ante Coronationem editi Articuli. æque expressa verba: Quantum itaque ad primum Constitutionis Viennensis Articulum attinet, deliberatum est per Status & Ordines Regni Hungariæ, ut Religionis Exercitium tam Baronibus, Magnatibus, & Nobilibus, quam etiam liberis Civitatibus, ac universis Statibus & Ordinibus Regni, in suis & Fisci bonis: Item in Confiniis quoque Regni Hungariæ Militibus Hungaris, sua cuique Religio, nec non oppidis & villis tam sponte & libere acceptare volentibus, ubique liberum relinquantur, nec quisquam omnium in libero ejus usus ac exercitio, quouam modo impediatur: Quinimo, ad præcavendam inter Status & Ordines aliqua Odia & dissensiones, quælibet Religio suos superiores, seu superatendentes habeat, statutum est,

* Citra ullam considerationem, quod Libera, ac Regia, & Montana Civitates, adeoque ex ordine Statuum cum reliquis civitatibus quartus Regni liber status essent, parique cum iisdem libertate gauderent, inque confirmatis hiæ Articulis generaliter comprehenderentur, ex eo solum capite, quod de nomine in Articulis Sopronienibus specificatæ non essent, gravi cum earundem injuria, & extrema Religionis intersecione, amotis earundem Ecclesiæ Evangelicæ Ministris, frequentatione item locorum, ubi Religionis exercitium vigeret: Prout & omnium Actuum Ministerialium ibidem frustione, admissione adhæc quorumcumque Prædicantium ad infirmos suos, & in agone constitutos, consolandos, & communicandos absolute vetita: Quin ut in his, & similibus præcise introductorum Catholicorum Plebanorum & Parochorum opera utantur, seria injunctio facta, cum aggravatione Conscientiarum omnimode restricta, ex integro privarunt: Verum

* Secundo: Comitatus quoque quamplurimos: Uti Pofoniensem, Mosloniensem ex toto, Nitriensem, Trenchiniensem, Arvensem, Lyptoviensem, Turocziensem, Zoliensem, Barlsensem, Honthensem, Soproniensem, Castriferri, ali-

osque

1692. osque infinitis eorumdem templis Evangelicis occupatis, Ministrisque infimul suis delegatis in simili Religionis eorumdem libero exercitio, æque contra præmissorum Articulorum apertissimam Constitutionem turbarent, ac ad duo saltem obscurissimorum pagorum inconvenientia loca, exquifita quasi opera, adhuc extra eosdem pagos in campo, erectioni novorum Templorum, Scholarum, & Parochiarum, Exercitioque Evangelico ibidem tenendo destinata, & excita, totidemque Ministros, non plures intertendendos, restrinxerunt, quibus ægrotantibus, nullo potiri possent exercitio.

* Villanis vero, seu Rusticis, qui à præcepta Generalitate juxta sæpe allegatos Articulos excludi nequirent, vi nimium præjudicialis, inque exterminium Evangelicorum adjectæ clausulæ: Salvo jure Dominorum Terrestrium (quæ tamen non dei Domini in conscientias, quod solius Jus proprium esset, sed jus servitutis Corporalis respiceret) indiscriminatim totali Evangelico exercitio, ejusdemque Ministerialium Actuum usu ubilibet locorum abstinendo, inhibuerunt, ac ad Ecclesias Catholicas frequentandas, harumque Ministerio & ritibus in omnibus utendis, a liquoquin per vim & fortia compellendi venierunt, strictissimo edicto coarctarunt.

* Tercio: Reliquas etiam civitates, quamvis Articulatim (juxta nempe Artic. 26. membrum quintum) in specie, uti, Pofoniensem, Modrensem, & Trenchiniensem, in inferiori Hungaria: Et in Montanis, Cremniczensem, & Novizoliensem: ac in superiori Hungaria in genere denominatis, quales essent Cassovia, Lcutschovia, Bartscha, Epperies, Cibinium, Keimarkinum, (ad quas Nagybania quoque in Comitatu Szathmariensi situta civitas pertineret: Noviter tamen post indictam Commissionem Preynrianam, suo permisso libero exercitio, ut infra declarabitur, integre privata) quibus post ademptionem omnium templorum liberum Religionis exercitium est permittum, certorum edificandis Templis, Parochiis & Scholis locorum (non tamen plerique adeo commodorum & convenientium, ut infra Articuli 26. Membro secundo innuatur) excisione & assignatione circa essentialia Religionis Evangelicæ requisita, plane extra continentias Articulorum Sopronienium inconvenientibus conditionibus.

* I. Ut nonnisi duos Prædicantes ipsi intertenere liceat.

1692. 2. In casu obitus unius alterum ia ejusdem locum introducere ipsis vetitum sit.

3. Ne Ministri eorumdem vicinorum, aut etiam aliorum peregrinorum locorum Evangelicis quibuscunque actibus Ministerialibus, ac etiam sacris, quoquo modo subservire, sed nec etiam eorumdem infirmos & agonizantes visitare audeant.

4. Cehæ & Collegia Evangelicorum Opificum ut processiones incensarum Catholicorum, consuetaque vexilla sub amissione privilegiorum ipsi fieri curent.

5. Scholas tantum triviales aliquantulum legere & scribere docentes teneant.

6. Ut Parochis & Plebanis Catholicis ex publico provenitu Civitatum Scholarum, Evangelicis vero Ministris & Salarium Rectonibus ex propria Evangelicorum pecunia pendatur.

7. In Xenodochiis plures mendicos Catholicos, quam Evangelicos intertencant.

8. Officiales Evangelicos, ut ut idoneos, ab officiis amoveant, & quoscunque Catholicos subordinent.

9. Officia Civilia magna & præcipua saltem Catholicis conferant, aliisque circumscriptur: Sed &

* Quarto: Illos insuper Comitatus, qui in actuali usu omnium fere templorum, horumque accessiorum Evangelicorum, tempore conditorum Articulorum Sopronienium fuerunt, ac etiam in reali eorumdem Dominio (vi 25 Articuli inferius allegandorum tertii & sexti Membrorum) relictis sunt, & relinquendi erant, adeoque à similibus Commissionibus immunes omnino declarati, deque nomine specificati essent, uti Szaladiensem, Veszprimiensem, Jauriensem, Comaromiensem, Abauyvariensem, Szarosiensem, Zempliniensem, Ughocziensem, Bereghiensem, Thorensem, Gomoriensem, Borfodeniem, Honthensem, Nogradiensem, Szolnokiensem, & Hevesiensem; nec non Pestiensem, Pilisiensem, & Solitensem unitos: Item Szabolczensem, Unghensem, & Szathmariensem, majori ex parte potioribus libris templis & accessoriis, integralique libero exercitio cum expulsiōe Ministeriorum, indiscriminatim orbantur.

* Quæ

1692.

Quæ omnia fronte ad præmissum Membrum primum hujus Artic. 25. inique citatos, & expressissimis verbis allegatos, facta cum prævia confirmata libertatis generalitati ad omnes & singulos Status & Ordines Regni, adeoque omnes Magnates & Nobiles, Civitates, omnia etiam confinia, oppida & villas evidentissime se extendenti & diametro opposita essent, actusque ipso ex libera Religione non liberam, ex non turbanda studio turbaram & turbandam facerent.

Majestati vestre Sacratissimæ demisse supplicamus, quatenus aqua sapientissimi judicii sui lance pensitata:

Primum; Præspecificatarum quatuordecim Civitatum totali liberi sui exercitii beneficio contra manifestas memoriarum Articulorum Statutiones (vigore quarum ipsius quoque qua liberis, & montanis Civitatibus, adeoque quarto Statui Regni liberum apud se, & ubique sue Religionis exercitium habere permittum esset) privatarum summa injuria eisdem (non obstante, quod nominatim in Articulis Soproniensibus non existit, quippe istiusmodi libertate in genere permittis suffiebat, duas, tres, quatuorve Civitates, uti sequenti Artic. 26. ejusdemque Membro quinto fit, pro exemplo denominare, cum denominatio & positio unius alteriusve Civitatis non esset reliquarum à præmissa libertate excusatio; alioquin sequeretur unus conditionem alterius conditione esse deteriorem) æque sicut aliis congrua, & (reflexione habita ad caput verborum 26. Articuli Soproniensis pro Commoditate Evangelicorum ædificandis Templis, Parochiis, & Scholis, &c.) omnino commodata extendenda loca demonstrari & assignari curare, coque ipso hæcenus sublatum liberum Religionis ipsarum exercitium rursum integre reassumere, medioque Ministrorum suorum pro beneplacito vocandorum exercere, & continuare, ex indulto Articuli, auctoritateque sua Regia benignissime permittere.

Tandem, habita Comitatum quoque præmissorum confictorum condignatione, cassatis præmemoratis extra pagensibus obscuris & inconvenientibus designatis locis, ipsis templa in articulariter denominatis pagis existentia, ubi alias vix duo vel tres Catholici, alibi vero vix unus quidam reperirentur, nec etiam duo templa, duas Parochias, duas Scholas, duplices etiam Ministros diversarum Religionum in tam exiguis & obscuris pagel-

lis, dum duplici horum intertentioni non sufficerent, tenere, vel ad evitandas æmulationes & scandala ex diversitate rituum facile enasenda, congruum esset restitui facere, omnibusque in medio sui existentibus cujuscunque status & conditionis hominibus, juxta vigorem præscriptorum Articulorum, & Paragraphum ipsius 25. Articuli Soproniensis: Omnibus & ubique per Regnum, recessa contra ritum & voluntatem Evangelicorum adjecta clausula: Salvo jure Dominorum terrestrium; ejusdemque exotica interpretatone, per Clerum & Dominos Catholicos ad conscientias abusive extendente, indeque Dominium in conscientias quod solius Dei, non vero hominum esset, sibi met vendicant, Religionis sue exercitium medio Prædicantium suorum ubique libere exercendum, nec quamquam invitum ad contrarias Ceremonias quocumquomodo amplectendas compellendum permittere.

Posthæc prænotatarum pariter Articulorum denominatarum liberarum & Montanarum Superiorum & Inferiorum partium Regni Civitatum incircumscriptæ admittis libertatis conditione considerata, eisdem in præspecificatis memoratarum Commissionum præjudiciofis conditionibus & limitationibus, de quibus prævi omnes Articuli omnino silentent, nec liberum Religionis exercitium quocumquomodo circumferberent: Alias enim non liberum, sed restrictum, atque adeo captivum esset hoc exercitium, de plano abolitum redere.

Denique prænumeratarum similiter Comitatum in Actuali possessione, usu, & Dominio Templorum, & omnium accessiorum Evangelicorum, vi Articuli 26. reliquorum, ad conformitatem datæ gratissimæ Resolutionis Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ adjudicata speciali exemptione, justa & effectiva omnium ademptorum templorum, appertinentiarum, & accessiorum, hæcque concomitantium liberi exercitii, & Ministrorum suorum restitutione, eisdem in pristinum eorundem jus, & possessionem præmissorum ad mentem prædeclaratorum Articulorum reduci curare, Clementissime dignetur.

Contra Secundum Membrum, quod sic sonat.

Prædicantibus quoque & Scholarum Magistris, alias vel proscriptis, vel propter certas Reverentes munia sue professionis exercere non valentibus, liber in Regnum reditus, liberque

1692. beraque Religionis sue professio & exercitium, cassatis eatenus etiam ipsarum Reverentibus, conceditur.

Ut ut lucidissime vi membri hujus non modo illi Prædicantes & Scholarum Magistri, qui tempore dietæ Soproniensis in sua in Regno habitatione, & libera Religionis Professione sunt stabiliti, verum simul illis etiam, qui quavis de causa tum & Regno exulabant, libera in Regnum redeundi, ubilibet in Regno libere subfistendi, & Religionis sue exercitium ad munia peragendi, data sit facultas, adeoque qualescunque etiam datæ vel dandæ Reverentes Articulate sint abolitæ & cassatæ.

Hinc tamen in contrarium dietæ Commissiones passim ubique per Regnum dubios saltem Prædicantibus in singulo Comitatu, ac uno vel altero in quibusdam Civitatibus permittis, reliquos omnes ex cæteris omnibus civitatibus, oppidis, confinis, & villis, partim sub decursu quindena, partim tridui spatio, uti in Comitatus Lyptovienfis, Arvenfis, Thuroczensis, Zolienfis, & Honthenfis, aliisque factum, removerunt, partim vero extortis ab iis strictis Reverentibus super abdicatone officii, ad privatos angulos relegarunt.

Insuper Gymnasia & Scholas Evangelicorum ad Trivialia, aliquantum solum legere & scribere discere restrinxerunt, unde ob carentiam harum, earumque docentium ex parte sui nil amplius sperandum haberent, quam impendentem respectu juvenutis suæ barbariem.

Inde sumpsit occasionem Eminentissimus Princeps Cardinalis à Kolonich quinque Evangelicos Prædicantes, uti Puchoviensem, Nozdroviczensem, Ledniczensem, Bakabayaiensem, & Kochkoviensem, anno præterito 89 capi, & ad arcem Ledniczensem deduci curare, ibique strictissima incaptatione ad subscriptionem inconvenientium Reverentium, statutionemque sub onere 200 Imperialium certorum fideiulorum adigere.

Alios insuper tres Prædicantes, puta, Nemes Hollonensem Helveticæ & Szent-benedekensem ac Dobrajensem Augustinæ Confessionis A. similiter antecedente 89. in absentia Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ incaptavatos, & Sabariz squalidissimis carceribus durissime excruciatos ad dejectionem Religionis cogere.

Reverendissimè D. Archiepiscopus

1692. Strigonienfis Georgius Szekei Possessio- nis Hodos in insula Czalloköz adjacentis Prædicantem Samuelem Bickay medio destinatum hominum suorum binariis vicibus expilandi, perque Plebanum Szerdakelyensem tandem capiendi, & Potonium ad residentiam suam 22. præteriti Mensis Martii anni currentis, ceu prædonem vincitum deducendi, compedibusque confictum in carceres conjiciendi, ac ibi tam diu miserandum in modum emacerandi & percutiendi, donec ad renunciationem Religionis & Ecclesiastici sui officii abominandis reverentibus cum compulsi: Asserendo expresse, sicut hunc, ita cæteros etiam omnes Prædicantes Evangelicos, qui extra loca in Articulis specificata viverent, & munia sua professionis exercerent, à Majestate vestra Sacratissima proscriptos esse, hinc in omnes pari processu deservire velle.

Residentia pariter Nagybanja Patris Jesuitæ Ravazis nuncupatus possessionis Totthali in Comitatu Szathmarienfis dictæ Prædicantem a quo capientem, & maritum ad carceres detentum, præfens detinendi, ad finem detentum, Religionem, & depositionem, Reverentibus præjudiciofis confictum, & ferum intendens & quæ alia aliorum parima essent attentata.

Quæ siquidem directissime contrariarentur Articuli hujus Membro secundo, Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam pronoram, quatenus Regia sua prohibitive quoruncumque Prædicantium & Scholarum Rectorum Evangelicorum per quoscunque tandem quoque modo turbandorum, persequendorum, damnificandorum, incaptivandorum, & ad quascunque Reverentes dandas cogendorum, ad omnes suos fideles Status & Ordines Regni decretales extendenda (ante loco interim misero Totthali fuisse Prædicantem Szathmarium Capto & suis carceribus libere ad suos dimitti mandato) juxta claram Membri hujus secundi mentem omnibus Prædicantibus & Scholarum Magistris libere in medio nostri permanendi, & Professionis sue munia atque exercitia extra quamvis limitationem, Scholarumque facultatem restrictionem peragendi facultatem attribueret.

Et siquidem omnes tales Prædicantes ad duo, ut supra actum, excisa loca in Artic. 26. denominata collocari non possent, relaxatæ & sub lata juxta uberiorum modo citati Articuli Membri octavi, inferius deducendi sensum, & Indultum in torioris Arcenibus & Residentialibus Domorum Magnatum & Nobilium exercendi Religionis exercitii inhibitione per præ-

1692. tas Commissiones facta, ut similes extra Parochiales Prædicantes ibidem in privato accommodari valeant, gratiosissime admittere velit,

Contra Tertium Membrum tenoris sequentis :

Et nullus Regnicolarum in libero sue Religionis exercitio amodo impelleretur quoquo modo turbetur.

* Quamvis tertii hujus membri generalitate nullum Regnicolarum, nec Ecclesiasticum, nec seculares status, adeoque nec Magnates, nec Nobiles, nec Cives, nec Rusticos in libero Religionis suæ exercitio, nec in Persona, nec in Ecclesiis, sed nec in Ministris suis ullo modo peramplius turbandum venire apertissime cavetur :

* Hoc nihilominus præviæ Commissiones Regiæ, & private quaque personæ, non curato, exquisitis sub prætextibus & modis, quibus exprimendis vix verba nobis sufficiens, ex Cleri & Status Cathedrali Scatentia, quamplurimas Ecclesias in præmissis primo Membro specificatorum Comitatum & Civitatum expulsi, & e Regno ire jussis eorumdem Ministris, tantum causis exercitii exercendi instrumentibus, sine quibus alias nullius sane Religionis exercitium exerceri quirit, in libero exercitio turbantur.

* Sic Magistratus modernus Catholicus Civitatis Épærices mox ex mandato Majestatis vestræ Sacratissima, mox titulo Domini Terræstris prætextum vendicatis sibi licentia præ se ferens, omnes omnino Nationum Evangelicos Prædicantes e Civitate, alias loco Articulariter denominato, adhuc Ann. 1688, ipso festo S. Bartholomæi Apostoli, expellere, terroriticoque ejusdem prohibere, Ecclesiamque Articularum libero suo admisso exercitio, quo jam nunc careret, ipso facto privare non est verius.

* Ita nihil penitus duxit non tampridem moderna Hungaria Civitatis Nagybanja (unius nempe ex ordine, ut præmissum ceterarum Superiorum, partium liberarum Civitatum, per commissionem alias anticipativam Czahianam in permissio suo libero exercitio Evangelico ad instar aliarum Articularium libere usuando relicte) cives & incolas Evangelicos amandatione Prædicantium, & Scholæ Rectorum suorum cum severa interminatione omnium

1692. actuum Ministerialium alibi locorum præter Catholicos Nagybanjenfium usufruendum, totali suo exercitio, cultu & Ministris orbare Comitatus item Szathmarienfis oppidum Felsőbanya, quod in possessione & continuo usu sui Templi, accessiorum, & horum proventuum ante, in, & post Diactam Sopronienfem ad annum usque præsentem fuisset : Prout & Comitatus Abauyvariensis aliud oppidum Sepsty, in possessione alias templi sui, & omnium appertinentiarum vi 26 Articuli Sopronienfis, Membri tertii & sexti relicto, pariformi abolitione Prædicantium & Scholæ Rectorum Evangelicorum, præmissorumque, uti Nagybanja, strictissima injunctioe integrali eorumdem exercitio viduare.

* Aliis plurimis plurim, uti Reverendissimorum Matthiæ Radonay quinque Ecclesiensium Episcopi, & Francisci Jany Pechvaradiensis Abbatis in superiori & inferiori Barovia circa quinque Ecclesias in Naddisensibus & Kianyokienfibus Prædicantibus, aliisque earundem partium, præcipue in Verefmartienfibus Incolis, supra immanitatem fere Turcicam attentatis excessibus, peculiari memoriali Majestati vestræ Sacratissimæ fufius representatis, brevitate causa hic præteritis.

* Cum hæc & similia contra tam manifestam Articuli hujus constitutionem militarent, nec etiam hoc ipso liberum exercitium esse, aut dici posset, si causa, sine qua non, inhibeat.

* Apud Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam quam profundissima humilitate infamum quatenus præscriptorum specificie in Membro primo appositum, & in hoc quoque tertio generaliter commemoratorum Comitatum & Civitatum optimo & fundamentali jure, quod circa admissum liberum Religionis exercitium, vi omnium trium Membrorum Articuli hujus haberent, eodem vero non citra parvam injuriam privati essent, clementissime considerato, eosdem & easdem tam quoad exercitium reassumendum, quam quoad exortibus Prædicantes & Rectores suos rursum recipiendos, non solum integre restituere, verum in specie prælibate etiam Civitatis Épærices Evangelicos suos expositos Ministros ad sua munera Ecclesiastica obeunda iterum reduciendi, vel loco horum alios, citra ullam coarctationem & limitationem certi numeri, verum quotquot ob interventientiam fortuitorum casuum, adhuc frequentiam etiam civium intertere possent, vocandi & surrogandi plenariam potestatem gratiosissime impertiri.

* Adhuc

1692.

* Adhuc memoratæ quoque Civitatis Nagybanja, sicut & prædictorum Felsőbanya & Seply oppidorum Evangelicis, illis quidem prohibuit eorumdem exercitium cum revocatione ejectionum Prædicantis & Rectoris, ex integro reassumere : His vero adempta sua Templa, Parochias, & Scholas cum accessoriis, & remotis Ecclesiis suarum Ministris ac Rectoribus priori suo statui ex vi præmissorum Articularium suorum jurium rursus restitui facere, benigne demandare, sique prævis omnibus Articulariter accommodatis ultiores Regnicolarum & Religionis exercitiorum turbationes gravi sub animadversione & pena per Clementissimum Decretum suum ad Universos Comitatus & Civitates missiliter transmittendorum, accedente Gratia sua Regia, serio inhihere non dedignetur.

Contra Quartum Membrum hujus Contextus :

Sed neque Augustanæ & Helveticæ Confessionis additi ad Cærimonias suæ Confessionis contrarios compelluntur.

* Licet Membri quoque hujus Generalitatis antecedentia confirmaret, clareque inferret, ullius status & conditionis Augustanæ & Helveticæ Confessionis additos homines ad Confessionis eorumdem ritus contrarios compelli debere.

* Eo tamen non obstante præviæ Commissiones omnes vel maxime Membro primo allegatas Civitates exercitio Evangelico privatas ad omnes actus Ministeriales ritui ipsorum contrarios amplectendæ Religionis Catholicæ causa omnino adigenas Plebanis Catholicis indifferenter mandarent, ac passim Catholicis gubernia gerentibus Cives & inhabitatores suos, qui potirentur, potissimum opifices & Mechanicos Evangelicos ad Vexillorum Professionalem Comparationem, acipias etiam processiones, cogendos pronunciant.

* Hinc inibi ægrotantibus & agonizantibus Sacraque Eucharistia uti volentibus Evangelicis nulli Prædicantes ex quibuscunque tandem locis permittuntur. Neonati infantes alibi locorum Evangelicorum baptizari prohibentur. Puerperæ etiam exactis suis Hebdomadibus ab introductione, copulandi a copulatione, mortui ab inhumatione similium locorum accipiendis penitus arcantur, & non admittuntur : Sed præcipue Ministerio Parochi-

rum & Plebanorum Catholicorum in his & aliis uti inviti compelluntur.

* Unde ipsi quoque Domini Patres Jesuitæ Ann. præterito 89. circa initium Octobris eo processere licentia Posonii, quod juniorem Prædicantem Posonienfem Joannem Vider hospitale ejusdem loci, misere ejusdem provecit alias ætatis, & jam agonizantis semine Evangelicæ consolatione & communicandæ causa accedentem cum suo pane foras ire comminatorie præceperint, ac abinde amandant, ita ut miseræ Mulier sine communione & solatio animæ ultimum suum claudere deberet diem, nec jam amplius licitum sit tali in casu Prædicantibus Posonienfibus idem Hospitale ingredi, minus diversarum Religionum copulandas Personas, quarum una Catholica, altera vero Evangelica esset copulare : Sed nec talium conjugatorum proles baptizare, vel etiam inhumare, sub aliquo citationis ad sedem Metropolitanam Tyrnavienfem Comminatione, & gravis pœnæ incurfione per Parochum Posonienfem iidem significata.

* Non absimili Coactionis licentia abutitur quoque modernus Parochus Civitatis Leutichovenfis Casmirus Miners Ord. Præmonstr. præpositus contra ejusdem Civitatis universos Nobiles pariter & Ignobiles, cives & incolas Evangelicos, horumque Prædicantes libero Religionis suæ exercitio indultu Articulari alias fruētes, quippe quos à Communione ac omnibus aliis actibus Ministerialibus quibuscunque exteris Evangelicis quoqueque tandem modo administrandis, hæc omnia sibi vendicans severe arceret. Peregrinos etiam quosque Evangelicos copulandos, si, sicut Leutichovenfies, vel e converso, qui Leutichovenfium alterius loci Evangelicas ducerent uxores, præcipue apud se copulandos adigeret. In casu vero funerariorum Evangelicorum ad suas Cærimonias præ demortuorum ædibus suo ritu peragendas, adeoque in deductionibus etiam usque portam Civitatis concomitantibus do capeffendas, inconvenientis solutionis exigendæ ergo actu cogeret : Insuper copiosissimam earundem duarum nationum, Germanicæ nimirum admodum frequentis, & Slavicæ in tertialitate Minoris Ecclesiam ad duorum saltem ministrorum intertentionem, unicuique nationi unum saltem admittendo, cum Germanicæ vix tres sufficerent, auctoritate sua coarctaret.

* His accederet Comaromii, Gyöngyöfini, alibique incolas Evangelicos per Clerum loci, rusticos vero ubique fere

1692. per Regnum tam mandato pramissum Communionem Regiarum, quam iussu quorumcumque Dominorum Catholicorum Terrestrialium, ad frequentationem Catholicorum Templorum, horumque omnium Ceremoniarum & rituum usuationem compelli.

Qua quum per omnia huic clarissimæ statutioni Articuli adversarentur, Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam per omnia sibi chura humillime petimus, quatenus relaxatis omnibus pramissis violentis actionibus circa ceremoniarum, rituum, ac Religionum contrariarum usuationem & acceptationem maximo conscientiarum cum gravamine indiscriminatim cuiusque Evangelicorum per quoscunque Dominos Catholicos quocunque modo impositis, absolutis insuper omnibus inhibitionibus, in libero Religiosis exercitio qualitercunque factis, unicuique fidelium Regnicolarum suorum Evangelicorum citra ullam Religiosæ præscriptionis præscriptionem in hoc vel illo, id vel illud faciendi, aut omitterendi, liberum suum exercitum, prout uniuscuiusque admittet conscientia, ex integro ubilibet, libere ad mentem sapienter mentionatorum allegatorum Articulorum usandum & exercendum, ac Cæsareo-Regia Gratia & Clementia quam pensissimè concedere dignetur.

Secundo, quoad Artic. XXVI. ejusdem Anni & Diætæ, primum Membrum hoc innuit.

Ad hac templa quoque per Augustanæ & Helveticæ Confessioni addicta edificata, & ritu Catholico necdum reconciliata per certos Commissarios ejisdem assignanda.

Articuli hac Constitutione quamquam per expressum exstante, ac Evangelicis suis sumptibus edificata, ritque Catholico necdum reconciliata Templa & Capellæ excidenda, assignanda, & relinquenda venire pronuntiant; Commisiones nihilominus eadem nullo habito hujus respectu in Comitatu Thuroczienfi, in Possessionibus Bella, Zaturcza, & Pribocz, similis Templa, & in Comitatu Lyptovienfi in Possessionibus Kirally, Lohora, Poturnya, & Virbiczæ, similiter Capellas per Evangelicos & Dominos terrestres edificatas, ritque Catholico ante conditum Arciculum necdum reconciliatas, alibi in aliis Comitatus habitas & repertas, indifferenter occupant, ab earumque usuatione & ibidem peragendo cultu Evange-

licos strictissime inhibuerunt, & ad duo saltem loca, uti pramemoratum, ubi Templa edificari permisa sunt, aliquot mille hominum incapacia, imo propter distantiam incongrua, periculosa, difficultate, relegarunt, & restrinxerunt.

Unde tot millium Evangelicorum in Comitatus potissimum calamitosa, pro dolor! fors eo devinit, ut propter indifferenter ademptionem Templorum, & amissionem Ministrorum suorum, maximum sine communione, plurimi vero infantes absque baptismate decedant.

Quæ cum contra permissionem Articularem, & dictamen etiam Communis iustitiæ suum cuique tributum, Evangelicis essent ablata: Proinde restitutionem & reassignationem talium Templorum & Capellarum ad mentem hujus Membri primi memoratorum Comitatum, aliorumque, Evangelicis pro exercendo Religiosis suæ cultu legaliter fiendam à Majestati vestræ Sacratissima suppliciter petimus.

Secundum Membrum hoc decernit.

In aliis vero locis juxta benignissimam suæ Majestatis Resolutionem loca pro edificandis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis erigendis, pro commoditate eorumdem Augustanæ & Helveticæ Confessioni additorum, per ejusdem Commissarios designanda decernuntur.

Esti Constitutio hæc loca pro Commoditate Evangelicorum edificandis novis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis erigendis omnino commoda & congrua designanda aperte ordinasset, exindeque eadem Commisiones huic ordinationi conformiter, potissimum vero in Regiis, Liberis, & Montanis Civitatibus, quibus, Templa, Scholæ, & Parochiæ, alique sunt adempta, se accommodare, citraque aliquam exteriorum locorum coarctationem, in ipsis Civitatibus, intraque easdem (juxta genuinum, sanum, & literalem Articuli etiam hujus sequentis Membri quinti expresse ita sonantium clausularum sententiam: *Ac tamdem in liberis & Montanis Civitatibus, &c.* Quæ interiora, non exteriora Civitatum loca declararent:) Convenientia & commoda loca excidere & assignare debuissent: Commisso tamen Regia ad Superiores Regni Hungariæ partes exmissa, medio Cameraticorum & his adjunctorum hominum inter ceteras Civitates Episcopales Evangelicis, Germanicæ Nationi prope Carnificis pratum, cada-

veribus

1692. veribus degluebendis destinatum, Hungaricæ Civitatis patibulum, & Scavoniae in Fimeto, locis sane extra desolata Suburbia longe distitis, campetribus, iisque contumeliosis existentibus: Cassioviæ vero æque tribus similibus nationibus pariter extra solo æquatum Suburbium in squalido & summe lutofo campo, ad officinam regulariam erga itidem patibulum situatum, constituto maximo Evangelicæ Religionis cum despectu erigendum novorum Templorum, Scholarum, Parochiarumque loca indecentia, & incommoda designavit.

Quocum ob sacrum etiam finem Sanctissimo Deo dicanda Templa & accessoria edificare piaculum omnino esset, adeoque despectuosa hujusmodi designatio præviæ quoque Articuli Sanctioni nimium præjudicaret.

Pro eo virtute legalis Constitutionis Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam pro Commemoratorum obsecrorum & squalidum, ex privato privatorum quorundam hominum erga Religionem Evangelicam affectu, exciolorum locorum totali cassatione, aliorum vero commodorum & tondentium in iisdem Civitatibus, earumque mentis (ita citra ambiguitatem sensus inuiventibus præallegati hujus Articuli Membri quinti expressis verbis) ubi sit commoda & capacia haberentur loca, ipsis Episcopis & Cassioviensibus Evangelicis gratiosissime impertienda excisione & assignatione, devotissima cum subiectione exoramus.

Tertium Membrum hoc statuit:

In aliis vero Comitatus, veluti in Szaladiensis, Vespriemensis, Jauriensis, Comaromensis, Abauyvariensis, Saarofienis, Zempliniensis, Ughocziensis, Bereghienis, Tornensis, Góvár, Borodienis, Hontienis, Nagradienis, Solnok, & Heves, nec non Fels, Pils, & Sold unitis: Item Szabolcziensis, Ungb & Szathmariensis, siquidem de presenti essent in actuali usu omnium fere Templorum ibidem habitorum. Ideo eadem pro actualibus eorumdem possessoriis usanda relicta sunt.

Hi de nomine specificati Comitatus (qui omnia sua castra, oppida, & villas, seu possessiones cum omnibus suis Templis, Sacellis, Oratoriis, Scholis, & Parochiis involverent) dum etiam juxta manifestum Membri hujus statutum, præmissa ex ratione, quod tempore conditi hujus Articuli in actuali usu omnium fere Templorum & accessiorum fuissent, in

1692. reali possessione, liberoque & pacifico eorumdem ulu relicti, & ceterum etiam taliter imperturbate relinquiendi declarati essent, adeoque ab omnibus quorumcumque occupationibus Templorum & appertinentiarum suorum immunes omnino & integri esse debuissent.

Hæc tamen Articuli Declaratione posthabita partim prædictæ Commisiones per se, & diversos substitutos Mandatarios, partim inclytæ Cameræ, partim Officiales Dominorum, partim Clerus in persequis Comitatus; in Szaladiensis, in Consilio Legrad, in Comaromienfi, in Possessione Mocza, in Abauyvarienfi, in Oppidis Regecz, Szanto, Seply, & infiore Meczenzeff; possessionibus item Bodokó, Ujfalú, & Fony, in Saarofienfi, in oppido Saaros, & possessionibus Tólk, zek, Algutth, & Söóvar; in Zempliniensi, in oppidis Thokay, Tarczal, Keresztúr, Maad, Litzia, Thállya, Tolzua, Benye, Patak, Borly, Ujhelly, & Botyan; in Ugoczenfi, in oppido Nagy Szólos; in Bereghienfi, in oppidis Munkacz, Bereghizs, Vári, & Berégs; in Tornenfi, in possessione Almás; in Hontienfi, in Civitatibus oppidis, & villis existentia Evangelicorum Templa, Parochias, & Scholas, excepto unico exilio Templo in contemptissimo pago Drino dicto, non tam pridem per Evangelicos edificato, Evangelicis relicto: In Ungvarienfi, in oppidis Unguar, Naghy-mihály, & Vinna, ac Possessione Szata: In Hevesienfi, in oppidis Gyöngyös, Jászberény, ac possessione Maklár; In Pestienfi, in oppido Vacz, & possessione Thótfalu; In Szathmariensi, in oppido Felsőbanya, & possessione Gíroth-Thótfalu, & Tarpa, alique Evangelicorum Templa, Parochias, & Scholas violenter occupant, amovique eorumdem Ministris totali Religionis suæ exercitio privare præsumpserunt, ut ut prærecensiti Comitatus Articuli in possessione præmanibus habitorum præscriptorum Templorum relicti fuissent.

Quorum inconveniens occupatio, cum similiter Articuli huic adversaretur statuto, Majestati vestræ Sacratissimæ Regio Indultui, quapropter Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam pro effectiva præspecificatis in Comitatus, eorumdemque denominatis oppidis & possessionibus occupatorum Templorum, Parochiarum, & Scholarum, prioribus suis possessores Evangelicis ex attributo jure fienda restitutione & reassignatione, qua possumus animi devotione supplices oramus.

1692.

Quattrum Membrum hoc concedit :

Præterea in Confiniis Regni, & quidem in Generalatu contra Canisam, in Szent-Gröb: In Generalatu Jaurienfi, in Tikany, Vazon, Papa, Vefprim, Jaurini, & Comaromii: In Generalatu Superioris Hungariae in Putnok, Onod, Szendrő, Tokay, Kalló, & Szathmar: In Generalatu Antemontano Leva, Carpona, & Fulekini.

Quamquam vi Concessionis hujus evidens esset, Augustanae & Helveticae Confectioni additis in prædemonstratis Confiniis liberi Exercitii, & Templorum, ac Accessoriorum ibidem habitorum, temporaque hujus conditi Articuli possessionem realem usum relictum, & stabilitum esse:

Regia nihilominus Commissio ad Inferiores Regni Hungariae partes Ann. 1688. ordinata, Carpona de nomine hoc in Membro specificata Civitate, occupatis Templo, Parochia, & Schola Evangelicis, remotisque Prædicantibus & Scholæ doctibus, totale exercitium à memoria hominum ibidem continuo usu libere semper prædicatum & habitum, ac etiam eodem in usu praevio modo Articulatorie religionis, maximo exercitii Spiritualis nullam moram patientis cum præjudicio, optimique juris Articulatoris, verbo & indulto Regio confirmata, derogamine severa cum Comminatione inhiibuit, & eodem penitus abstinere universos Nobiles & Ignobiles ibidem habitantes, qua prædicatoris, quae incolae, & Cives Evangelicos coegit, eisdem ad ulteriorem Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimae benignissimam cætenus obtinendam Resolutionem & Gratiam relegando.

Comaromii porro, ubi pariter vi hujus Articuli libera Augustanae & Helveticae Confectionis exercitii praxis, quam etiam parium duorum Templorum, Parochiarum & Scholarum pacifica possessio & usus esset confirmata, in iis utriusque Confectionis incolae, stipendiarii item milites Hungarici, ibidem existentes imperturbate ad fatales ulque præteritorum Annorum belli tumultus, & insperatam, Ann. 1683. totius ejusdem oppidi, Templorum, Parochiarum, & Scholarum Conflagrationem perstitissent; ob præfatos vero casus tam Civibus Evangelicis, quam eorum Ministris hinc inde dispersis, tale liberum exercitium Religionis quodammodo intermitti contigisset, dum supervenientibus jam fatis elementioribus dispersi E-

vangelici rursus rediissent, ac virtute præscripti hujus Articuli publicum Religionis suae exercitium reassumere, Prædicantesque & Scholæ docentes suos reducere, Tempia adiacere, & Parochias, & Scholas, in confectionis suis de facto desolatis exstantibus locis reedificare voluissent, ac etiamnum vellent, per Excellentissim. Dom. Comitum à Hoffkircher, dicti confinium Commendantem, sicut & clerum loci talia effectuare gravibus sub minis acceritur, inhibito iidem totali exercitio quomodocumque usuando, prout & precibus in privatis ædibus alias peragi solitis, superaddita severa interminatione etiam ad circumjacentia loca devotionis peragende causa cuiquam Evangelicorum exundi sub incaptatione & aliis gravibus penis incurrendis pulsui tympani per plateas confinium Anno præterito publicata.

Thokaini, loco & confinio aequae Articulatorie denominatione iidem per Provionem & Clerum loci occupatis Templo & Parochia sumptibus Evangelicorum ex fundamento edificata, piis item legatis & proventibus dotata, exturbatoque abinde suo Prædicante, libero exercitio prohibentur.

Quæ loca cum nomine tenus Articulo hoc specificarentur, inque usu liberi sui exercitii, imperturbatoque Dominio Templorum, Parochiarum, & Scholarum, horumque accessoriorum permanenda decernerentur, neque tali eorumdem jure privari quirent, tamen, ut præmissum, per prævisam privata essent, prohiberenturque effectivæ.

Hinc firmissime inhaerentes Articulatori & Regiae huic Confectioni Carponenses, Civitatenfes, & Thokayenses oppidanis Evangelicos eorumdem libero Religionis exercitio, cum Templorum, Parochiarum, & Scholarum, & horum accessoriorum ademptorum plenaria restitutione, remotorumque Prædicantium & Docentium suorum integra reductione, pristino suo statui & ordini gratiosissime venient.

Comaromienfibus vero Cassata Practurati Dom. Comitum à Hoffkircher præinsinuata inhibitione reassumptionem Religiofii sui exercitii, Ministrorumque Ecclesiasticorum, sicut & Scholæ Docentium reductionem, adeoque Templorum etiam & appertinentium in exstantibus horum designatis & excisis locis reedificationem elementissime admitti, ac etiam impertiri à Majestate vestra Sacratissima demisse imploramus.

Quin-

1692.

Quintum Membrum hoc constituit :

Ac tandem in liberis & Montanis Civitatibus, videlicet Trenchinienfi, Modrenfi, Cremniczenfi, & Novakienfi, ac in Superiore Hungaria omnibus iidem Civitatibus, similiter loca pro ædificandis Templis, Scholis, & Parochiis assignanda conceduntur.

Quid hinc clarius & directius inferri potest, quam quod in singulis liberis & Montanis quoque Civitatibus (quales sunt ordinis sui gratia recensendæ, in Inferiore Hungaria liberæ Civitates: Sopronium, Kufzezinum, Rust, Pofonium, Szent-Gyorgium, Bazinga, Modra, Tyrnavia, Szakoliza, Trenchinium, Veterozolium, Carpona, & Brezna; & in Superiore, Calfovia, Leutzhovia, Batppha, Epperies, Cibinium, Késmarck, & Nagybanja: In Montanis vero, Neozolium, Schenniczium, Cremnicium, Libethbanja, Bakabanya, Belobanya, & Ujibanya) pro quarum modalitate (reflexione habita ad antecedentes Articuli 25. primi Membri, inique citatorum Articulorum præmissam generalitatem permissæ libertatis suae deductam, quo se hic Paragraphus quoque referret) distinctione & diversitate quadam, proque exemplo, ex utroque ordine liberarum videlicet Interioris Hungariae binæ, uti Trenchinium & Modra; & Montanarum similiter binæ, nempe Cremnicium & Neozolium Civitates recensentur, & denominantur, Superiorum vero Hungariae liberarum Civitatum generifica fieret mentio, dum omnes una eademque libertatis prærogativa perferrentur, nec conditio unius sequior effectui alterius, similiter loca commoda, & quidem in Civitatibus ipsis, five in medio ipsarum, ad genuinam mentem verborum Membri hujus: In Liberis & Montanis Civitatibus, &c. In Superiore Hungaria: Omnibus iidem Civitatibus, &c. Quæ non specificatæ etiam à libertatis suæ generalitate hic satis sensu intellecta, & comprehensa non excluderent ædificandis Templis, Parochiis, & Scholis assignanda venient.

Commissiones vero Regiae extra attractæ hoc Membro quinto denominatæ Civitates, reliquas omnes quatuordecim Liberas & Montanas Civitates à designatione, & excisione locorum excludunt, omnique exercitio, & quidem adhuc cum certa (ut Superius in Articuli 25. Membro primo representatum) incancellatione privantur.

In Superiore porro Hungaria potissimum Epperiesi & Calfoviae plane abo-

minanda loca (ut Membro præcedenti 1692. secundo representatum) designantur.

Quæ quum cum sancito hujus Articuli, & ad initium Membri primi Art. 25. allegatorum, horumque recto sensu, adeoque ipsa etiam sana ratione non convenirent, nixi ob id talibus fundamentis Articulatoribus Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam pari gratiosissima uti cæteris Denominatis, ita prædeclaratis, non specificatis, hincque ex missis & restrictis Civitatibus, locorum commodorum ædificandorum novorum Templorum, Parochiarum, & Scholarum deservientium demonstratione, liberique Religionis eorumdem exercitii, cum & alias tali benignissimo Indulto Regio ipsis etiam, uti aliis libere perussi fas omnino & æquum esset, nec eodem quoquo modo privari deberent integra admisione; prætractis vero Calfoviensis & Epperiensis Civitatibus aliorum, ob sacrum finem Deo dedicandorum convenientium locorum intra easdem Civitates, Suburbis plane carentes, reperibilem designatione & assignatione fiendis, perquam humillime rogamus.

Sextum Membrum hoc sancit :

Templa demum, in quorum actuali possessione idem Augustanae & Helveticae Confectioni additi de facto sunt, modo prævio præ manibus eorumdem, una cum Parochiis & Scholis, proventibusque eorumdem propter bonum Pacis, ut nimum quiete & pacifice vivant, relinquuntur, usque Sepulturae & Campanarum pro Catholicis ibidem degentibus aequae ac ipsis relictis.

Quam evidens etiam esset hoc Membrum sextum, antecedentes hujus Articuli tertium explicatorii declaratione Evangelicos in actuali & pacifica Templorum, Parochiarum, Scholarum, & proventuum suorum, præ manibus, tempore hujus conditi Articuli habitorum possessione, Campanarum insuper & Sepulturae Communi usu relictos, & relinquendos stabiliter, & confirmare.

Et tamen repudiato tam memoratæ Commissionis Regiae, quam inlytæ quoque camerae, & officiales quique, prout & Clerus, in Comitibus, præscripto Membro tertio suis enumeratis, talia Tempia una cum Appertinentiis & Proventibus universis, contra dictamen hujus Articuli, occupantur, & hæc concomitantia, liberum nimirum exercitium, & functionem Ministerialem, ejusdem Ministris prohibuerunt, Campanarum etiam & Sepulturae

1692. pulchra communem Ufum fere ubique Evangelicis interdixerunt.

Regia exemplificandi causa Commissio in Comitatu Honthenfi, qui unus esset ex praescriptis Membris tertio enumeratis, quae tam ex vi hujus sexti, quam etiam praefati tertii Membrorum à simili Commisione immunis esse debebat, omnia Templi, unico excepto, eoque parvulo Mediente Vice-Comite ejusdem Comitatus occupari, & Praedicantes amoveri fecit.

Ita in Comitatu Hevesiensis Mandati-
one Reverendissimi Domini Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis Georgii Szeckenii, & Illustrissimi Dom. Comitis Georgii Erdödi oppidum Gyöngyös Helveticae Confessionis, qui in continua semper possessione Templi, Parochiae, & Scholae, Accessoriorumque ipsorum à longis temporibus Ante, in, & post Diatam Soproniensem fuerant, iis una cum omnibus suis piis legatis & proventibus, undecim praecipuis vicinis, quinque Molendinis, uno Macello, & una Domino, adhuc aliquot centenis urnis vini per Joannem Almasy Hevesiensis, & Franciscum Sutter Pestensis Comitatum iudices Nobilium die 22 Maii, Ann. 1688. sunt privati, amotioneque Ecclesiae, & Scholae docentium, totaliter eundem Evangelico exercitio, etiam in privatis aedibus continuando, prout & Sepultura ac Campanarum usu inhibiti, possessione horum omnium Clero loci tradita.

Pariter in Comitatus Abauvariensis & Zempliniensis, signanter in Dominio Ragociano, oppida Thallya, Máád, Szántó, Kereftzhur, Tarczal, Lufzka, Bennyey, Tolchva, Patak, Ujhelly, Borfy, Regacz, & Thokay, aliaeque, quae aequè in actuali & pacifico Dominio Templorum, Scholarum, Parochiarum, & accessoriorum, horumque proventuum, tam ante hunc conditum Articulum, quam conditionis ejusdem Tempore fuissent, de ceteroque praepositione horum relinqui debuissent, omnibus his per officiales ejusdem Domini sunt privata, ac libero Religionis exercitio, vel in privata etiam Domino usuando, severitissimis sub minis inhibita.

Non absimiliter in Civitatibus Caffoviensis & Epperiensis quoad proventus Ecclesiasticos omnia Evangelicorum pia legata; Caffoviensibus quidem quatuor Domus, unus adhuc hortus, cetera item terrae arabiles, & in promontorio Tokay una vinea Varga dicta; Epperiensibus vero cetera infimul vineae, diversis in Pro-

montoriis partium Superiorum situatae cum suis reditibus, per Magistratuum loci Cathedralicum utrobique via facti sunt ereptae; Quibus Campanarum quoque & Sepulturae communis usus absolute denegatur. Funerum adhuc intra menia Civitatum cum solitis suis caeremoniis concedens deductio etiam cavetur, & non admittitur.

Quibus similibus cum expresse contra Artic. hunc injuriati essent memoratorum locorum Evangelici.

Exinde Sanctissimae catus declaratae Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimae Resolutioni & Articulari Concessioni firmiter inherentes, à Majestate vestra Sacratissima horum omnium, & praetactis etiam Membris tertio Commemoratorum Comitatus sum locorum occupatorum Evangelicos praecise concernentium Templorum, Parochiarum, Scholarum, & accessoriorum, omnium adhuc legatorum, indeque subsecutorum proventuum, campanarum item ac Sepulturae usum, contra mentem hujus Articuli & Membri violenter adeptum, suis antiquis possessoribus Evangelicis relictum, ali cum effectu sciendam benignissimam Resolutionem & redintegrationem de genu flexo desideramus.

Septimum Membrum determinat:

Interea vero nec Catholici Ministris Augustinae & Helveticae Confessionis additis, nec vero horum sequaces Plebanis Catholici ad mentem Articuli undecimi 1647. solvere obligentur.

Hujus Membri statutione clarissima licet, & perconfirmata etiam Artic. 11. 1647. per expressa verba: Ne Evangelici status Catholici Plebanis, & e converso status Catholici Evangelicis Ministris ad ullas solutiones praestandas sint obligati:

Imo subsequenter Articuli 12. ejusdem Ann. 1647. explicatiora: Ubi vero Parochias non haberent auditores Evangelicos, solutionem pendant suae Religionis Ministris, cujus videlicet Ministerio, seu opera, ut fuerint: Sicut & Catholici Parochis Catholicis. Ubi autem auditores Evangelici habentur non solvunt plebanis Catholicis, imposterum etiam ad nullas solutiones praestandas ullo sub pretexto cogantur ad solvendum, prout nec Catholici Evangelicis.

Adhuc quoad Stolarum proventus & pensiones allegati 12. Articuli Ann. 1647. immediate subsequentera formalia:

Stolares

1692.

Stolares autem proveniunt, seu solutiones, in quibus locis Plebani Catholici & Ministris Evangelicis à sua Religione auditoribus totaliter percipiunt: Adhuc magis elucidatior existente, ac unicuique partium convenientes suas pensiones attribuent, adeoque Evangelicos ab omni proventus solutionis obligamine, Clero & Plebanis Catholicis fienda absolute exemptos pronunciant.

Minus tamen nihilo Commissiones Regiae ubique in Comitatus (extra duo saltem in quovis Comitatu designata loca) omnes solutiones Plebanis Catholicis addixerunt: In Civitatibus vero, ubi etiam liberum exercitium permittunt, ut ex fisco, seu Communi Civitatum aërio (ad quem respectu pluralitatis Evangelicorum Catholici minimum quantum contribuerent) ipsi Plebanis, seu Parochis Catholicis solutio fiat, & Evangelici tam Ministris, quam etiam Scholae doctores suis extraordinarie ex propriis proficiant, contra praescriptum manifestum Articulum constituerunt, cui abusive Constitutioni ubilibet locorum ipsi Plebani & Clerus potenter inisterent, & via facti quilibet solutiones, ac universos stolares proventus pro se indifferenter tam in Comitatus, quam etiam omnibus Civitatibus exigent.

Inde Officiales etiam saepe sati Domini Rakocziani in Superiori Hungaria indifferenter nobiles pariter, & ignobiles Evangelicos brachio quoque militari ad solutionem Plebanis in eodem Dominio pendendam omni conatu adigunt.

Quae cum contra positivam Articuli hujus determinationem facta essent, adeoque cum maximo etiam ejusdem & inibi allegatorum abusu per Plebanos Catholicos erga Evangelicos univerfim praedicarentur.

Inde hoc in passu ad praescriptum Articulum & suas leges provocantes apud Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam demississime instamus, quatenus virtute harum omnes Evangelicos ab omni proventus solutione Parochis Catholicis praestanda immunes pronunciare, ac ut quilibet status suos sibi fervientes interteneat, & exsolvat, istidem etiam suos pendat stolares proventus, Clementissima, iustitiaeque constanti ordinatione decernere dignetur.

Octavum Membrum hoc ordinat:

Omnibus porro Magnatibus & Nobilibus in Regno degentibus, in Arcibus & solitis Residentiis, pro ritu cujusvis Professionis, Oratoria & Sacella exstruere, & dotare liberum sit.

Virtute membri hujus licet omnibus Magnatibus & Nobilibus Evangelicis in Arcibus & residentibus suis Oratoria & Sacella exstruendi & dotandi permittitur sit libertas, quae liberam omnino in iis Religionis suae professionem, sacrorum & accessoriorum celebrationem, Ministrorum item intertentionem, tanquam causam sui Principalem, & sine qua non, respiciant, & secum ferrent; alioquin absque hac historia placeat & supervacanea foret hac Articularis Concessio.

Practitate tamen Commissiones Regiae praxin hanc post occupationem Templorum vi praescriptae Articularis Ordinationis per Comitatus in Arcibus & Residentiis Magnatum & Nobilium longo tempore usitatum & acceptatum, in pleniori Comitatus, signanter Lyptovienfi, Turoczienfi, Arvenfi, Trenchinienfi, Zolenfi, Honthenfi, aliisque totaliter inhibuerunt, & contra praescriptum sanum Articuli sensum in similibus locis liberum Religionis suae exercitium per peculiare Ministros exercendum penitus vetarunt, & nonnisi (quod fit celebratione cultus sui in Residentiis suis uti vellent) alterius duorum designatorum in Comitatu locorum Ministris, nullatenus vero alterius accessendi, & ejus opera utendi, hocque etiam praecise, pro cujusque propria & familiaris suae, non vero ulorum vicinorum necessitate, sub pena alioquin militaris invasionis similis Praesidentiae facultate admissa, Articularem hanc libertatem mirā circumscriptioe coarctarunt.

Unde in Comitatu Lyptovienfi Parochi & Plebani aliquot talium, Nobilium Domos per Milites Arcis Lykava invadi & expilari curant.

In Comitatu Trenchinienfi Anno praeterito 89 Nobiles Familiae Nozdrovizky Praedicantes in residentia sua pro administratione exercitii sui intertinentes, similiter infestum Plebanorum per milites Regiminis Merfiani damnicissimam sui, Ministro ad carceres Arcis Lednicze rapto, & strictissima incarceratione ad subscipionem summe praesudiciorum Reverentium pro sui liberatione adacto.

Quae

1692.

* Quæ cum directe repugnarent præattractæ legalitati, nec etiam Magnates & Nobiles (quibus tamquam Secundi & Tertiæ Liberatorum Statuum & Ordinum Regni, liberis personis, liberum suum exercitum ubique, sive in propriis Residentiis, sive in finibus suis, sive sub Dio, æque libere, intentione, si modo potuerint, & usu Ministerii exercere liberum esset, Religioſa hæc corundem, eaque Articuli in libertate reſtringi quirent.

* Quocirca apud Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam pro relaxatione, & sublatione præviæ Commiſſionalis inhibitionis, & circumſcriptionis, è converſo juxta indultum hujus Articuli, ejusdemque sanam mentem, omnibus Magnatibus & Nobilibus in Regno, in Capellis, & Oratoriis eorundem Arcenſibus & Reſidentibus, per quoscunque peculiares Miniſtros, quos intenerere poſſent, liberi exercitii, omniumque Accſſoriorum, quibuſlibet Regnicolis libere exercendi gratiſſima admiffione ardentiffime efflagitamus.

Nonum Membrum hoc perhibet :

Posthac vero nulle Templorum, Scholarumque & Parochiarum occupationes, vel Exercitii turbulationes ab utrimque, sub pena in Articulo 8 Uladiſlai decreto 5, expreſſa, ſiant.

* Expreſſa lege licet cautum fit, (quolibet Regni ſtatu propter bonum Pacis & Tranquillitatem Regni publicam in præſcriptis ſuis Articulis terminis poſſeſſionem Templorum, Scholarum, Parochiarum, liberique Religionis ſuæ exercitii relicto) amplius quæque Tempia, Scholas, & Parochias Evangelicorum occupare, horumque libera exercitia quocunque quoquo modo interrumpere ;

* Non tamen deſiit, ſed ne nunc quidem deſinit Status Catholicos eatenus miſeros & Evangelicos indiſcriminatim per totum Regnum exquiſitis ſub coloribus (ut jam ſupra ſuſius reſpreſentatum) per vim & ſortia, citra ullius pænæ formidinem & incurſum impune ſane infeſtare, eoſque religioſa eorundem legitima privare.

* Quare ſi contra eundem tamquam præmiſſis maniſeſtiſſime contravenientem effectiva deſignate pænæ deſumptione procederetur, polliceretur equidem ſtatus Evangelicus ſibi in præmiſſis pacificam & imperturbatam permanſionem, tolleretque omnis diſſidiorum fomes.

* Quæ cum non ſiant, quantumcunque nobis etiam lamentantibus, querulantibus, & injurias noſtras reſpreſentantibus, circæ harum ſublationem, & noſtri accommodationem, Articuliſſimæ Medelam implorantibus, crevit exinde, & adhuc magis creſcit ſtatus Catholici eo liberius in nos graſſandi audacia, contraque omnino & æquum libertatibus noſtris nos exuendi licentia.

* Hinc ut tales & ſimiles violentæ occupationes & interurbationes præmiſſorum omnimode præcaveantur, præſcriptam legem ſtrictiſſime contra tranſgreſſores præviſ, ac etiam futuros quolibet ſuis viſ & modis obſervandam, & proſequendam iri à Majestate veſtra Sacratiffima ſollicitè petimus.

Accederet præmiſſis quoque adjungendum quoad Libertatem vel Maxime Civilem Politicam.

Articulo 11. Sopronienſi præmemonſtrata noviffimæ diætæ gratiſſima Regiarum & liberarum, Montanarumque Civitatum Communium privilegiorum confirmatione, deſuperque ibidem allegatarum, & paſſim conditarum Legum renovatione per expreſſa verba :

Liberarum quoque, ac Regiarum, Montanarumque Civitatum non exigua fuiſſent querelæ, quod in jure libera electionis Magiſtratus Civitatis, necnon jure patronatus, &c. ac aliis ſuis immunitatibus, partim à parte Camerae Hungariæ, partim vero ab Officialibus bellicis contra privilegia iſſorum, & reguliſſime, turbata & impedita exiſtiſſent ; ideo confirmatis eatenus iſſorum privilegiis & immunitatibus, &c. Articuli etiam Regni, ut ſunt Anni 1659. Art. 129. 1649. Artic. 16. 1647. Art. 83. 1638. Art. 35. ac alii ſuperinde conditi renovantur, ac tam per Cameras, quam Officiales bellicos, ac alios quocunque ſtrictiſſime obſerventur, neque in libero Magiſtratus Civitatis jure, ac aliis privilegiis iſſorum longo uſu roboratis à quopiam quoquo modo turbentur.

* Conſtitutum eſſe eandem leges, & Articulos, tam per Cameras & Bellicos Officiales, quam quoscunque etiam Regnicolas ex omni parte ſervandos venire, id quod ex conſenſu omnium & Catholicorum & Evangelicorum æquali in uſum quoque deductum erat per Civitates.

* Nihil

1692.

* Nihilominus prævia Excellarum Commiſſionum, ut ſuperius memoratum, in omnibus Regiſ, Liberis & Montanis Civitatibus Evangelicorum amovendorum, & Catholicorum in Magiſtratum ſurrogandorum Nominè Majestatis veſtræ Sacratiffimæ Regio facta præſcriptione, vel maxime in ſuperioribus partium Regni Hungariæ Civitatibus, Caſſiovienci, Ep-perienſis, Barphenſis, aliſque inſcyltæ Camerae Scepuſienſis inde ſumptæ occaſionis ingeſſione, præcitato alias Articulo 83. 1647. &c. prohibita, eo proceſſit dictarum Civitatum Magiſtratus reformatus Catholicus licentia, ut jam omnes Caſſiovienciſ, Ep-perienſes, & Barphenſes, aliſque, tam in Senatorii, quam Communitatibus ordinum Evangelicos, ad publica Officia, & dignitates Civiles gerendas bene meritos & aptos, ex mero duntaxat privato affectu erga Religionem contra maniſeſtas præſati Articuli, ibique citatorum, ſignanter Articuliſſimæ 13. 1608. ante Coronationem, item 44. 1609, ac 12. 1647. aliorum Conſtitutiones, notabili Evangelicorum cum oppreſſione, à publicis dignitatibus, honoribus, & officiis civilibus removerit, & horum loco aut minus idoneos, aut obtratos, aut negotia Civitatum nihil intelligentes, magiſque privata curantes Catholicos ſumma dictarum Civitatum cum ruina & damnificatione ſurrogaverit, & conſtituerit.

Quamobrem,

* Primo, Majestati veſtræ Sacratiffimæ, pro liberi Magiſtratus & Communitatibus Civis eligendi juris, hæcenus, ut jam præmiſſum, diverſimode per diverſos interrumpit, ac ex parte Evangelicorum penitus everſi, unico & mere penes eandem ac quæſcunque Civitates, earumque utriuſque Religionis Catholicæ & Evangelicæ Juratos benemeritos Cives permanendi priori ſuo ſtatu admittenda reductione, ſolidaque conſervatione.

* Secundo : Civilis mutæ concordie conſervandæ, nocivarumque diſſenſionum, & ſimulatum amovendarum gratia, eorundem Magiſtratum & Communitatium Civium, abſque ullo Catholice & Evangelicæ Religionis diſcrimine, ex honeſtis, benemeritis, nullaque labe maculatis, niſque apud Juratis Civibus libera electionis, officiis, & quorumvis aliarum dig-

nitatum Civilium ad mentem præſcriptæ 1692. cificatorum Articuliſſimæ 13. 1608. ante Coronationem, & 44. 1609. ſine diſſenſu & coequali collatione, mutæque ad honores civiles publicos promotione.

* Tercio : Obſervandæ alternatæ æqualitatis, bonique Civitatum publici cauſa Judicatus, & Tribunatus Officiorum, juxta modo citatorum, & 12. Articuliſſimæ 1647. Anni ſenſum, alternatim & mixtum gerendorum, gratiſſimam annuuntia, & permiſſione, clementiſſime ordinanda, profundiffima animorum cum humiliteſſime ſupplices noſtras deponimus preces.

* Et hæc ſunt, Sacratiffimæ Imperator, inter cætera prævio modo Articuliſſimæ Sanctorum, & ad genuinum ac literalem Articuliſſimæ Sopronienſium 12. membrum perſpicue deductarum Religioſæ & Politicæ libertatum noſtrarum conſenſu totius Regni permiſſa benedictio :

* Quæ quum ita clara & illuſtria, ut nullo explanationem patientur, niſi quod illos Articulos maniſeſte obſcurare vellet, & nos cum reſervata juxta etiam prædicti Articuliſſimæ 26. Sopronienſis ultimam clauſulam :

Per hancque Articuliſſimæ Conſeſſionem iſſedem Auguſtanæ & Helveticæ Conſeſſioni addiſſis ulterior præſentium ſuarum via in futuris diatris iſſantias ſuas promovendi (non obſtantibus Cleri & aliorum ſecularium Catholicorum contradicitionibus) minime præcludatur.

Salvis ſemper eatenus legiſſimis Regni diſpoſitione Regio firmatis.

* Ampliores Majestatis veſtræ Sacratiffimæ propenſæ Caſſaro-Regiæ Clementiæ gratias, etiam extra diatras conventus (dum extra hos Majestati veſtræ Sacratiffimæ vulneribus noſtris convenientes Medelas adhibere impoſſibile non eſſet, ad ſubſequentes vero diatras nimium inſtantibus, ac nullas leges, nullas conſuetas pœnas curantibus Clero, & Dominis Catholicis, expectantibus nobis facile Religionis noſtræ totale evenire poſſet exterminium) petendi & urgendi facultate, ut illos noviffima in diætâ Sopronienſi Conſenſerimus, fieri nequit, ut jam nunc ſupra quam concedunt, expoſtulare præſumamus.

1692.

'Nihil illegalitatis, nihilque novitatis, verum legibus regni benignissime confirmatis Sopronienfibus Articulis conformem præmentationum Gravaminum & injuriarum nostrarum præmiſſo modo Articulis ac distinctim deductarum, evidentiſſimique adverſantium exemplis illustratarum complanationem, quæ ad afferendam Majestatis vestræ Sacratissimæ Regiam Auctoritatem & pietissimam Verbo Regio ratificatam voluntatem, tranquillam item Regni & Civitatum permanenciam, ac bonum Pacis publicæ vergit, incessantibus precibus nostris jam supra decem semestria, magna cum impensione sumptuum, demississime petentes, ne ulterius etiam lamentis nostris, de cætero quoque Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam ejusdem Augustissimam Aulam onerare oporteat.

'Eandem Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam per immensam Dei Misericordiam, cujus vices agit in Terris, per Regale solum, quod divinitus Majestati vestræ Sacratissimæ est datum, perque felicitatem suam, apud Regium Justitiæ Tribunal, præ merore & colore prostrati, ima cum demissione obsecramus, quatenus jam tandem tot & tantarum humilissimarum precum, justissimarumque instantiarum nostrarum, ex innata oppressis vel maxime juvandi clementia misera, Articuli & legatæ hæc Postulata nostra per incitum suum Consilium gratiosissime revideri faceret, perque ejusdem avidissime expectatam Consolatoriam Resolutionem & definitionem cuiuslibet prædictorum Articulorum Membri, Regia sua auctoritate, à qua sola (post Deum) salus & permanſio nostra dependet, nos crigere, liberumque Religionis nostræ Exercitium cum Ministrorum nostrorum Evangelicorum imperterrita, & non restringenda nostri in medio permanſione, & vocationis ipsorum, libilibet, libera administratione, adhuc injuriis à nobis ademptorum reali & effectiva restitutione, introductorumque abusu totali abrogatione in primum, quoad statum etiam Civilem politicum, Libertatem Articulare benignissime asserere, inque eadem fartos & rectos semper conservare clementissime dignetur.

'Quam Majestatis Vestræ Sacratissimæ gratiam & clementiam perpetuis fidelitatis nostræ obsequiſſimis servitiis sanguinis etiam profusione contestandis, quam subiectissime demereri adnitimur.

'Benignissimam prævix petitorum Determinationem præstolantes, manemus

Ejusdem Majestatis vestræ Sacratissimæ

Humilissimi perpetuoque fideles subditi

Superiorum & Inferiorum Regni Hungariæ Partium ac Comitatum, Regiarum, Libercarum, & Montanarum Civitatum, Oppidorum, Confiniorum, item & Pagorum Universi Evangelici.

Exhibita suæ Majestati Sacratissimæ Laxemburgi, die 27 Mensis Maii, 1690.

Exemplum alterius Libelli Memorialis Cæsareæ Majestati à Legatis Saxon. & Brandenburgicis Electorum pro Protestantibus Hungaris Augustæ Vindelicorum exhibiti.

Serenissime, &c.

IN recenti Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ memoria est, quid nos a. d. 77. Janu. cum ad Cæsariam & Regiam Majestatem vestram publice admisiſſimus, nomine utriusque Electoris Saxonicæ & Brandenburgicæ, Dominorum nostrorum Clementissimorum, inter alia de Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ Regni Hereditarii & Provinciarum incolis Evangelicis submississime proposuerimus; & inprimis de libera toties ab universis Evangelicis Ordinibus invictis argumentis repetita Testificentium ita appellatorum incolarum emigratione, & in Ferociſſima ditone rectorum infelicium liberorum restitutione, liberique discessu permitiendo, humilissimis precibus peticimus. Quemadmodum igitur Clementissimi Domini nostri, ambo præfati Electores, certam illam spem de Cæsareæ & Regiæ Majestatis vestræ Christianissimo benignissimoque animo conceperunt, fore, ut Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestas vestra submississimis hi-

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1692.

'precibus facit aures præbitura & tot millium preſſas & afflictas animas questioſolatio refectura: Ita nonnullas aliis de rebus clementissimas resolutiones à Cæsareæ Regiæque Majestati vestræ impetravimus tam ante, quam post Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ ex illa urbe discessum: Verum de Negotio Hungarico nihil omnino obtinimus. Quapropter justissimis Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ oculis rursus eorundem infelicium in Hungaria Evangelicorum Misericordiam statum, novis indies oppressionibus aggravatum, uti ex annexis liquet, humilissime subicere aſſi fumus, nulli dubitantes, quin Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ, quæ Divini nobis in terris Numinis imago est, afflictorum tacta miseratione, qui suppliciter Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ throno advoluti sunt, infelicium illorum preces clementissime acceptura, & misericordiam sublevaria sit: Simul & gratiosissime imperatura, atque curatura, ne nupero Recessu de integro Confirmatum liberum Religionis Evangelicæ exercitium, contra Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ Clementissimam animi intentionem, amplius lædatur, interrumpaturque: Verum contra ea suæ cuſusque conscientia libertati, tranquillitatisque permittatur, atque restitueretur: Ipsi vero gravaminibus suis, præferim ratione abusuſſe clausula: Salvo jure Dominorum terrestrium, (quæ quidem querelam præcipua causa est) liberentur, atque exſolvantur. Quamvis autem Clementissimæ istius Resolutionis (pro qua interim, humilissimas gratias agimus) Clementissimorum Dominorum nostrorum Electorum, nomine explicationes aliquot obſcurioris sensus demississime rogare habeamus, his tamen ad tempus postpositis, illud præcipue obnixis precibus à Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestati vestræ petimus, humilissimeque obſecramus, ut, quoniam res liquida & clara est, atque celeberrimæ expeditionis, concessam gratiosissime emigrationem Testificentium liberorum declarodignetur, nullenique parentibus liberos suos devehere ipsiſſi liceat, remque suam familiarem expedire, concessis in hunc finem, quæ requiruntur, literis commettatur: Urque hæc ratione vinculum illud naturæ sanctissimum, quod parentes liberis & hos illis, mutuo nexu adſtrinxit, integrum, illaſque conſervetur. Quæ res uti Electoribus Dominis nostris Clementissimis longe Maximam animi allatura est voluptatem, ita eisdem magis magnifice devinciet, atque Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestati vestræ obſtrictos reddet, velut suam ipsorum in gratiam concessa, omnibusque submississimam venerationis & obsequii officiis rependenda. Nos autem pro nostri

'muneris debita obedientia humilissima cum veneratione perpetuum erimus

Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestati vestræ

Devotissimi & Humilissimi

Elect. Sax. & Brandenb. Plenipot. Legati,

N.E. Baro von Gerſdorff
S.I. von Dankelman.

Exemplum libelli Memorialis Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestati à Legatis Saxon. & Brandenburgicis Augustæ Vindelicorum in gratiam Hungarorum Protestantium exhibiti.

Serenissime, &c.

QUEMADMODUM res à Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestati vestræ in Hungaria adverſus Christiani nominis hostem fidelissime gesta, recuperataque post tam diuturnum sub barbaro jugum regnum illud, nemini plus voluptatis attulerunt, quam clementissimis Dominiſſis nostris Electoribus, ceterisque etiam Imperii Rom. Ordinibus ac ſtatibus Evangelicis lætissimo fuisse gaudio: Præsertim quod & ipsi pro viribus ad tutandam Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ magnitudinem arma sua Cæsareis eniſſissime conjunxerunt, quo Divina favente gratia, prout hoc summum ipsorum votum est, barbarus ad accipiendam decorem Nomini Cæsareo, certamque & constantem Pacem conſtrigatur, cogaturque: Ita & ulterius hoc suum votum extendunt, ut Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ indefesso & patetio erga ſibi ſubditos amore, nobilissimum illud regnum in pristinum reſtituat florem, vigoremque: Subditisque illius incolis fidelissimis atque obedientissimis justissimam Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ imperio atque patrocinio, quoad privilegiorum immunitatumque veterum conſervationem ad ſpem optimam excitarem, multo quam antehac firmius & tutius cum Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ provinciis, tum Imperio Rom. ſive potius univerſo orbi Christiano ſit propugnaculum. Quoniam vero Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestræ hunc in finem jam Ann. 1681. & 87. in Comitibus Sopronienſibus & Poſonienſibus optima tranquillitatis

P p p 2 publicæ

1692. publicæ jecit fundamenta, neque ullum dubium est, quin, si Cæsarea ac Regia Majestas vestra pro cognitissima sua Gratia ac justitia illud solummodo præstare dignetur, ut ibidem conclusi, conventi, atque concessi Articuli, præsertim quoad liberum Religionis Evangelicæ exercitium, & illius cultores incolas, ab delegatis in eam rem Commissariis & Ministris bona fide obventur, neque vel per ipsos, vel per ipsos succedaneos, tam Ecclesiasticos, quam seculares (uti proli dolor! gravissimis comminationibus nonnulli eorum miserimos Evangelicos contra Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestre clementissimam justitiam, decreta, atque interdicta multimodis ac sapientissime terrere) violentur; propositum bonum pacis, tranquillitatisque regni publicæ feliciter subsecuturum sit: Memorati ambo Domini nostri Clementissimi Electores, etiam nunc cum in finem, sicut & sæpe antea ab aliis factum Imperii Ordinis Evangelicis, nobis in mandatis dederunt, uti dictos eorumdem sacrorum participes Hungaros Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestati vestre humillime commendaremus, atque pro iis apud Cæsaream ac Regiam Majestatem vestram intercederemus. Qui quidem Domini nostri Clementissimi cum in Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestre innata lenitate acque justitia spem & fiduciam collocarunt, ut non dubitent, quin Cæsarea ac Regia Majestas vestra quietem publicam, (quæ in causa Religionis in eodem Regno secundum Regni Constitutiones hæcenus satis tranquilla & immota fuit, verum pauculos ante annos turbati, lædique cæpta est) cultoribus Evangelicæ Religionis fartam totæque præstitura sit, libertatemque conscientie integram & illasam, Ecclesiasticas, Scholas, exercitium Religionis publicum, inviolata cunctis & singulis permixtura, insultus ac violationes severissima coercitura, & insimul Evangelicorum Electorum, Principum, atque Ordinum in recuperando, & à Turcico jugo liberando Regno Hungarico lubentissimis animis navatam fidelissimam operam, submissaque valida auxilia, clementissimè respiciere atque considerare dignatur sit. Præcipue vero Clementissimorum Domini nostri Electorum deprecatio in hunc scopum collinatur, ut, quum Cæsarea ac Regia Majestas vestra hac & aliis de causis Regios delegabit Commissarios, (istiusmodi illos cum mandatis delegare dignetur, quæ ipsos clementissimam exequi Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestatis vestre voluntatem, sanctamque observare justitiam cogant, neque suis fervere affectibus, Zelumque Religionis summo cum rigore, sævitique, adversus afflictos E-

vangelicos exferere permittant. Hanc Cæsareæ & Regiæ Majestatis vestre gratiam, ac favorem summum, Clementissimi Domini nostri Electores plurimum cum animi solatio, voluptateque accepturi sunt, summaque fide atque devotione constantissima, cæterisque gratæ mentis demonstrationibus offensuri, nihil sibi à Cæsareæ & Regiæ Majestatis vestre gratius accidere potuisse. Nos autem, quæ nostra est tenuitas, submississime atque humillime nosmet profitemur

Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestati vestræ

Devotissimos & Obedientissimos

Sereniff. D. D. Electorum Saxonici & Brandeburgici hic commorantes legatos,

Augustæ Vindel. Von Gerßdorff.
a. d. 17. Jan. B. von Zinzendorff.
1690. Baro von Friesen.
S. I. von Dankelman.
N. B. von Dankelman.

A N N E X A.

EA species est Ann. 1681: in Comitibus Soproniensibus per Catholicum statum, incitis tamen Evangelicis, de negotio Religionis conditorum, & per ipsos Articulis quoque Dietalibus inferentur duorum Articulorum 25. & 26. ac si hac ratione Evangelicis Hungariæ Regni incolis, aliquot mille Ecclesiarum, Scholarum, & appertinentiarum ereptione nulla facta foret injuria, verum potius res grata & accepta, plurimum locorum enumeratione ac designatione in quibus liberum ipsis Religionis exercitium concederetur. Quod si vero iidem ad Meridianum solem inspiciantur, & iusta exactaque rationis trutina expendantur, minus ipso nihilo Hungaris concessum videbitur, petmissumve, nisi, quæ sequitur, damnosissima clausula cum illius interpretatione & extensione reapse inde deleatur, tollaturque. Quid enim Concessum videretur, per Cleri & Dominorum Catholicorum exoticam interpretationem, & potissimum nimium præjudiciose in totale Evangelicorum, eorumdemque Evangelicæ Exercitii externum adjectam clausulam: *Salvo jure Dominorum Terrestrium*: (Contra quam clausulam tamen Evangelici proceses prima vice

1692. vice Soproni, atque post illa in Comitibus Pofonienfibus omnibus modis proteftati sunt: Protestationem vero hanc ultimam Hungaricus Personalis D. Stephanus Urbanus, contra quam ipsum decuit, non admittit: Omnino subversum, & irritum factum est. Nam licet dictorum Sopronienfium Comitiorum 25 Articulus generaliter, & in universum liberum Evangelicæ Religionis exercitium cunctis & singulis permittat, nec huic, illive loco aliger, aut adstringat, verum potius ad mentem confirmatæ pacificationis Viennefis Ann. 1661. Artic. 1. & præcipue Ann. 1608. itidem Artic. 1. ante Coronationem (qui in memorato 25 Art. Comitiorum Sopronienfium confirmati sunt) omnibus & ubique per Regnum, nullo loco excepto, multo minus indigena cum, iustitiam conditionis, dignitatis, status, ac natalium fuerit, libertatem concedat publicæ suam Religionem exercendi: Eam nihilominus Domini Catholici suam sibi sumunt & arrogant interpretationem, ac si hæc liberi Religionis exercitii concessio non aliter accipienda sit, multo minus permixtura, nisi sub ista clausula, *Salvo jure Dominorum Terrestrium*: Quod jus terrestris (quod jus tantum servitutis corporalis respicit) ipsi ad jus & Dominium in Conscientias quorumcumque, soli Deo competens, omnimodo trahunt, & extendunt, sibi quæ actu ipso in toto Regno violenter vindicant. Sic illo utitur Strigoniensis Archiepiscopus Georgius Szechenius in universo suo territorio ac Diocesi, tamquam Dominus Terrestris, & Episcopus Strigoniensis, adversus omnes absque ullo discrimine ordines, Nobiles, Ignobiles: Iisque non solum pleno Religionis exercitio interdict, verum etiam vehementissime eos persequitur, Ministros Verbi Divini Evangelicos per suos episcopos, expellens, spolians, in vincula coniciens, & in iis Contumeliosissime detinens: Donec tandem vel Religioni priori valecant, vel plane se Ministerii Evangelici munere semel abdicaturos validissimè manus propriæ testatione ac syngrapha spondeant. Eandem vii Religionis validissimè Dominus Cardinalis sibi sumit, & usurpat Collonitus, sine ullo discrimine personarum, non modo in Javariensi admini-

stratura atque Comitatu, sed & tutoris Orphanorum Rakotzhianorum nomine, in eorum in Superiore & Inferiore Hungaria Dominiis, adversus Ecclesiasticæ & Civilis, Nobilis & Ignobilis conditionis atque ordinis Evangelicos: Præcipue autem in Javariensi, Soproniensi, Eilenbürgico, & aliis Comitibus: Nec non in Lebnicenfibus, Rachozianis terris, in Trenchinensi Comitatu; ut & in Superiore Hungaria in Zempliniano, Hevezano, & Abauyarenfi Comitibus, in XII. oppidis privilegiatis, quæ sunt Thuoa, Mar, Szantho, Keretzthur, Tarczal, Liska, Benxe, Tholizva, Patak, Ughely, Borfy, & Tokay; alique item in locis plurimis: Ubi omnium Reformatorum partim de integro condita, partim & rudibus redintegrata Tempia, Scholæ, Domus pastorum Parochiales, cum suis appertinentiis (quorum omnium tempore conditi Articuli Soproniensis reapse fuerit possessores, quæque ipsis juxta Articuli contentum relicta sunt) vi ipsi erepta sunt, Ecclesiarumque Ministris munere suo depulsi, atque deturbati: Ut silentio vis ipsis eorum personis illata, & atque etiamnum indefinenter exercitæ injuria, atque violentiæ transmittantur.

Quia & hujus clausulæ prætextu Omnes alii Episcopi, Præpositi, & Abbates suis in ditionibus, imprimis autem in ditionibus Töckeliâns quondam, nunc Turcæ ereptis, ubi plurimi habitant, ac commoranter Reformati, abutuntur: Imo vero & omnes Magistratus, ac nobiles quicumque, & Ecclesiastici suis in Territoriis: Adeo ut & Civitates nonnullæ, interque eas Catholicæ urbis Epærles Magistratus, sub prætextu Domini Terrestris, ex Urbe illa, quæ per Articulum illum discretim libertatis fruebatur privi-legio, Ecclesiasticas Evangelicos expulerint, & in exilium egerint; cæteros usque liberi Religionis exercitii privarint, insolito alio jure, quam quod illius clausulæ abusus, & iniquissima interpretatio suffragetur, & suppeditatur: Quæ revera omnis ad hoc ulque tempus exercitæ persecutionis unica scaturigo est.

1692.

Oratio ad Cæsarem Leopoldum Maximum, Viennæ in speciali audientia die 22 Junii, Ann. 1690. circa horam 8. Vespertinam habita, pro statu Evangelico Hungarico, & nominatim pro Comitatu Thuroczienfi, per Generosum D. Paulum Okoliczani dicta & instituta, adstantibus egregiis Joanne Scredy, & Patulo Sallay, ejusdem status Evangelici Ablegatis.

ADMISSI ad Augustum Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimæ conspectum, quod ipsi afflictiones nostras proprii oris Ministerio in benignum sinum effundere possimus, primum hoc nomine nobis gaudemus: postea, quod Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam salvam & incolumem nobis, infinis licet, atamen fidelibus subditis innotueri, contemplarique Deus concessit, nomine Principium nostrorum Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimæ in lætiam effusi gratulamur. Oramus etiam ejus Divinam Majestatem ut, qua Omnipotenti Cælica ope hæctenus universis Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimæ adfuit Regius negotiis, eadem imposuerit quoque victricibus armis, & fortibus militibus adesse velit, ut conculcatis universis ad ultimum hostibus, tandem ad tranquillum amœnæ Pacis portum ex belli fluctibus cum fidelibus populis suis emergere possit.

Tertius jam vertitur annus, Augustissime Imperator, ex quo homines nostri universorum felicitatatum Evangelicorum Hungaricorum, demissorum fideliumque Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimæ subditorum, humillimi Ablegati, qui hic mecum adstant, ad Augustam Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimæ Aulam continuis quasi excubiis hæciantes Sacrum Majestatis vestrae pectus de libertate oppressæ Religionis Evangelicæ assidue pulsant, & sollicitant. Quibus sollicitationibus, & ipsi etiam Religionis oppressi, Commissarii Majestatis vestrae in hoc negotio ad mentem Articulorum emissi, ac ante biennium procedentes, dederunt, præbueruntque vel maximam ansam atque materiam: Quippe illi extra benignam Majestatis vestrae instructionem, & contra sensum Articulorum, ea, quæ ibidem clarissima sunt, peregrina quapiam interpretatione ad libitum pro obiculis habuerunt, & quæ

ibidem non habentur, adjecerunt, nobisque Sacro Majestatis vestrae nomine portanda imposuerunt. Quemadmodum hæc omnia tot Memorialibus nostris per istos dimissos Ablegatos nostros à dicto triennio, vix non quotidie porrigi solitis, exactè clarèque liquidavimus.

Ad quæ omnia, & imprimis ad id, quod die 27 Maii in Laxenburg benignis Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimæ manibus supplices porrexere, dum nosmet relegamus, Majestatem quoque vestram supplices provocamus, per Deum immortalem obtestantes, ut jam tandem benigne sese ad ea resolvere, & ex Commisionibus ortam dubietatem auctoritate sua Cæsareo Regia tollere non digneetur. Sed quia Majestatis vestra Sacratissima toto hoc trienni tempore, aliis etiam Regiis Curis obruta, necdum sese benigne resolvere potuit, Adversarii nostri hinc arrepta occasione novos contra nos assument animos, & in vulgus jactant: Majestati vestrae miseram sortem nostram, quam ipsi augent, cordi non esse: Nos à Regia gratia, benignaque Protectione prorsus abjectos esse: Adeoque ipsis quodlibet in nos licere, Contestati sumus seipsum, Invidiosissime Cæsar, brevi fore, nisi cohibeantur, illorum insolentiam in apertam vim, effusionemque innocentis Sanguinis nostri erumpuram; & jam hujus rei tragice quoddam præludium in Comitatu nostro Thuroczienfi perferentem cogitur, quando certo Majestatis vestrae mandato nobis neque citatis, neque auditis, ex inelytra Hungarica Cancellaria emanato, facti sumus quasi catharmata ad immolationem destinata. Unde ego, fidelis Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimæ subditus, peculiariter missus ad Regium Majestatis vestrae Thronum, supplex compareo, spe plenus, me non tantum clementer auditum iri, sed simul ad Principales meos vitam, salutem, & libertatem, pro innocentia nostra, à Majestate vestra reportaturum esse. Artulerunt videlicet Domini Plebani Catholici certum mandatum contra nos, cujus vigore non jam juris processum, sed violentiam rerum nostrarum direptionem, & personarum arrestationem minitantur: Immo jam ipso facto exequuntur.

Petimus equidem instantissime Paria istius Mandati, sed non aliud responsum tulimus, quam quod à Majestate vestra Sacratissima, vel à quopiam alio, interdictum sit illis, ne Paria ejus nobiscum communicentur: Quo pacto non modo Sacro Majestatis vestrae nomini injuriam faciunt, sed & trahunt in suspensionem, quasi vero Majestas vestra Sacratissima ta-

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lia ibi subscripserit, quæ in apicam devenire indecens esset. Dum tamen legeretur, & publicaretur idem Mandatum, quantum animadvertere potuimus, in hæc verba esse observavimus: Intellexisse nimirum Majestatem vestram quomodo Predicantes nostri (quos illi ita per contemptum vocant) per Arces, per Castella, per Domos, & sic consequenter evagantur: Quomodo in Parochiis eorum invadunt: Quomodo sacra eorum turbant, & suo ritu Evangelico populi administrant. Quomodo (quod scelus nefasque est, nostra Religione indignum) Nobiles, æque ac ignobiles ad seditionem disponant, & hinc nos Magnates, Nobiles, & Ignobiles concitatos neque Templis frequentare velle, neque festa celebrare velle, neque aliquid illis solvere velle, imo fasque deque contra Articulus, contra ordinationem Commisionis facere omnia. Quorum enumeratorum veluti minima levissimaque pars certo respectu & consideratione legum vera esse potest, ita potior eorum pars falsa & sinistra est. Verum id quidem est, nos illis nihil solvere, sed id non facimus temere, verum beneficio sacri diplomatis & Articulorum Sopronienfium, qui expresse dicant: Evangelicum Catholicum, & contra Catholicum Evangelico nihilo teneri. Quod celebrationem festorum sinistrum est, quippe siquid propria laus valeret, auderem dicere Majori nos Communia festa celebrare observatone, quam illos, qui sæpe (& si illos accusatum non veni) levissimo munusculo corrupti diebus festis crassos permittant labores. Non nego unum alterumque esse festum, quod Religio nostra non recipit; tamen & his diebus à crassioribus abstinent laboribus consulto ita nos gerimus, ne illis nos criminandi ansa super sit. Porro ubi de non frequentatione Templorum ajunt, verum dicunt, quia omnia ademerant: Ne unum quidem ergo cum sit, quod frequentare permittant pro libertate nostra Religionis, inter reliquos divinos ritus nostros pro incolumitate Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimæ sub dio etiam orare solemus. Quod de seditione dicunt, quemadmodum Maximum ac sinistrum est, ita injuriosissimum, ac nisi docuerit, quæ accusant, talione poena compensandum. Nuper in Generali Congregatione, ubi Clerus, nostri accusatores, frequent numero aderant, publice protestati sumus, ut, quis sit ille sediciosus, denominet, nos esse futuros primos, qui capiemus, & quo Majestas vestra Sacratissima jussit, aut decemus, aut iusto juris ordine servato puniemus. Sed nonnulli tacentes postea publice professi sunt, se de seditione apud Majestatem vestram neminem accusasse. Ad extremum, non ut contra Arti-

culos Sopronienfes quidquam patuerimus, vero; simul de genu flexo pro Principibus meis Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimæ humillimis fidelibusque subditis supplices, dignetur Majestas vestra Sacratissima Clementi nos oculo respicere: Dignetur in periculo constitutis adesse: Dignetur illos, siquid contra nos præventionis habent, ad juris viam, non potentiam, relegare; illique supæ natura in nos persequentes proclivibus Mandati sui occasionem tollere, idemque cassare. Eripiat nos Majestas vestra Sacratissima ab insultibus & libidine Inimicorum nostrorum, paratos, siquid peccavimus, Ordini juris nos tubicunque scire. Faciat Majestas vestra Sacratissima ut perscrutant, Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam æque nobis esse benignissimum Regem, atque illis: Quam benignitatem de omnium gentium jure exposcimus: Siquidem non minore fidelitate, non minore promptitudine, quam illi, universa Majestatis vestrae Sacratissimæ pro quavis necessitate ferimus onera, & præstamus Regia servitia.

Ad hæc Cæsar reposuit:

Percepi Orationem vestram nomine omnium Inclitorum statum Evangelicorum, & comitatus nostri Thuroczienfis, fidelium subditorum nostrorum, per Te factam: Quemadmodum ante hæc sæpe, ita nunc nos resolvimus, quod siuti unice intendimus, ut pænes Articulos ultimarum dietarum conservaremini, ita numquam erat intentio nostra, ut vos ex Gratia & Protectione nostra excludamus. Confidite igitur. Quæ autem hic verbo reposuisti, ea perlecto etiam hoc supplicii libello nunc nobis porrecto considerabimus, captoque consilio, quicquid juxta benignam Intentionem nostram, æquitateque justitiæ conveniens fuerit, faciemus, habebitque congruum resolutionis nem.

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De cetero Vobis, vestrisque Principalibus, Cæsaro-Regia Gratia nostra propensè manemus.

‘Hæc elocuta sua Majestate Sacratissima vicissim Abligatus ait :

Serenissime Imperator, periculum nostrum, in quo jam Principales mei factò ipso conflantur, moram non patitur; ac proinde per omnia Dei Sacra, & per omnia jura regalia obtestor, ut Majestas vestra Sacratissima benigne, & quidem cito succurrat.

Imperator respondit: Jam, jam erit.

‘His flexo poplite discessum.

Sacratissima Cæsarea Regiaque Majestas.

Domine, Domine nobis Clementissime,

NIXI Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ benignissima Resolutione nupera in Personali audientia Hominibus nostris jam à tricenno apud Augustissimam Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ Aulam, in calamitosissima jam ægonizantis Religionis vestre Evangelicæ Matricæ, maxima cum profusione sumptuum degentibus, ac ejusdem Regio-auctoritativæ opulutionis legalem modèlam toties ac toties suppliciter implorantibus, clementer impertita, ut ut fiducia pleni juxta (uti certo inaudivimus) qua scripsero tenus, qua etiam ore tenus, jam subsecutam & extradatam Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ clementissimam nos Articulatori omnino accomodandi Declarationem, & Resolutionem, ejusdem realè effectuationem de die in diem avilissime præstolaremur; nihil tamen, quod huic nostræ expectationi responderet, adituque maxima nostri cum infelicitate obtinere potuimus, sicut nec possumus: Quin (iustis & mandatis Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ, uti anno præterito ante discessum suum Augustiam Vindelicorum, ita nunc quoque nescimus, quibus cunctationibus in majorem nostri afflictionem ipsa morte acerbiorè citra ullum effectum suppressum cunctibus) indices major ac major, nimia insolentia cleri universaliter in Regno ad libitum in Evangelicos grassantis, nihilque Leges & Constitutiones Regni curantis; sed omnia ex arbitrio suo agentis, nos subit calamitas.

‘Hic etenim (brevitatis causa) ejusdem

illegales, Articulariterque vitiorum certorum Salariorum ab Evangelicis indifferenter sibi pendendorum præteritis solutiones, hæctenus indiscriminatim in Comitibus, maxima Magnatum & Nobilium, horumque subditorum Evangelicorum cum oppressione, brachio quoque militari extortas prætereuntes (ejectis perperis ante circiter biennium è Civitate Superioris Hungariæ Episcopis, loco alias Articulatori Ministris trium Nationum Evangelicis, Scholæque doctentibus, jamnunc iterum ibidem Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ nomine (quo nimium præjudiciofa abuteretur) doctentem quoque puerorum & puellarum cõslem in Lectura, Scriptura, & Arithmetici, aliisque convenientibus pietatis studiis informantem, sub pœna relegationis severe inlubere, temere audens.

‘Recentissime adhuc in Regia Superioris itidem Regni Hungariæ partium Civitate Nagybanja (qua etiam una è Reliquis Civitatibus & locis Articularibus libero Religionis Evangelicæ exercitio, & Commissionali excisione locorum, adificandorum novorum Templorum, Parochiarum, & Scholarum Articulatori infimul dotata: Jam vero Anno præterito 89, circa initium Mensis Novembris intervenit Commissionis Præinerantæ tali beneficio citra ullam legalem causam infinitum solum Dominorum P.P. Jesuitarum exquisito sub pretextu violatarum quarundam Reversionalium per minas & terculamenta Excellentissimi Domini Stephani Csáky, Anno adhuc 1674, dudum præterito extortarum; virtute tamen 25 Articuli Soproniensis castitarum, iterum ex integro privata & orbata effect) Reverendissimus Pater Franciscus Ravazs Socii Jesu, assistentia ejusdem cleri commendantis, inclity regiminis Houchinianii locum tenentis, cœtum Evangelicum præmissa publicatione, Ne quiquam diebus festis ullos labores exerceat: Ne neo-natas proles aliorum extra civitatem baptizandas esset: Ne audiendarum concionum Evangelicarum, cultusque sui exerceendi causa ad circumjacentia extra loca exeat: Ne horum familia domestica domi canter, legat, oretque, &c. Ad cæremonia Religionis ipsorum contrarias, subduri aliquin Arresti comminatione, gravibusque pecuniariis extorsionibus cogere & compellere: Evangelicorum domos, festivos diebus medio Musquetariorum perlustrare & rimari, cõslem in vineis, & promontoriis insectari, & vel ex minima suspitione, utut etiam nihil operatum fecissent, citra ullam distinctionem personarum captivare, inque squalidum locum arresti

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‘arresti includere, ac abinde non prius nisi deposita, à Commendante denunciata, 10, 20, 30 Florenorum (si eo pauperior etiam effect) summa dimittere: Neonatos liberos suos ad extra loca medio Confectionis suæ addictorum Ministrorum baptizandos effereutes, post perperos squalidos carceres ad libitum lytrare. Miseris mendicantibus ex Hospitali Evangelico ejectis, inque stabulum quoddam se receptis, nisi Templum Catholicorum frequentaverint, Cæsarem è Civitate per Carnificem sciendam apertissime indicare. Studiosos quoscunque, quamvis etiam patricios ab ingressu Civitatis, & visitatione parentum Confrangineorum, Cognatorum, & amicorum suorum contra dudum naturæ omnimode arcere, & siqui per inanimadvertentiam Civitatem intraverint, immediate capere, hinc inde rapere, verberibus sedare, arresto includere, tandemque desumpta arbitraria taxatione, tamquam prædonem & adulterum per Germanos milites Civitate expellere: Uno verbo, omnium afflictionum generibus eisdem acerbissime affligere, & angere, ausu proprio præsumens, passim ubique omnia fuscque deque omnino proterve ageret.

‘Et quæ alibi locorum his familia alia, aut etiam majora ejusdem cleri, sicut & secularium Dominorum Catholicorum, uti novissime Domini Sigismundi Efzterhazy Jazygum Vice Capitanei, & Francisci Sûtter, substituti Vice Comitiss Comitatus Pestienfis, cum corundem famulitio, Evangelicos oppidi Jazbény, ante tres circiter septimanas improvise adiorentium, captisque perperis potioribus Evangelicis, ac Carceri ejusdem oppidi iustitiam injectis, inque præsentiarum detentis, eorundem Templum sumptibus propriis exstructum, Turrim adhuc, & campanas occupantem, ac ibidem securitatis causa in deposito existentia bona diripientium, insuperque omnia Pia legata majori ex parte ex rebus aureis & argenteis constantia, fide mediante extorquentium, & auferentium, tandemque Templum funditus diruentium, essent violentè attentata.

‘Hinc afflictissimæ Religionis nostræ calamitas, & in paterna Majestatis Vestre Sacratissimæ erga miseros nos fideles suos subditos propensione locata fiducia hanc nobis imposuit necessitatem, ut representata ingravescentem indies arummarum nostrarum mole, qua à clero, fine intermissione premitur, ad Majestatis Vestre Sacratissimæ, Clementissimæ, Misericordia & iustitia plenissimum

throne tali in coangustatione & oppressione spiritali constituti, inde finitibus pronis precibus nostris confugientes Regiæ Auctoritatis suæ vindicias, secundum libertatem nostram Articulatorum demisso hocce Memoriali nostro iterum atque iterum imploremus.

‘Quare habita reflexione ad præmissas iteratas nostras articulatorie deductas supplicationes, Laxenburgi die 27 Maii, & Viennæ 22 Junii præterito Mensis sub personali audientia Hominum nostrorum Majestati vestre Sacratissimæ humillime exhibitas, denuo ad pedes Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ, qua summi Iustitiarum nostri, Legumque Afflictoris Maximi provoluti, per salustifera Christi vulnera, profunda submissione Majestatem Vestram Sacratissimam exoramus, quatenus tot ac tantis gemitibus, lamentis, & querulationibus nostris Regio suo Cordi sumptis, nos plane depreffos per dudum exoptatam, torquent memorialis humillime expectant per Intimum Consilium suum, non vero Judicium Cleri (nobis alias infensè, exterminationemque nostri minantis, & ob id etiam iusta & mandata Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ ocyus exsequenda studio protrahentis, majorique calamitatum labyrintho nos inducere fatigentis) determinandam Resolutionem Regiæ auctoritate erigere, afflictissimumque statum nostrum ab omnibus adversitatibus Cleri vindicare, inque legalem, securam, & mille votis desideratam Conscientiarum tranquillitatem jam tandem locare, & constituere non dedignetur, quo illæsa conscientia Deo, illibataque fidelitate Majestati vestre Sacratissimæ debita servitia nostra eo pacatiore & alacriori animo præstare, sicut sub auspiciatissimis Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ tue tutelaribus Alis tranquillam semper noscæ postea nostris transigere possimus vitam. Quam impetratam gratiam perpetuis fidelitatis nostræ obsequiis studiis, omnibus viribus demereri conabimur. Clementissimæ præstolata Resolutione permanemus

Ejusdem Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ

Humillimi perpetuoque fideles subditi

Superiorum & Inferiorum Regni Hungariæ, Partium, Comitatum, Civitatum, Oppidorum, Confiniorum, & Pagorum Universi Evangelici.

Exhib. die 2 Aug. fuz Majest. Sacr.

Q. q. q. Sacra

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Sacratissima Cæsarea Regiaque
Majestas.

Domine, Domine Clementissime,

DICTU fere inexplicabile, Sacratissime Imperator, jam ab integro triennio apud Augustissimam Majestatis vestre Aulam, maximo gravium sumptuum cum impendio laborantibus nobis, quot & quanta lamenta, quantas item querulationes, & supplices preces nostras, nimirum turbæ Articulis Religionis nostræ Evangelicæ in materia, ad Sacratissimos Cæsar. Majestatis vestre pedes, profundissimo de genu, quam humilissime deposuerimus, hac indubia spe freti, nos jam tandem in tanta Majestati vestre Sacratissime perbelles cognita calamitate & opprobriis nostris, Conscientiarumque nostrarum coagulatione, Categorico-Confessoriarum Religio-auctoritativam per Inimicum Consilium suum determinandam obtenturas resolutionem. Ast nedum quicquam scire possumus, An Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ amore, an vero odio digni habeamur? Cum à præscripto tempore citra omnem expectationem, & toti animo pendentes detineremur, & plane ancipites relinqueremur impræsentiarum? Interea vero (percrebescente in Regno tam infelici Constitutione nostra) indices eo liberior clero nos majoribus ac majoribus oppressionum injuriis laceffenti, crederet audacia, & afflictissimarum animarum nostrarum augeretur moles; (cujus rei inter alia recentissima in Superiori Hungaria in Dominio Rakocziano diffidit Gu Hogvallia vocato, & in Regia Civitate Nagybanja, alibi, miseranda fide testaturam facerent exempla,) misera etiam & lacera Evangelica Navicula nostra æstuantis ejusdem Oceani turbinum fluctibus agitata, & periculosis scopulis allisa, sicque tota ipsi naufragio ad interitum submergenda, nullo vero aliquo prospero Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ Clementiæ afflante Favonio secunda, hocque modo in felicem securitatis portum promovenda, ibique priori integritati suæ restitueretur, da, subintraretur.

* Proinde, quandoquidem post Deum, in Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ naturaliter congenita Regia Clementia, & misericordia, unicam nostram salutis, vitæ, & fortunarum nostrarum servandarum spei anchoram defixam haberemus, nec desit in tantis Calamitatum fluctuationibus anxie clamantibus, ac Majestatis vestre Sa-

cratissimæ opem & liberationem avidissime implorantibus nobis, Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ potentia hujusmodi ferventes turbinum procellas ipsius Cleri, seriæ Regiæ auctoritatis suæ demanatione, tranquillandæ talis tempestatis, sedandi, nosque juvandi, & felici exitu ad specialis Regiæ suæ Gratiæ Serenissimum portum benignissime deducos integre conservandi, ac spiritalis vitæ libertate, Articulator alias gratiosissime impertita, ulterius quoque clementissime donandi: Constanti demissa supplicationis obtinendæ Articulis justitiæ nostræ proposito, iterum atque iterum ad Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam quam subjectissime recurrentes, eandem per immensam Misericordiam Dei, perque viscera saluatoris nostri Jesu Christi obsecramus, dignetur jam tandem se nobis exorabilem reddere, nosque compatibilibus Regio-paternæ misericordie suæ oculis benignissime intruendo, à tam acerbissimis Cleri insultibus & persecutionibus, (antecedentibus supplicibus libellis nostris satis superque Majestati vestre præsentatis,) vindicare, neque permittere, ut Sanctissimo Verbo suo Regio firmato, Articulisque Regni admisso, & stabilito libero Religionis nostræ Evangelicæ, cultusque Divini exercitio, ejusque accessoriis, ruptis contra jus gentium & diplomate Regio, & etiam omnibus solemnibus mutuat tolerantia Articulis pactationibus, privemur, adque infuetas caeremonias, & Sacra Religioni nostræ contraria, reluctante conscientia præstantia, violentis mediis compellamur: (Hujusmodi siquidem cultus Deo plane esset inivitus, præstantibus periculosus, statui vero Catholico, & ejus doctrinæ contumeliosus: Cum Christus Dominus neminem ad suum numerum, nisi voluntarium militem adscribi voluit, ut divinis jussis sponte obtemperans æternam salutem consequatur: Ita peribente Tridentina Catechesi in Doctrina de baptismo: Nec enim Evangelicis rigorosis & adversis illis modis, quibus per Clerum ad amplectendam Religionem Catholicam duxerari solerent, ac etiamnum duxerantur, adigi venirent, insigni & prope singulari, acient Hucio Prop. 9. c. 8. de Gentiliis superbia ac morum feritate per vim Evangelii deposita, Christi Jesu, ejusque scilicet, charactere, mansuetudine & lenitate existent: Armaque, quibus bellum gereret Christus, essent verba spiritus, Justitia & Fides, iniquitate eodem Hucio Demonstrat. Evang. Prop. 9. cap. 65. hac vero à spiritu Dei exclusus verbo proficisci, & non per compulsionem media generari solerent. Hinc etiam gladio spiritus, verbo nempe Dei, non vero gladio corporali & formali, qui S. Petro sua vocat recendendus, sub gravi Comminatione à Christo Domino demandatus esset, ad devincendum

1692. cendum eos, opera per clerum impendenda foret, merus aliquin inrudesceret Atheismus, si omnium Evangelicorum & Reformatorem cultum proterere studerit, argutudineque animi suspicarentur quam multi, si jam reluctante Conscientia Deo servendum esset, non esse, qui curam rerum agat humanarum.) * Quin Clero suis contentum vivere finibus, non vero Domini sui fimbriis ad Evangelicos Augustanæ & Helveticæ Confessionis ad dictos cætus (dum nullam Juris & Domini Spiritualis proprietatem in eos haberet, ipseque æque atque illi Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ potestati, Dominatui, & obsequio parendi subditus esset) extendere, Regiæ suæ auctoritatis decretali præscripto, per universum Regnum benignissime publicando, in consolatorium omnium nostri, Libertatisque nostræ Spiritualis stabilimentum, nostram restitutionem, conservationem, & securam permutationem, ultimum jam clementissime determinare, sique ulterioribus querulationibus & lamentis nostris prohibitione præmissorum enormium Cleri excessuum, & ardentissimis petitionibus nostris Cæsareo Regii intimi Consilii sui dudum concepta quam propensissima Resolutione erga festivam Articularem satisfactionem scienda suum finem quam gratiosissime imponere, ac eo ipso contestati actu, Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam Regem, Dominum, & Patrem nostrum esse Clementissimum, benignissimum, & Misericordissimum, adeoque nos magis amore Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ quam odio dignos esse. Pro qua ergo nos depresso excedenda Gratia Regia, D. Opt. M. & Augustissimum Domum suam Austriacam omnigenarum felicitatum ubertate, cumulatissimeque benedictione affluenter beabit. Clementissimam præsolantes Resolutionem

Majestatis vestre Sacratissimæ

Humillimi, perpetuoque fideles Subditi

Superiorum & Inferiorum
Regni Hungariæ Partium,
Comitatum, Regiarum,
& Montanarum Civitatum,
Oppidorum, Confiniorum,
& Pagorum
Universi Evangelici.

Exhib. die 28 Mens. Aug. 1690. Viennæ
in personali audientia.

Monsieur,

LE vingtième du mois passé arriva icy devant la ville une Tartane de Marseille, avec des Lettres expressément depêchées de la part de la Cour de France pour l'Ambassadeur d'icelle, qui reside icy. Le dit Ambassadeur fit un peu après scavoir au Caimacan Palscia, que l'armée Royale sons la conduite du Duc de Luxembourg avoit tout à fait battu l'armée des Etats des Provinces Unies, avec la perte de tout leur bagage, artillerie, & amunition de guerre: Combien qu'elle fut un peu auparavant renforcée de vingt mille Allemands: Et que la Flotte Francoise, après avoir cherchée & trouvée les Flottes des Anglois & Hollandois combinées dans le Canal, les avoit attaquées & mises en fuite, avec la perte de vingt vaisseaux de guerre, pris ou ruinés. Il y ajouta enor beaucoup des autres nouvelles inventées, reçues de Allemagne, Angleterre, Ecosse, Irlande, & Savoye: Les quelles furent débitées entre la populace avec une telle vray semblance, que la plupart les creurent être absolument véritables.

En suite de cela demanda le dit Ambassadeur la permission de faire publiquement des feux de joye: & la commodité de la possé pour un gentilhomme, qu'il disoit être expressément envoyé du Roy son Maître, pour communiquer ces nouvelles au Grand Vizir. On luy accorda l'un secrettement, & l'autre ouvertement: & parce que je n'avois receu le moindre avis de tout cela, ny de l'état des autres affaires de la Chrétienté, je ne pouvois rien faire contre le debit de ces nouvelles. Mais cette joye ne dura pas longtems; mais seulement jusques au 22. quand il arriva icy un expresse du Grand Vizir: & peu après le Caimacan Padiscia me fit tenir deux de vos Lettres tres civiles du 4 & 6 du mois passé d'Aour, bien Seellées & conditionnées, avec les Lettres des Messieurs les Etats Generaux, & des autres. Par cellecy j'appris la conquête absolue d'Irlande, & la tréaite du Roy Jaques en France. Je ne doutte pas, si le Roy Guillaume pourroit encore cette année Seellées & forces contre la France, que cette campagne se termineroit heureusement pour les Alliez.

Les Batailles ont été assez rudes & difficiles: Mais puisque le Prince de Waldeck a remis l'armée des Etats en meilleur état le 24 de Juiller, qu'elle ne fut devant la bataille, & qu'il même en a donné avis aux Etats, qu'il vouloit le 27 chercher l'ennemy, & luy livrer bataille de nouveau: &

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1692. que les Flottes d'Angleterre & d'Hollande font en état de se remettre bien tôt en mer, j'espère, que nous en aurons en peu de tems des bonnes nouvelles, comme aussi des armées des Alliez, principalement de celle de Savoye, que je croy & confidere comme la principale.

Je suis en cela du même sentiment, que V. Excell. que la France succombera tôt ou tard, qu'elle se remue, tant qu'elle veuille; & principalement, quand toutes les Forces d'Angleterre se jetteront sur elle. J'ay fait une ouverture de tout cela, & de tout ce, qui me parût être utile aux nos affaires, au Grand Vizir: & je l'ay exhorté de m'envoyer plein pouvoir aux Ministres de la Porte, qui sont à Comarom, de traiter & conclure la Paix, ou la trêve, avec les Impériaux: En quel cas je l'assurois, que V. Exc. & l'Envoyé d'Angleterre dirigeroient selon les ordres du Roy & des Etats l'affaire de telle sorte, que cette guerre si sanglante seroit bien tôt heureusement terminée d'une ou d'autre manière, avec satisfaction & au contentement des Parties. J'ajoutois encor à tout cela la faiblesse de la France, & le grand peril, que ce Royaume & j'ay luy remontré de nouveau, & assuré, que le Roy, pour éviter fa totale ruine, sollicite continuellement sous main le Pape & la Republique de Venise, pour obtenir la Paix par leur intercession: & par Conséquence, qu'il soit tems, que les principaux Ministres de la Porte ouvrent enfin les yeux, & que se ressouvenans de la perfidie des Francois tant de fois éprouvée contre tous les contrats faits avec la Porte, ils aient enfin une horreur de cette nation perfide & trompeuse, qui ne cherche rien d'autre chose, que son propre intérêt, & qui ne se fonce point des plaintes des leurs Alliez, formées sur le dementy de leur parole, honneur, & sermens, quand elle peut s'en servir pour parvenir au bout de leur dessein. J'ay aussi donné avis au grand Vizir de la restitution & du renforcement des Armées des Etats par terre, & par mer: & l'ay parfaitement informé de l'état des Armées des Alliez sur le Rhin, & la Meuse, dans le Pays Bas, la Savoye, Catalogue, & le Milanois, & principalement de la victoire remportée en Irlande. J'ay envoyé cette lettre par poste au Camp des Turcs: & j'en attens la reponce avant encor que je ferme celle cy, afin de la communiquer à V. Excell.

Le Caimacam Pasia me demanda, aux quelles conditions je croiois qu'on pourroit faire une Paix: Sur cela je luy remontray le vray intérêt de son Maître, & dis, que j'attois d'opinion, qu'on seroit la trêve à

cette condition, que chacun retiendroit, ce, 1692. qu'il possède. Ce Caimacam eût assez porté pour la paix, mais il depend tout du Grand Vizir: C'est pourquoy qu'il faudra attendre sa reponce sur ma dernière, pour savoir sa resolution la dessus. Mais je ne m'imagine pas, que cette cour fera quelque chose dans cette affaire ay, devant que la Campagne sera finie; parce que les troupes des Impériaux dans ces quartiers là sont si peu considerables, & celles des Turcs fort nombreuses, d'autant plus, que le Grand Vizir ait desia mis le Siege avec son Armée de vant Nizze, & que le Tokely joint avec les Turcs ait fait une invasion dans la Transylvanie avec une terrible Maffacre des Troupes Impériales, & la prise de leur General Heister, du Marquis Doria, & du Comte Magni, avec beaucoup des autres Officiers: Joignez-y la prise de Widin. Tout cela causera un tres grand changement dans les traités de Paix, & dans les affaires. On a au commencement traité cette Nation, comme tout a fait abatuë, & vaincue: Jusques à ce, qu'on osoit pretendre d'elle le tribut: Ce qu'irrita les Turcs de telle sorte, qu'eussent au desespoir ils se font portez à une vigoureuse defense: & on aura à faire de les remettre à la raison, si la Campagne se termine pour eux si heureusement, comme elle est commencée. Connoissant donc, combien il importe au Roy d'Angleterre & aux Etats, que cette guerre soit finie, je ne laisseray pas d'avertir V. Excell. de tems en tems de tout ce, que s'y passe.

Le 25 du mois passé, quand toutes les preparations étoient faites par l'Ambassadeur de France pour les réjouissances publiques, le Caimacam, étant mieux informé, fit defense aux Musiciens de s'en aller au palais du dit Ambassadeur: & ainsi disparut toute cette joye Française; & de sorte qu'on alluma seulement quelques centaines des lampes, & qu'on déchargea quelques pierres retirées des barques Françaises, mis dans la baccouur du dit hôtel. Cette Ceremonie se finit à huit heures du soir: & le jour suivant l'Ambassadeur fit ôter tout cet appareil à l'insistance Serieuse du Caimacam: Mais il ne peut pas digérer cela, sans en montrer son mecontentement, & chagrin.

A Pera di Constantinopoli, ce 14 de Sept. 1690.

AYANT

1692.

AYANT achevé calle-cy jusques là, & destitué d'une occasion favorable de l'envoyer à V. Excell. je receus le 29 par mon dragoman, qui revenoit du Campement Turc une Lettre du Grand Chancelier de cet Empire. Il en écrit, que le Premier Vizir avoit receu ma Lettre avec les Relations, qui y étoient jointes, du 25 d'Aout, & qu'il l'avoit lue avec beaucoup de plaisir & satisfaction, sans s'expliquer d'avantage: Mais il y ajoute seulement, que le Grand Vizir me prie de luy faire ce plaisir de l'informer dorénavant de tems en tems de tout ce, qui se passera dans la Chrétienté. Cette reponce me fait juger (sauf un meilleur jugement) que le Grand Vizir attendra jusques à la fin de cette Campagne, & qu'il prendra ses mesures, selon le succès de ses entreprises, & de celles des Armées des Alliez: & qu'après il formera la dessus ses resolutions de faire la Paix, ou de continuer la guerre.

Le 9 Sept. se rendit la ville de Nizze par accord au Grand Vizir: & le 16. l'Armée decampa & marcha vers Semendria. On m'a avéré, que le Grand Vizir voyant le miserable état des Troupes Impériales qui se trouvent sur les frontieres, étoit de resolution d'attaquer Belgrado. V. Excell. jugera aisément, ayant connoissance parfaite de l'humeur & naturel des Turcs, combien les affaires se changeront par ces heureux succès. Je seray néanmoins tout mon possible de disposer le Grand Vizir à embrasser la Paix, aussitôt qu'il Sera de retour dans les Quartiers d'hyvet. Mais j'ay besoin pour cela des nouvelles instructions. Quelque avantage remporté sur les Francois contribuerait beaucoup pour mettre cette Nation à raison. Si cela se peut faire, il s'en tirerait, que V. Excell. m'avertisse de mois en mois par la voye d'Hongrie de tout ce, que je passe dans la Chrétienté, envoyant la duplique par Venise. Quand les Troupes Turques seroient dans leurs Quartiers d'hyvet, j'espère, que j'auray la Commodité d'entretenir cette correspondance avec V. Excell. par la voye de la Valachie. Je demeure, &c.

De V. Excellence

le Très humble Serv.

COLYER.

Voicy une Lettre, qui m'est envoyée du Camp Turc: Dans la quelle V. Excell. trouvera beaucoup des particularitez.

1692.

Sacratissima Cæsarea Regiaque Majestas, Domine Domine Clementissime.

Augustissime Imperator,

CUM gravissimo satis Cordolio necessitor Majestati vestre Sacratissime humilime detegere, quomodo & qualiter afflictissimum Hungarie Regnum in ultima sua gemat calamitate, ubi jam à viginti & amplius annis hæc miserrima patria tot bellorum motibus adeo exhausta, & desolata, & conqussata est; ut, si singula notarentur, in eorundem enumeratone non horat, aut dies, verum anni cum magnorum voluminum conscriptione requirerentur: Jam ex infinitis Regni hujus calamitatibus solummodo hæc pauca subnecto: Quod, postquam Anno 1683, ante Septennium evoluto Christiani nominis hostis Turca totam Hungariam exceptis aliquot arcibus in fidelitate Majestatis vestre Sacratissime persistentibus sui juris fecisset, ac ipsam Majestatis vestre Sacratissime residentiam, urbem inquam Vienne, obsidisset, explicari non potest, quot millia animarum in Comitibus Mosonienfibus, Sopronienfibus, Jaurinenfibus, Veszprimienfibus, Comarionienfibus trucidaverint, aut in diram abduxerint captivitatem. Oppida & pagos centenos incineravit; Arces, castella, curias igne consumpsit; verborum, milliones damnorum fecit. Quibus peractis, cum Do adjuvante, victicribus Majestatis vestre Sacratissime ac aliorum Principum Christianorum armis idem hostis à Vienna repulsus fuisset, quamquam damna amicis quoque exercitus Hungarici intulerint, nemo etiam differtissimus satis describere valebit. Nam plurimi pagitotaliter incinerati; incolæ omnibus bonis spoliati ac trucidati sunt: & quod acerbissimum fuit, illi iidem, qui propter fidelitatem à Turcis in nihilum quasi redacti fuerant, ad solvendas tamen contributiones, & sustinenda hyberna quarteria adacti sunt: Quam tamen vicinæ Austriæ similiter ruinatæ ad aliquot annos exemptio data sit: Quo beneficio Hungarici partibus à Turca observatam fidelitatem totaliter incineratis præter unicum Mosonienfem Comitatum frui non licuit, sed ad instar aliorum contribuere debuerunt, prout hoc in toto illo tractu supra Sopronium fito factum est. His accessit famæ horribilis, ubi comitatus potest, homines fame encoratos à Sociis inauditio hæctenus exemplo devoratos fuisse. Post hæc secuta est immensarum portionum solutio: Ubi solvi

etiam debebat pro iis, qui nunquam in rerum natura fuerunt: Quæ in tantum excrevit, ut postquam omnem suam substantiam miseri incolæ proportionibus solvissent, filios suos, & filias Turcis vendere coacti sint, ut ab executione militari se liberarent: Qui omnes ad Othomanicam perditionem transire. Sed cum nec hoc sufficeret, tandem afflictissimi subditi charas conjuges suas & filias militibus illas violandas præbuerunt, & vendiderunt, ut saltem aliquid liceret essendi habere respirium. Hinc adulteria, stupra, virginum violationes, innumerabiles sunt coniecutæ. Sed nec his contenti fuerunt portionum exactores, cum summa præsentia omnes incolarum vires & facultates superaret. Itaque ad extrema remedia conversi deplorandi incolæ scetum quoque in utero materno existentem taxarunt: Sed & animalia prægnantia taxata fuerunt ad solvendas contributiones: Quod in Comitibus Pest, Pilis, & Solz contigit, se ipsos exactores falsi sunt. Super hæc non pauci, dum hanc nimiam contributionem solvere non possent, præ desperatione omne laqueo vitam iniverunt: Alii occisus prius prolibus & desertam relinquens mortem intulerunt violentam: Qui casus in Comitatu Trenchinensi, ac in Superiore Hungaria contigit. Præterea millenæ animæ, non valentes tam immensum jugum supportare, ad alias regiones transmigrarunt, vacuum & desertam relinquentes patriam: Ob quæ super alios innocentes facta est executio militaris. Miles itidem nullam servat disciplinam militare, sed omnia libere agit, totum Regnum depellendo, & devastando. Cum vero per aliquam regni partem transit, non aliter ac cum hostibus agit: & ubi currus, aut equos pro vectura sufficientes habere non potest, nobiles & rusticos onerat, velut iumenta: Siquæ eos horribiliter verberando ad onera portanda propellit: Quod factum est in Comitibus Soproniensi & Castirciensi. Et passim in aliis innumerabiles pagos combustit, nobiles personas vulneravit: Etiam non paucos occidit: Prout hoc cum duobus innocentibus Nobilibus Scholaribus Tyrnavie accidit. De quibus Cæsar etiam sæpius querela apud eos, ad quos pertinebat, exposita fuerat, nulla tamen data est desuper satisfactio: Quin potius tales querelantes novis afflicbantur injuriis: Adco, ut iustitiam prorsus exulasse nemo non videat. His accedunt, quod Commandantes locorum occupatorum longe latæque in circuitu & districtu illo imperitant, & micros subditos sibi contribuere cogunt. Item Administratores Camerales ad vecturas, gratiosos liberos, Contributiones, aliasque in-

finitas exactiones pendendas cum executione militari super omnes portionum solutiones afflictam plebem impellunt, talique pacto incolas ad ultimam adigunt desperationem. Et sane hæc inaudita contributio ad tantam excrevit summam, ut ab Ann. 1683. usque ad hunc 1690, triginta Miliones superat data solutio, præter Transylvaniam & Conquistam. Super hæc autem quanti consistunt militum excessus, solus ille scire potest, ante cujus conspectum nihil occulti est: Partes quoque antea Turcis dedititæ uno ore fatentur, se intra hæc septem annos Majestati vestræ Sacratissimæ, plus debuisse solvere, quam centum annis immani Christiani nominis hosti Turcæ. Quinimo à quo Hungaria stat in fide Christiana, tanta onera, quanta modo, nunquam supportare constata sunt. Et quod plane mirandum est, respectu vicinarum Majestatis vestræ Sacratissimæ Provinciarum nulla proportio servatur: Verum Hungaria, quæ alias etiam sedes belli est, majoribus oneratur contributionibus. Unde apparet ex præmissis, quasi intentio sit, ut Hungaria sit hominibus penitus vacua, ac ferarum habitaculum; quæ tamen à tribus & amplius seculis pro defensione reliquæ Christianitatis suum fudit Sanguinem, ac generose contra Turcas dimicando vicina regna Christiana protexit. Hinc quid amplius faciant miseri incolæ, qui jam ultimum sanguinem suum cum tota substantia dederunt? Non habent, quod contribuant. Itaque efflagitant respirium aliquod, ut saltem vivere illis cum uxoris ac prolibus liceat, & possint post tam insupportabile jugum ad aliquam pervenire requiem; cum alias etiam vix ulla detur in orbe natio, quæ talia cogitur supportare onera.

Nihilominus est totaliter ruinati sunt miseri patriotæ, videntes tamen hostium Majestatis vestræ Sacratissimæ accessionem, ecce parati erunt arma capere, & cum exercitu Majestatis vestræ Sacratissimæ se conjungere, ac in hostem proficisci. Unde spero, quod sex millia hominum, equitum, velicet & pedum ex parte regnicolarum prodibunt, si Majestas vestra Sacratissima futuram hanc hybernarum portionum solutionem ipsis clementissime relaxare, & in hanc militis conductionem, & intertentionem commutare dignabitur: Quibus si adiungantur milites consimilari, facile decem millia virorum efficere poterunt: Qui omnes utile sane servitium præstabunt, & ad modum ac normam Regiminum ordinari, & hac hyeme exerceri debent: Essentque decem formalia Regimina, quinque equitum, & quinque pedum, qui in Hungaria ad liberam Ma-

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jestatis vestræ Sacratissimæ dispositionem applicari possent. Neque vero isdem dissidendum est: Ipsi enim hæcenus quoque in debita fidelitate persisterunt tam diu, quam diu immanis Turca non totam occupavit Hungariam: Ubi resistere nemo potuit; cum & arma quoque Majestatis Vestræ Cæsareæ recesserint. Augustissime Imperator, existimo hoc servitium spontaneum afflictissimorum regnicolarum pro servitio Majestatis vestræ Sacratissimæ utilius fore, quam portionum solutionem; quæ utinam non ad ultimam desperationem adigat patriotas miseros: Unde si Majestati vestræ Sacratissimæ benigne placuerit hæc modalitas, oportet, ut intra breve tempus cognoscam clementissimum Majestatis vestræ Sacratissimæ assensum; & tum dispositionem quoque facere possim super contribuendis militibus: De cujus modalitate Majestatem vestram Sacratissimam equoque, hic Viennæ humilime informare non intermittam. Et sane, Augustissime Imperator, cum necessariis miles Germanicus in Hungariam migrare pro hac hyeme debeat, miles Hungaricus hac conditione offertur, ut prælatus miles Germanicus proprio vivat sumptu, tam in transitu, quam in quartario: & non oneretur loca non cincta actuali quartario, cum sint alias etiam sufficientissima & capacissima loca, in quibus magna Armata potest optime collocari: Quæ etiam, si Majestas vestra Sacratissima clementissime mandaverit, paratus sum in aliqua conferentia proximis diebus instituta demonstrare; humilime iterum atque iterum supplicando, Majestas vestra Sacratissima dignetur ex innata Cæsareæ Regiæque Clementia sua Nationem Hungaricam, eidemque annexos incolas pauperum affectu suo prosequi, & humilimos suos subditos sublevando benignissime consolari. Pro qua Majestatis vestræ Sacratissimæ, gratia Deus Opt. Max. longævum ac felicissimum concedat Majestati vestræ Sacratissimæ ejusdemque Augustæ domui, Regimen: Hæc erant, quæ Majestati vestræ Sacratissimæ velut Regni Palatinus summa cum demissione & repræsentare volui. Viennæ 7 Novemb. Ann. 1690.

Sacr. Cæsar. Regiæq; Majestati vestræ

Humilimus perpetuoque fidelis Servus

PAULUS ESZTERHASZ.

Deus Benedicat.

Ex querela Commissionis Cæsareæ suæ Majestatis bene animadverti, quasi vero ego essem causa, quod vestri Prædicantes coram Commissione Cæsareâ non compareant. Eo facto volebat emitte ad vos ducentos milites Musquetarios: Sed institi pro dilatione exemptionis illorum, dicens: In quod ex vestris hominibus percerpi vos unum vestris Prædicantium, aut coram Commissione suæ Majestatis compareant, aut vero nolentes abscedant. Quæ vestra obsequiis accommodatio valde fuit ad placitum Commissionis Cæsareæ: Vosque adhortatur serio modo inclarum, sub pena damni maximi pagis meis insigendi ad parendum, damnumque evitandum. Quocirca ne mandatum Commissionis Cæsareæ suæ Majestatis ego quoque contemptim negligere infirmuler, eadem à Commissione Cæsareâ vobis indicta impono peragenda, sed multa ducentorum thalerorum; & in omnibus ita pareatis, ut damna vobis infrequentia præcaveatis: Quæ si intervernerint, non nostra, sed vestra culpa factum esse putetis. Deus vobiscum.

Quinque Ecclesiis die 15 Febr. Ann. 1690.

Dominus vester terrestris

Franciscus Jani Abbas Pecsvaradiensis.

P.S. Relationem à vobis de acceptis his meis Literis eo facto expectabo, excusaturus me coram Commissione suæ Majestatis, nullamque propter vos jacturam passurus.

Literæ,

Verefinarthenibus, Ciuzaiensibus, Sepscienibus, & Karczeniensibus incolis transmissæ.

Exemplum literarum Domini Referendarii Regni Szezuka ad Residentem Cæsareum Szymoinsky.

LITERÆ Illustriss. Dominationis vestræ tam Sacræ Regiæ Majestati Domino meo Clementissimo, quam mihi, reddidit

1692. reddita sunt per Cursores circiter vel ultra octiduum. Post quas siquidem promissum Dominationis vestrae Illustriss. adventum subsecuturum indes sperabam, commendatum ab ipso negotium differebatur ad praesentiam ejusdem.

Dum vero rursus de 6 Febr. gratissimas Illustriss. Dominationis vestrae accipio, communiavi easdem quam primum Sacrae Regiae Majestati Domino meo Clementissimo. Cujus mentem & studia erga Augustissimum, prout semper, ita etiam & nunc ardentissimis affectibus exuberare cognovi, licet non absque summo angore animi hucusque hic detineatur, quo nullam resolutionem Neoburgo ad hoc ipsum momentum, nec sciat, quomodo ulterius rebus suis & dispositionibus insillere debeat. Si enim quatenus Neoburgo categoricam accepisset notitiam, jam non modo in itinere, sed Varavia pridem fuisset. Accedit ad ejusdem Sacrae Regiae Majestatis gravissimam molestiam, quod ne Vienna quidem hucusque ullam firmitudinem habeat de quantitate jungendarum quomodo & qualiter copiarum, Augustissimum cum suis pro futura belli expeditione, qua jam vix unico à nobis mense distare videtur.

Sed nec in Moscoviā pridem destinari promissus hucusque comparat Abligatus, de cujus adventu Sacra Regia Majestas jam dudum certa proprium etiam Alicum ablegare jam designaverat. Interim in Moscovia continuus aliquis percrebescit rumor suspitionis vel timores hostium cunctis. Vcl si hoc deesset periculum, donec perveniat desideratus Abligatus, donec aliquid suum effecerit, Vnum tempus transibit, adeoque illa auxilia vel nulla, vel post bellum.

Legati etiam à Palatino Moldaviae illuc pervenisse certo dicuntur cum conditionibus Pacis à Porta proponendis. Quae omnia dum Sacra Regia Majestas Dominus meus Clementissimus Illustriss. Dominationi vestrae exposita esse voluit, desiderare videtur, ut tamquam optimus Minister publicae Communis, ac Reipubl. Christianae felicitatis percupidus, Augustissimum Imperatori ita representare velit, quomodo expedit rerum omnium, ac negotii futurae bellicae expeditionis fieri valeat determinatione.

Quantum spectat propositum negotium respectu Conditionum Pacis cum Porta per Angliā & Hollandiā Abligatos communicandum, jam id Sacram Regiam Majestatem Dominum meum Clementissimum ante quatuor fere septimas pra-

stitisse, punctaque earum Conditionum in Manus Domini Abligati, Residentis sui, transmississe, necessum est constare Illustriss. Dominationi vestrae, aegre licet in id ipsum consentiente Senatu Leopoli pro tribunali Theauri Regni assidente, ob eam vel maxime rationem, quod per Ministros externos, nec ullum commercium in dicto negotio nobiscum habentes, res devolvatur.

Efficit tamen Sacra Regia Majestas Dominus meus Clementissimus quo sine mora praedictae Conditiones, quarum hic annexo copiam, Viennam mitterentur, ut re ipsa exhiberet, quantum etiam in arduis voluntati Augustissimi obsecundare contendant: Cui quod me commendandum promittat, intra fortunam vitae reputabo, si saltem nomine tenus innovasse Augustissimae Majestati Domino Clementissimo licuerit: Qui etiam moribus duorum fratrum meorum patruclium ad Belgradum redimere annixus sum memoriam mei. Quod reliquum est, obsequia mea Illustrissimae Dominationi vestrae plurimum commendo, mansurus semper, &c.

Zolkiewia, d. xiii. Febr.
Anno 1691.

Conditiones ad Tractatum Pacis cum Fulgida Porta Othomannica ex parte Sereniss. Regis & Reip. Poloniae Constantinop. designandae.

I.

TRACTATUS omnis & praetextus quoque modo per Fulgidam Portam acquiritus ad Podoliam & Ukrainam, uti avitas & haereditarias Regni Poloniae Provincias, ac receter armis recuperatas, in perpetuum aboletur, praesidium Turcicum ex fortalicio Camenecensi abducatur, cum integra ejusdem fortalicii ac rei tormentariae ibidem existentis in manus Polonorum traditione.

II.

Moldavia, quae jam magna ex parte à Sac. Reg. Majest. Poloniae occupata, & Valachia, quae utraque olim Provincia Serenissimorum Regum Poloniae tributaria erat, juri & possessioni Seren. Reg. Majest. Poloniae relinquuntur, una cum omnibus istis ditionibus, quas Budziacenses & Bi-

alo-

1692. alogrodes Tartari incolunt: Ita ut limus sit Fluvius Danubius.

III. Hanus & Tartari Crimenses, uti causatores omnium bellorum, & damnorum, per Fulgidam Portam ab excursionibus & inferendis damnis contineantur, & cohabeantur: Ita ut, quoties illata fuerint, Fulgida Porta eadem etiam refundat.

IV. Damna bellorum, & tot provinciae desolatae, ac in cineres redactae, iusto & aequo valore compensentur.

V. Cozacs universaliter omnibus tam Ukrainensibus, quam Zaporofiensibus, nullo umquam praetextu, Porta Othomannica directe vel indirecte rebelliosis fautorum, aut protectionem praebere.

VI. Borysthenes Fluvius munitionibus & praefidiis Turcicis, tam vetustioribus, quam recentioribus, expurgetur, & evacuetur.

APPENDIX.

Conditiones ex parte Czarorum Moscoviae circa tractatum à Serenissimum ligatis proponendae, ut locum suum habeant, & à Fulgida Porta acceptentur.

Sacratissima Caesarea Regiaque Majestas, Domine Domine nobis naturaliter Clementissime.

DEMISSE representate cogimur Majestati vestrae Sacratissima quod quamvis Majestas vestra Sacratissima tempore gloriose Inaugurationis & Coronationis Neo-Regis nostri Josephi, in Comitibus Polonensibus, inclitis Statibus & Ordinibus Regni Hungariae hoc ipsum proponi curaverit: Quod videlicet bona Neo-acquisita, ac victicibus armis è faucibus gentis Othomannicae gloriose erepta, eripiendaque, denuo Regno huic Hungariae benigne incorporare, isdemque legibus, & non novis gubernare, in suis immunitatibus & libertatibus conservare vellet, ac niteretur: Ac insuper Articulos quoque Sopronienses super Religionis exercitio conditos 25 & 26 in iidem Co-

mitiis gratiose confirmasset: In quibus Templum omnia, in quorum tempore conditionis eorundem Articulorum actuali possessione status Evangelicus extitit, unum cum Parochiis & Scholis, ac earundem proventibus, praeter manibus eorundem relinqui ac permanere gratiose resolvisset, & quod impotenter nullae Templorum, Scholarum, & Parochiarum Occupationes, vel exercitii turbationes fiant, in hoc Regno Hungariae, sub pena ibidem expressa, fovere inhibuisset: Nihilominus tamen postpositis istis & postergatis omnibus, Reverendissimi Domini Matthiae Radonai, Episcopus quinque Ecclesiarum, & Franciscus Jani, Abbas Peczarviensis, qui in partibus nostris in Superiori & Inferiori videlicet Barovia; circa quinque Ecclesias, è faucibus immanissimi hostis Othomannici victricibus armis vestrae Majestatis gloriose ereptis, non ut liberum Religionis exercitium imperurbatum relinquerent, quin imò diversis modalitatibus & viis, quoslibet excessus in prajudicium praetorum Articulorum ac verbi Regilicentiae & pro placito attentarent. Quin etiam, Augustissimae Imperatoriae Majestatis, iidem praefati Domini Clerici, non ut mens & intentio vestrae Majestatis esset, Regnum in statum priorem desolasset, Regnum in statum priorem desolasset, quo nunc esset, omni studio evertere & desolare, miseris partium nostrarum incolis bonis & avitis possessionibus privare, & si eorundem intentionem assequi nollent, omnes post Turcas relegare non vererentur: Imò ex eo, quod confiteri noluissent, variis excogitatis sub praetextibus incaptivarum, nonnullis in formam crucis defixis & alligatis hostia ori vi intrusa fuit, plenaeque possessiones integre expilantur, ut hac manifesta violentiae exempla in Civibus Varkonienibus, Joanne nimirum & Andrea Czoma, plusquam mille talleras imperiales valenti possessione ob caussam Religionis despoliatis, satis superque edocent. Ac insuper ut hac talia conamina praedictorum D. D. Clericorum persequi felicius possent, Commissarium vestrae Majestatis Sacratissimae ad partes Neo-repucherat eximium, Illustrissimum vicelectum Tullium Miglionem, extra sphaeram suae instructionis, necitur quibus exquisitis mediis, pro fautore sibi adfiscendo, qui denique certos Praedicationes, ut Nadaldiensem & Manjokiensem, atque cives & incolae partium nostrarum, variis ac variis sigillo suo munitis Commissionibus citatos, eisdemque de libero ita & reditu asscuratos, iustitiam D. D. Praelatis inauditis processibus vexatos tradidit, pro uti hac omnia ex unis literarum citatoriarum paribus ejusdem

1692. D. Tullii Miglionis sub dato 14 Februar. emanatis, literaque A notatis, ac literis prætulati D. Abbatis, dieque sequenti præfati mentis editis, literaque B signatis, & aliis Comminatoriis prædicti D. Commissarii, ex idiomate Hungarico in Latium genuine translatis 21 Febr. extractis, literaque C signatis, nec non præfati D. Episcopi quinque Eccles. similiter in Latium tranſumptis, quasi sui facti testimonialibus 2 Martii exaratis, literaque D notatis, & huic supplici libello annexis, clarissime apparent. Unde, proli dolor! ista immancas exiliit. Ubi ponit fundamentum hæc nobis inficta crudelitas? Hæc enim omnia Sanctæ determinationi vestre Majestatis repugnarent, contraque benignam mentem & intentionem vestre Majestatis præstarentur: Quia pro lubitu in nos grassari, liberum nostrum Exercitium intercurrebat, armorum strepitus, terribiliter, aliisque exquisitis fuis corporibus opprimere nihil penſi ducerent, uti hoc idem præfati D. Prælati, ac prætulati D. Commissarii, cum associato Illustrissimo D. Gabriele Veichi, Commendante Szigetvarienſi, qui adſcitis hinc inde militibus miseris Veremarchienſes, ex eo ſolum fundamento, quod antecederet intentionem suam in eorum exitium intentionem exsequi non permiſerint, manu fere hostili crudeliterve adoriendo, omnibus corundem bonis primum expulſis, tandem iſſem incolas quibuldam diſperſis, aliis vero, quos ad manus habere poterant, captis, inque diram captivitatem ſecum abducendo; Miſerandum & horrendum nobis omnibus dederunt exemplum. Cujus rei teſtis eſt prætulatus D. Episcopus quinque Eccles. in aliis literis Minoritis in Latium ſimiliter tranſumptis, dieque 17 Martii datatis, literaque E signatis. Nam cum ſub jugo Turrico gambundi tot annorum decursu jacebamus, paſſivo ſuæ & libertate noſtra ſpirituſque utebamur: Æquum eſſet eo magis, ut ſub auspiciis alarum vestre Majestatis Sacratiffimæ tutam & imperturbatam ab omnibus vestre Majestatis ſubjectis habeamus. Quocirca ad pedes Auguſtiſſimæ noſtre Majestatis humillime provocati per vulnera Chriſti oramus ſupplices, quatenus nobis taliter oppreſſis, & fere in extrematibus conſtitutis, Majestas vestra Auguſtiſſima (in qua alioquin poſt Deum omnem ſpem & fiduciam liberatiſſimis ponimus) paterne ſuccurrere dignetur. Cum enim noſtra libertas conſiſtit vel maxime in libero Religionis exercitio, quod etiam piaſe reminſcentia Regum, antequam fortuna novercant noſtras provincias Turca hoſtis Chriſtiani nominis inmaniffimus ſuæ ditioni adjeceſſet, ad hoc

1692. usque tempus permanſit libero uſu intactum, juxta ſuum verbum regium ſanctum, & irrevocabile, Articulis quoque confirmatum, ne ſinat nos taliter opprimi: Verum in ſinum gratia ſuæ receptos, contra quovis illegitime & indigne imperatores defendere, ac inſuper literas protectionales benigne elargiri non dedignetur, ut nos virtute earundem liberum Religionis noſtræ exercitium reſtaſſimere, reſuſcitum in tota Superiori & Inferiori Barovia continuare poſſimus ac valeamus. Ac tum præfatis Dominis Prælatiſ, quam etiam prædicto D. Commiſſario Cæſareo (ita & Commendanti Szigethienſi) decreto mediante clementer demandare, ut ab iſtis perfectionibus verbo Regio contravenientibus ſuperfederent. Ut tandem nos clementer paternamque Inviſtiſſimæ Imperatoriæ vestre Majestatis gratiam experti eo alacriori animo obſequia Majestatis vestre præſtanda exſequi poſſimus. Quam Gratiam & Clementiam Majestatis vestre Sacratiffimæ non ſolum ardentibus ad Deum fundendis precibus, verum etiam perpetua fidelitatis noſtræ ſubjectione omni ſtudio remerci contendemus, gratiam quantocius præſtoluti reſolutionem,

Sac. Cæſ. Regiæque Majestatis vestre

Humillimi, perpetuoque fideles Subditi

Superioris & Inferioris Barovizæ, Conſiniorum, Oppidorum, & Pagorum Civis Evangelicæ Religionis addiſci.

Exhib. die 16 April. 1690.

RATIONES,

PROPTER quas à Sacra vestra Cæſarea Majestate per commiſſum mihi ſupremum exercitus regimen immeritis Imperialibus gratias, mihi ad agnoscendum traditas, magno animi mei mæore, ſubmiſſiſſime deprecari coactus fuerim. Obligationi ſic tamen meæ incumbat Sacra Cæſarea Majestas vestra (quam ſemper ſubmiſſiſſimo poplite venerari ſtudeo, & ſtudebo) quam breviffime calculum in Hungaria, Tranſylvania, Sclavonia, Servia, & Bulgaria, ſubſiſtentis militis, omniumque neceſſariorum mediorum tam ad oppugnanda, quam defenda

1692. denda conſinia, ſecundum exiguum artis ac Martis mei capacitate, ſine ullius rei notæ neceſſariæ omiſſione, ut & genuinas rationes, cur miles ſuæ Sacra Cæſaræ Majestatis ita ſit diſſuſus, omneſque illorum, qui in acie ceciderunt, circumſtantias, & defectum commæatum, ac qualiter contra tam ingens inimici agmen, ob nobis imminens periculum, diſtantes Provincias ac Regiones ſub ſua Sacra Majestatis Cæſaræ protectione ultra proferri valeant, exponere, ac declarare.

I. Igitur, niſi tractatus pacis aliquo temporis intervallo ſepulti reſumantur, & Pax, quæ mihi tamen ignota, à ſua Sacra Cæſaræ Majestate intra breve tempus concludatur, non concipio, qualiter Niſſa & Widdinum, omneſque trans Savum ſiti paſſus, ſine ſpeciali detrimento poſſunt defendi. Widdinum enim locus diſtans, ac nullum niſi Niſſa, & hinc ad huc diſſicillimum ſuccurſum ſperare poſteſt, cum ſpatio unius diei penes Tinock, & illa ardua Starra Planina arcus & plane impenetrabilis paſſus reperiatur, in quo inimicus exiguo tantum milite nobis reſistere poſteſt, ita ut nominatum Widdinum, quod cum à noſtro milite offenſive agendo recuperatum ac munitum eſt, ſi hodie dum intenderet offenſive hoſtem aggredi, jam non ſolum illi omnis offenſiva actio foret prohibita, verum certam jacturam illius munitionis cum omnibus præſidiariis intra breve temporis ſpatium experiremur, & hæc quidem de cauſa: Nam eſt foret aliqua ſpes, aut reſolutio lucrandi temporis, ſciendum tamen eſt, nullum effectum inde emanaturum, cum tunc Tarraris liberum fore Valachiam irrumperere, & inde cum exercitu ſuo Danubium navibus ſine ullo impedimento tranſnavigare Ratio enim eſt, cum permagnum inde apud Widdinum ſitam inſulam Danubius ita dividatur, ut etiam cum maximis navibus ſuſum & deorſum navigandi nullum obſtet impedimentum, nec à præſidiariis videri poſſit tunc oppugnari, ex his quoque plus metuenda jactura hujus munitionis, quamvis effective ab hoſte aggredi, & oppugnari non poſſit; tamen à conſurſu vulgi ita includi, ut certo hunc fortificatum paſſum obtineat.

II. Niſſam quoque ſecundum debilem capacitate ingenii mei aliter defendi, quam per ingentem exercitum poſſe, non invenio, cum ſecundum omnium opinio-nem nullo alio modo defendi poſſe judicatum ſit, niſi prius omnes paſſus ex Macedonia & Bulgaria à noſtro milite aſſecurentur, & à copioſo, benèque exercito milite occludantur, omniſque inimico in

1692. Boſniam & Serviam introitus impediatur. In toto enim Niſſienſi diſtrictu maximus defectus eſt graminis, quia ille in ſua ſiccitate terre fundatus eſt: Ita ut ſi hoſtis Procopiam appropinquaret, ibi in omni ſecuritate vivere poſſet, nec ullum ex ſuis Provinciis, propter advehentis diverſa ac neceſſaria vitæ victualia defectum ſperandum haberet. Noſter vero miles non ſolum ob ſimilem defectum circa Niſſam ſubſiſtere non poſſet, verum etiam eidem timendum eſt, omnia neceſſaria tam per aquam, quam per terram advançantibus & advehentibus poſſe impediri, cum tali caſu ab hoſtili conſpectu non ſolum navigatio Bulgaria, Moravia, & impenetrabilis vicinæ Jagodinæ & Niſſæ omnimode invaderetur, verum etiam ſuis liberum eſſet, ſive magnis, ſive parvis turmis, trans viam, quæ Cruſſa, vel Cracolovetz ducit, ſine omni impedimento cura uſque Belgradenſem portam accurrere. Multo minus etiam Boſnienſibus, qui ad viginti millia exerciti militis ſunt, in nullo abſoluto loco reſiſti poſſibile eſt, ne penes Servianum Moravam, & illud tantum, tanque laborum recuperatum forſitum ſinum Belgradum, uſque ad Danubium perveniant: & tandem ultimo, uti nec dubitari poſteſt, hoſtilis exercitus, ſive parvus, ſive magnus, ſe citra Danubium ſeciſſau appropinquaret, uti per experientiam anno præterito captam conſtat, quod etiam viliffimis & exiguis turmis vel apud Poſſavarez, vel in vicinia Reſſava, per Gulcheina: viam quidem laborioſam, curribuſque periculo expoſitam, ſine omni etiam minimo impedimento Servianum Moravam invadere, & hunc fluvium de-nuo totaliter inutilem & impracticabilem reddere poſſent (cui malo tamen præca-vendum) noſterque exercitus ob ſuas totaliter debilitatas vires tantum tolerare non poſſet, ob tot ac tam difficiles, laborioſaſque vias, quas ſpero ſat clare me demonſtraſſe, quod tam debilis ac parvus exercitus Niſſæ ſubſiſtens tam forti ac tam magnæ hoſtili armatæ non valeat reſiſtere.

III. Jagodinæ verſabatur exiguis Cæſareis miles, ibi ſtans, ex ſupradictis rationibus in ſimili periculo, maxime cum augendo numerum militum Niſſæ à tam paucis adhuc aliis poſſe detrudere neceſſitates cogere. Veror itaque, ne cogatur reſidium, quod ſuperceſt, uſque ad inter tormenta, vel ob defectum victualium trans Savum abducere.

IV. Quod ſi tamen ſua Sacra Cæſarea Majestas omnibus ſiſpoſitis Clementiſſime annuere Niſſam ad ultimam, citi-

1692. am extremam necessitatem oppugnantis hosti resistere, submissillime peto veniam, vestre Sacrae Caesaræ Majestatis informando, huic loco, etiam si aliquis confictus, aut exercitus adesset, non posse succurri, cum per quandam, nempe viam Regiam, quæ unica hora Nissa, penes Montana & Bulgaricum Moravam semitæ terius horæ ærcissimus passus formatus sit, ut nullatenus dubitari possit, quod hostis talem non occupet, & ibi succurrere nostris impediat. Locus enim iste, si per hunc tempus lucrari quæramus, minimum septem, vel octo milibus, cum omnibus circumstantiis, ac omnibus necessariis, præmuniatur necesse est, & omnis defectus fortificationis, si quis aderit, pugnando complatur. Ita tamen hoc stante, illa milita tanquam ad vicinam duenda sit, & quid inde emolumenti eruerum, omnium expertorem, imo sapientissimo vestre Sacrae Caesaræ Majestatis judicio committo, quidque per tot ponderosæ informationes agendum videbitur.

* V. Quod si tamen supra relevantia motiva in tam periculoso statu pro securioribus consiliis locum obtineant, ex prædictis causis (quod tamen vix possibile amplius erit, jamjam appropinquato inimico) Nissa & Widdinum cum toto fito à Servia penes Danubium & Savum retineri non possint, cum tamen ad divertendum à Savo hostem, & defendendum Belgrad exiguis hic miles vix sufficiat. Nam licet Belgradum aliquo tempore aucto populo se possit defendere, tamen propter defectum succursus, qui ex parte terræ comparere nequiret, in Danubio per eundem suis navibus repelleretur, ab eodem facile recuperari valet: & hinc non immerito timendum, quod per similem defensionem nostro exercitus minuatur, hostique nullo modo valeat resistere: Imo etiam, ut nullo modo dubitandum, finita aliqua rigorosa defensione forte totam Slavoniam decedere, consequenter, cum nullus passus præterea reperibilis sit, usque ad Dravum, vel adhuc ulterius recedere cogamur.

* VI. Quod si tamen Belgradum non actu aliter oppugnaretur, infallibiliter tamen Albanenses & Bosnenses uno forti Turcico agmine confortabuntur in illo districtu, qui partim penes Savi passus subsistentem solidum exercitum occupare valenti talis ut impediatur, pariter magnus exercitus ex nostra parte deservabitur tali resistendi.

* VII. His & similibus aliis nisi Deus immediate concurrerit, naturaliter est

credendum non est, quam quod inimicus aliquo conflictu sui totius exercitus, conjunctis Tartaris, Valachis, & Moldenibus, simul per aquam & terram Transylvaniam invadat, illamque Provinciam lucrari tentatur penes Danubium jacentem: Cui qualiter resistendum sit, non video, ubi miles sufficiens, sufficienterque instructus, in his partibus inveniendus sit: Maxime cum illi male contenti populi maximis gaudiis exultent, fide secundatos, aut aliunde sibi alios cognationales faventes reperiant. Illudque nobis etiam non parvum obstaculum est, quod certanti militi penes Danubium alteri parti nullum auxilium communicationis ergo, tali tempore summe necessariae, talique periculo difficillime adferendum erit. Tum nec domus annonæ, nec alia necessaria in loco sunt: Ita ut ipsa natura dicter, hæc confinia, nempe Transylvaniam, & Hungariam Superiorem, omniaque ab his dependentia, in summo periculo versatura, nisi Deus nos sua speciali gratia erexerit.

* VIII. Hungarica enim militia hujus usus & naturæ est, ut quamvis in aciem ordinata sit, non compareat, maxime, si longe à suis domibus in alienam Provinciam commendetur, partim quod jam longo tempore nullam solutionem acceperit, partim cum homines nauci & indisciplinati æstimandi sint. Nec consilium est, istam copiosam ac barbaram gentem nostro parvo ac debili exercitui aggregare. Si enim, quod Numen evertat, unicus infelix conflictus nobis acciderit, nullum dubium, illam barbaram gentem contra nos arma in ipso aggressu apprehensuram.

* IX. Præsidia locorum, quæ numero quam brevissimo sunt exposita, diminui vix poterunt. Acque eodem modo timendum, ne apud tam paucum ac debilem exercitum pro conservanda Provincia summe necessarium infelix casus contingat. Si enim populus ab ipsismet incolis facile superari potest, ob plurimas ac gravissimas distractiones tali non foret succurrendum: Sed summum detrimentum sentiremus: & ita tam totam Hungariam, quam Transylvaniam, in summam, & quidem prima peiorem rebellionem & tumultus, quos quotidie ejulat & suspirat, excidere perciperemus.

* X. Si tamen secundum adjacentes extractus summe necessarij exercitus formandi sint, qualiter sine maximo periculo jam supra adducta absurda devenire nihil contrarietur, & è contra effective status mihi

1692. ab Consilio bellico transmissæ listæ examinare observatum fuerit, deductis deductis numerus remanet, ut pluris alicui conficiat, quam pleno exercitui adnumerandus sit, ac impossibile tam late patentem lineam tam potentis hostis vincere, aut impedire, ne illi in uno aliòve loco pariter in hac parte Danubii, quam altera, infringat, aut unam, alteramve provinciam devastet.

* XI. Et quamvis dicatur, quod successive decessus regiminum per noviter electum militem suppleatur, & complatur, considerandum tamen est, quod non solum complendus numerus illorum inter quædam regimina vix inceperit, partim quod nec sibi debitam solutionem acceperint; ita tamen, quod si feliciter Belgradum adduci deberent, sex aut septem Mensibus, ut migrant ex Provinciis hereditariis necesse habent, & ita demum ad finem campi bellici; & cum difficultate adhuc vix profunt: & ita sine omni utilitate de his loquendum. Nec loci situs his poterit demonstrari; tacendum, ut tandem decessus miles tot tantisque curis & vigiliis, portansque contra inimicum, etiam non in tantis, certe plures naufæas devenire possent.

* XII. Victualibus pro necessitate Nissæ aliquot mensibus provium esse constat: Quæ autem utilitati exercitus parum profunt, aut in absentia illius plane nihil utilitatis adferre possunt, sinon plane inimici cederent. Belligradi, in quantum notum est, huc usque nullam stabilitam domum annæ; & quamvis actualiter hic Vienne de iis mature transmittendis contractum sit, tamen ejus certitudo multis impedimentis subjacet. Et hinc quid expectandum est, quam ultimas & periculosissimas extremitates, ut ante annum contigerint; cum neque in altera parte Danubii meliores conditiones observatz, qualiter versus Orfowa & Caranzebes, cujus viciniori etiam hoc conflictu copiosius ac bene instructus miles relinqui debet.

* XII. Currus pro vestigialibus summe necessarij in tempore, & ante finem Augusti, in quo bono esse constituti sint, nullis quidem Ciceronianis verbis explicandum est: Maxime, cum in Hungaria hucusque numerus currum ultra 130 se non extendat: Reliqui vero partim Posonii nondum parati, nec pecus cœmptum est; nec mihi constar, an media illud ad emendum data sint: Ubi tamen, quocunque veritatem, sine copiosis, & quidem bene præparatis curribus subsistere nulla

tenus possimus. Navigium enim Mora- væ ex supra allegatis rationibus, & ob incertitudinem ventorum in Danubio incertum ac periculosissimum est: & ideo quidem plurimum, cum hostis secundum videntem consensum omnium capitivorum magna copia navium Danubium versus naviget, hujus opinionis vivens, quod si in defectu nostrarum non sufficientium, aut non bene armatarum navium, vel alicujus fortis alterius, se præponentem in Danubio viderit, velle sua vi vestigialia nostra nostrorum victualium plane infringere, & sibi associare.

* XIV. Similiter adsunt & alie adhuc invicem difficultates ratione pontium navigabilium, horumque requisitorum, immo specialis pontis alicujus volentis eis Inac- kee, cujus nullus ordo, nec alia preparatoria instituta sunt: & etiam si hæc omnes necessitates adessent, tamen in his locis, circa finem Junii, aut Julii, aquis distinctibus ac diffusis, nullo anno sidentum est, & ita in absentia nostri totius exercitus, turba aliqua hostilis, cui si non rursum nostro miles ob defectum resistere posset, certo hosti non detrimento, sed emolumento esset.

* XV. Munitiones & instrumenta bellica, aliaque materialia, prætereaque omnia in antiquo effe, uti reliqui ante aliquot elapsos menses, ante meum discessum, nihil campo bellico, inveni; quibus finit nisi omnia exercitui summe necessaria desunt.

Lettre de Monsieur Colyér, Ambassadeur d'Hollande à Constantinople.

Monsieur,

J'EU S, le 20 Decembr. de l'année passée, l'honneur de vous avertir par le Seigneur Baron Gall de tout ce qui se passoit icy: & en voici la duplique. Depuis ce tems là, le 23 du même mois, fit le Premier Vizir fon entrée publique dans Constantinople: Au quel je fis en personne le compliment de congratulation, le 19 Janvier; & fus reçu & traité de luy avec beaucoup de courtoisie & civilité, sans que ni l'un ni l'autre dit un mot, ou nomma l'Empereur & les Princes Allemands, ou le Roy de France. Cela se fit de ma part à dessein, & avois

1692. nous, moy & l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, concerté & conclu cela, afin de donner quelque soupçon au Gr. Vizir, qui avec beaucoup de faste & d'orgueil se retiroit, & revenoit de la guerre, des desseins & préparations à la Guerre de l'Empereur, pour la Campagne suivante: Principalement étans tres affez, que, combien que nous eussions eûs les ordres abolus de traiter avec luy de la Paix, il ne nous écouterait pas, ou qu'il nous feroit des Propositions si exorbitantes, que cette négociation se rompt incontinent de soy-même. Nous jugeâmes donc, que nous ferions mieux de n'en parler un seul mot: & que nous cautions en luy par notre silence quelque soupçon des forces Imperiales. Ce qui nous réussit jusques là, que le dit Vizir laissa tomber apres ces paroles: Il faut, que l'Empereur & les Princes Allemands n'ayent plus de crainte pour la France: Autrement les Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre & d'Hollande n'eussent pas manqué de presser la Négociation de la Paix. Adjoûtez-y, que le Teckely se foucit fort peu des ordres de la Porte, ruinant la Valachie de fons en comble.

Un vaisseau de guerre Anglois du Convoÿ de Smyrne a pris une Tartane Francoise dans l'Archipel: & on a trouvé là dedans deux Lettres du Roy à son Ambassadeur icy: Des quelles ayant obtenu la Copie, je me crus obligé de vous en faire part, avec cette esperance, qu'on ne manquera pas à Vienne de trouver des maîtres en cette art, pour les deciffrer: & qu'on en tirera des lumieres, & particulartez de grande consequence.

Un Ingenieur, qui se nomme Signior Stefano, m'a confié, qu'il est le Comte Nicola Guasco, natif de St. Amant, trois lieux de Valencienne, mais d'Origine Milanois: & qu'il a des Ordres de preparer en toute diligence 6000 Bombes pour la Campagne suivante. Il se repent de son erreur, & il m'a promis, qu'il fera quelque chose d'importance, que je n'ose pas vous Communiquer par cettecy, faite des chiffres. Il envoie par cette occasion un sien valet tres assidu, nommé Pietro Mollier, à Vienne, qui vous fera le recit de beaucoup des particularitez. On attend icy de jour en jour le nouveau Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, qu'on dit être déjà avancé jusques à Esbeck. J'espere, que je recevray par son arrivement icy quelques ordres, pour remettre icy fur le tapis la Négociation de la Paix. Le Grand Vizir fait tout ce qu'il peut pour ramasser des grandes sommes d'Argent, & de redresser les finances: C'est pourquoy qu'il a retranché une partie du train du Gr. Seig-

neur, & fait une Inquisition fort exacte 1692. fur les gages des Officiers, & Soldats: Mais il fait encor fort peu des Preparations pour se mettre de bonne heure en Campagne. On n'équipera par mer que fort peu des Vaisseaux de guerre, & comme on dit, seulement dix, avec 25 Galeres: Aufsi a-t-on pris la resolution de ne se servir pas cette année des Pirates de Barbarie. Je demeure, &c.

Monfieur,

De V. Excellence

le Tres humble Serv.

A Pera di Const. ce
15 Fevr. 1691.

COLYER.

Lettre de Monsieur Colyer,
Ambassadeur d'Hollande à
Constantinople.

Monfieur,

MA derniere étoit du 15 de Fevrier, de la quelle j'ay joint icy la duplique, ayant envoyée la principale par mer, par Venise. Depuis ce tems là le Gouverneur de Belgrade avertit la cour icy de l'arrivée du nouveau Ambassadeur d'Angleterre Monsieur Hufsey à Esbeck, & demanda pour luy permission pour poursuivre son Voyage par Belgrade jusques icy: & combien que l'Ambassadeur de France ayt fait tout ce qu'il a peu pour l'empêcher, le Prime-Vizir néanmoins a expédié d'icy un Aga par poste à Belgrade sùdité, le dernier du Fevrier, avec des ordres, de recevoir le dit Seigneurs Hufsey proche d'Esbeck, & de le conduire & defrayer jusques à Constantinople: De sorte qu'on l'attend icy apres Pâques. J'attens l'arrivée du dit Seigneurs, avec beaucoup d'impatience, avec esperance certaine d'en entendre l'Etat des Affaires de la Chrétienté.

Cet Ambassadeur de France retient après toutes les Lettres adressées aux Anglois & Hollandois, qui sont icy, & à Smyrne, comme aussi celles, qui appartiennent aux Ministres publiques de ces deux Nations, lesquelles nous viennent par les vaisseaux Francoises, ou sous le pavillon de France, Il arrête aussi tous leurs effets: Mais le Grand Vizir étant par mes plaintes informé de

1692. de ces Infolences, s'en est montré fort mal content, & a ordonné au Douanier d'y prendre garde tres exacte. Ce qu'étant entendu par l'Ambassadeur de France, il a retenu quelques effets, & Argent contant, qu'on avoit recommandé icy de Venise aux Marchands Anglois & Hollandois, avec le vaisseau San Jofeppe, Cap. Luigi Juliano nouvellement icy arrivé.

Mais on m'assure après, qu'on ne laissera pas partir ce vaisseau d'icy, avant que d'avoir restitué tout ce qu'on a arrêté, aux propriétaires: Ce qui fera, que le dit Ambassadeur en recevra une petite Mortification.

Le 4 de ce mois on envoya d'icy à Jambol, par ordre de la Cour, quelques Officiers, qui en ramenerent le 10 un Prince Tartare, nommé Saadet Jeray, pour succéder au Han des Tartares, qui fut depoussé le même jour de sa dignité. Le jour Suivant le Grand Vizir presenta le dit Prince au Grand Seigneur; & fut il couronné, mais avec fort peu de Ceremonies, Empereur de Tartarie, & renvoyé le 18 à la Crim, pour mettre ordre necessaire sur les Affaires, avec un commandement expres, de faire une Invasion en la Pologne.

On dit, que ce changement est arrivé à cause, que le vieux Han a taché de divertir le Grand Vizir contre le Sentiment du tout le conseil de guerre, de s'en aller en personne en Campagne, afin de ne hazarder pas derechef la reputation de cet Empire, puisqu'il ne pouvoit pas assurer la Porte de la secourir avec ses Troupes Tartares, parce qu'on y attendoit, & craignoit, l'arrivée de l'Armée Moscovite: & que les Albanois, ou Arnottes, auroient assez à faire de garder leur propre pais, menacé par les armes victorieuses des Venitiens: & qu'ainsi ces Troupes ne se pouvoient joindre avec l'Armée capitale des Turcs, on seroit contraint de se servir & contenter des seules Troupes ordinaires des Janissaires & des Spahis, avec celles d'Asie; lesquelles jointes ensemble ne feroient en aucune maniere suffisantes pour resister à l'Armée Imperiale. C'est pourquoy le Han des Tartares étoit d'avis, qu'on seroit mieux de garder seulement les frontieres par des Seraskiers Particuliers, & que le Grand Vizir les pourroit soutenir de tems en tems de Constantinople, ou d'Adrianople avec des Troupes fraiches & nouvellement levées: & que de cette maniere on defendroit aisément non seulement les Frontieres, mais aussi la reputation des armes du Grand Seigneur.

1692. Et parceque cet avis, ou conseil, du Han des Tartares fut rejeté, & refusé par le Kiahaia Bei, ou Lieutenant General des Janissaires, & de ceux de sa faction, avec des autres raisons, lequel Lieutenant est à present en Fort Grand Credit à la Cour, & que le Han s'en faisoit, on a, apres qu'il fut forty du Conseil, arrêté de le demettre de sa dignité. Ce qu'étant peu apres entendu du Grand Han, il renonça le lendemain au Gouvernement de la Crim, pour prevenir cet affront: & il demande après la permission de faire le pelerinage de Mecca.

Le Grand Vizir ne fait que se preparer à la Guerre: Mais selon ce qu'on en peut juger, il ne fera pas aux Frontieres avant la fin du Juillet. C'est pourquoy que je m'imagine, que l'Armée Imperiale croit un grand coup, & causeroit une grande Confusion dans les Troupes Turques, si elle se mettoit de bonne heure en Campagne.

Je vous puis assurer, Monsieur, que, si on n'entreprend pas quelque chose de consideration dans cette Campagne contre les Turcs, & Francoises, on n'aura pas même sujet de penser seulement à la Paix: Mais au contraire, si l'on aura le moindre avantage contre cette Nation, qu'elle abandonnera le partie Francoise, & recherchera la Paix incontinent. Il est donc tres-necessaire, que l'Armée Imperiale soit la premiere en Campagne, & qu'elle previenne les desseins du Grand Vizir: D'où on tirera toutes les avantages imaginables.

Les mauvais succès de la Campagne passée ont extrêmement avancé icy le credit de l'Ambassadeur de France, & au Contraire fort diminué le respect & la reputation des Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre & d'Hollande: & principalement à l'égard de l'esquadrade des Vaisseaux de Guerre, qu'on attendoit dans la Mer Mediterranée, du quel Messieurs les Etats Generaux m'avoient fait avertir: Mais puisqu'on n'en a aucunes nouvelles, & qu'on même n'en ose pas parler d'avantage, cela fait, qu'on donne l'entier credit aux vanteries des Francoises: De sorte que les Turques commencent à se persuader que le Roy de France a assez des Forces pour non seulement faire de resistance aux tous les autres Princes Chrétiens, mais encore de les attaquer par tout, & combattre.

Dans ces jours passés arriverent icy quelques Deputés de la Valachie pour faire leurs plaintes au Grand Vizir, que le Teckely

1692. Teckely faisoit des terribles ravages avec ses gens dans leur Province : & le prierent d'y mettre des ordres nécessaires, & d'avoir de la Compassion pour un pais desolé, & tout fait appauvri. On leur a donné des belles paroles de la part du Teckely, & pour le reste accordé quelques demandes, qui concernoient leurs autres griefs.

Le Chef de cette Deputation est l'Oncle de l'Hospodar, qui m'a prié d'assurer par votre entremise sa Majesté Imperiale de sa fidélité & tres humbles soumissions de son Cousin, lequel n'a de plus Grand desir, que de rendre quelque Service considerable à sa Majesté ce qu'il espere de faire voir la Campagne prochaine. Cependant le dit Seigneur me pria instamment, de prier V. Excellence de lui faire cette grace, si cela se pouvoit faire, & d'obtenir, par son intercession, que son frere le Seigneur Georgio Cantacuzeno qui est apresent à Vienne, eut la permission, de se retourner dans son pais : Puisqu'il n'y peut rendre aucune Service à sa Majesté & qu'au contraire étant de retour chez soy il pourroit être employé dans toutes les occurrences pour servir dans les Negotiations entre le General de la Transylvanie & l'Hospodar. Vous me forcez donc, Monsieur, un tres grand plaisir, si vous pourriez obtenir cette permission, si cela se peut faire sans quelque prejudice aux Affaires de l'Empire : Puisque je seray contraint d'oresnavant d'envoyer la plupart de mes Lettres par la Valachie, la Transylvanie, & l'Hongrie, à Vienne, & de la en Hollande : Ce qui se pourra faire tant plus aisement, parce que, comme on m'a averti, il y a une tresbonne correspondance entre le General Veterani, & le dit Hospodar de Valachie.

Le Grand Vizir réussit extremement bien dans toutes ses entreprises dans cet Empire, jusques à l'étonnement de tout le monde. Il a ces jours passez fait Gouverneur d'Égypte le Haïssa Pacha, beausils du dernier Sultan Mohamed, étant de retour de son Gouvernement d'Égypte : & cela pour lui ôter tout le credit, & autorité, lui donnant une charge de trespetite consideration, & qui le mettra hors des yeux & de la souveraineté du peuple.

Le même a inventé sur les Sujets Chrétiens & Juifs une Taxe par tête de dix, cinq, & de deux & demy ecus, les ayant divisez en trois sortes, des riches, de moyenne condition, & des pauvres ; & ôté toutes les autres Impositions : Ce qui lui fera ramasser des uegrandes sommes d'Argent.

1692. J'envoye collecter par la Valachie, & la Transylvanie : & je vous prie, Monsieur, de me faire l'honneur par le même chemin, d'un petit mot, de rescripion : Ce que j'attendray avec impatience, demeurant,

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble Serveiteur,

COLYER.

In this manner Mr. Herbert came provided to Belgrade, with Instructions for prosecution of the Treaty which Sir William Hussy had begun ; but he soon found that the minds of the Turks were not as yet inclined to a Peace, and that all his labours and endeavours would prove ineffectual, whilst the Turks harkened to the Suggestions of the French, who had now got so far into their good Opinion, that their Interests being made the same, their Councils could not be other than sincere, and their friendships of advantage ; and therefore it was apparent to Mr. Herbert, that the Turks regarding no other Ambassador but the French, resolved to take no other Methods than such as should be dictated by them. The case being thus manifest, struck Mr. Herbert to the heart, who was a hot-spirited, and a passionate man, and not able to endure to see that a Frenchman, which lately came from France, named Monsieur Marquis de Loran, placed in the Affections of the Grand Vizier, wish design to thwart him in all his Negotiations, he grew so impatient, that his blood boyl'd within him, to such a degree, as Favour'd him into a kind of Madness, which joy'n'd with his old Enemy the Gout, he died thereof on the 31st of July, 1692. The death of these two Ambassadors, so near the time to each other, seem'd as if there had been a kind of fatality in the Treaty of Peace ; or that the French had by unlawful means contrived the death of these Ministers : but for my part, I have no belief or jealousy thereof ; not but that the French may be ready enough to enter into such secret Machinations, where the Interest of their Monarch may be advanced ; but like as the Devil, when he hath catch'd a Sinner close within his Clutches, is not very hasty to bring him to his end, so the French who had wholly possess'd themselves of the minds and humours of the

His Death.
Old Style.

Reflections
on the
Death of
the two
English
Ambassadors.

Turks,

1692. Turks, had no need of having recourse to facinorous actions which were detestable to God and Man. And thus did the Marquis de Loran remain with the Vizier at Belgrade, whilst the late Ambassador Monsieur de Chaurcauneuf returned by order of the King into France.

The Campagne (as we have said) being ended, nothing of action happened during the residence of the Vizier at Belgrade, who kept himself wholly on the defensive ; and left the Germans should think fit to attack his Forces which lay encamp't on the other side of the Rivers near Belgrade, he made two Bridges, one over the Save, and the other over the Danube ; over which, upon news that the Christians were advancing, he caus'd his Army to retreat, and to pass the Bridges into the Town, where their Head-quarters were kept during the Winter season ; and thus all Military Actions ceasing, license was given to the Militia of Anatolia to return home about the 20th of October unto their own Countries ; the which was more readily granted, in regard to the great Mutinies, and Insurrection of the People in the Lesser Asia, and to the Venetian Successes at Sea in the Archipelago.

During the whole course of this Years Actions the Venetians were unprosperous, their Design upon Canaë failing them ; which they had straightly besieged for the space of a full Month ; and had hopes of carrying the Place, had not a Thousand Atinians and French, leavied for Service of the Venetians, deserted, and at their first landing gone over to the Turks ; by whose assistance the Venetians were oblig'd most shamefully to raise the Siege, with the loss of many Men, and of most of their Cannon ; which was the substance, and sum of all their Expedition for this Year, 1692.

About the end whereof the Grand Seigneur had two Sons born to him, who were Twins, the one named Ibrahim, and the other Selim ; on which occasion great rejoicing being shewn, amidst thereof a dreadful fire happened at Constantinople, which began at Balasa, and continued above 4000 Houses, with about 2000 Shops. This Fire happened in three several places of the City ; one of which being near the Great Mosque of Sultan Soliman, one of the Menarces or Steeples thereof fell to the ground, which the People interpreted for an evil Omen, and Preſage for the succeeding Year.

The Grand Vizier being returned from the War towards the end of October, gave an account to the Grand Seigneur of the state of the War, and that he had given the Command of the Army unto Lame Flu-

jaein Pacha, and order'd him with 10000 men to watch the Motions of the Enemy, and especially to take care of Temewar.

Anno 1693.

THIS Year begins with the Death of the deposed Sultan Mahomet IV. who died of a Dropsie on the 4th of January, 1693, which had like to have produced a Peace ; for the great Officers of the Empire being at that time assembled together at Adrianople, a Council was held, in which it was debated and concluded, that the present state of the Ottoman Empire was such as required a Peace : Howsoever another Party prevailed, excited by the French Ambassador, who very liberally dispensed his Pretensions amongst the Military Men, in whose Hands at that time remained the Balance of War and Peace ; the which was actuated by two different Principles, the one by the Presents given by the French, and by the Arrival of several French Officers, Engineers, Gunners, Artificial Fire-workers, and some Money distributed amongst the Chief Turkish Officers for carrying on the War. On the other side the Mediators, as the English, and Hollanders, whose Business it was to procure a Peace, seem'd to over-act their Parts, and by their Solicitations, and earnest Importunities, enhanced the Price thereof, and made the Turks believe, that either the Emperor could not subsist without a Peace, or that some Fraud lay couch'd under such Specious and Importunate Pressures.

My Lord Paget (as we have said) arriving at Adrianople the 31st of January, and having receiv'd his first Audiences with the Grand Seigneur, and Vizier, he had another on the 14th of March following in Company with the two Ambassadors of Holland, Heemskirk and Colyer, wholly relating to the Peace, at which were present, the Chief Officers of the Empire ; but nothing more was done, besides reading their Credentials publicly, with the Propositions ; and so were dismiss'd for that time without a final Answer ; telling them that they should receive the same in four or five Days ; but on the 18th of this Month the Grand Vizier being displaced, (as was reported) at his own seeking, Mustafa Pacha the Chirmacam succeeded him in the Sublime Office, so that all Matters of the Treaty were at a stand, and were to begin again ; but for the better understanding the true state of these Affairs, nothing can be more authentick and particular, than what was

Written

1693. Written in a Letter from Mr. Coke the Secretary to Sir William Trumball, which was as followeth.

The Copy of a Letter from Mr. Coke, to Sir William Trumball, late Ambassador with the Grand Seignior.

Adrianople 28. May O. S. 1693.

As to the Negotiations of Peace, I know it will be no surprize to hear they are in the same state as you left them. For my part I was too short-sighted to discover those great Inclinations in the Port towards it, which Seignior Colyer represented, which had made such Impressions in Seignior Heemskirk, that upon Mr. Herbert's Death, he came flying with a full Sail down the Danube, not to begin the Treaty, but conclude the Peace; and thought it was so easie, that it was only to speak with the Vizier, and the Business was done.

He arrived at Belgrade the first of October S. V. 1692, the next Day had Audience of the Vizier, and the third he gave in Writing to Mauro Cordato to Translate and give the Vizier his Proposals for a Peace or Truce for 30 Years: The substance of which for the Emperor was on the Foot of Uti possidetis; under which Notion Transylvania to remain to him, each liberty to fortifie in their Confinies; Teckely to be delivered up; and the Republick of Ragusa not to be called to Accounts for Arrears of Tribute, or for the future pay any to the Port: For Poland, Relitition of Caminick, and with-hold in Podolia, all Ucraina, the Castelli on the Borysthenes, Moldavia, and Wallachia; and if the Tartars made any Incursions into their Territories, the Port to pay the Damages that Crown received: For Venice, the Province of Levadia, Athens and Thebes to be given them as an Equivalent for the Morca, and in like manner severall Territories on the side of Lepanto, and in Dalmatia: He expected an Answer to this, and that the Port would change their Old Style of receiving Proposals, and making none, into an open Negotiation by Writing; but he found all this imaginary, and not to be reduced to Practice.

Mauro Cordato told him, These Proposals were injurious to the Empire; and ask'd, if

he had no other to make? The Reply was, He had no more to say, till he had an Answer to what he had already propos'd, which he had earnestly press'd for many Days in six Letters to Mauro Cordato: The Answer was, The Vizier was returning to Adrianople, and must acquaint the Grand Seignior with what pass'd, and he must go thither for his Answer. This startled him, who thought to have concluded the Treaty at Belgrade, and immediately return'd, so he press'd for an Answer, or to be dismissed; but was told, He could not devalue himself of his Character, which remained till my Lord Paget arriv'd, to whom Accidents might happen, as bad to other Ambassadors, so he was forced to go by the Danube to Rufic, and so to Adrianople, where he arriv'd the 24th of November, departing from Belgrade the 23d of October.

When he arriv'd first at Belgrade, Marquis D'Orat, who was with Teckely and the French, said, He was no Englishman, but a German, and came from the Emperor. The Port had been sensible it was too great a Condescension to send their Ambassadors at Vienna; which Point of Honour they thought regain'd, by having one come to make Overtures to them, and a particular Minister for that Business in their Hands, whom perhaps they may not easily part with.

When Seignior Heemskirk was come to Adrianople, he would have Visted the Chirmacem, who excus'd it, the Grand Vizier not being arriv'd, who came the 2d of December, and a few Days after an Audience was desired of him, which he put off, as not having discours'd with the Grand Seignior. A private Council was held, Orders sent out to all parts for raising Men, and to the Treasurer to give Money for providing Cannon, Ammunition, and all things necessary, to be carry'd in the Field. The Stasfaki-Aga was sent to the Tartar Man, with Money to be distributed among them to meet the Grand Vizier with a considerable Force at Belgrade.

Seignior Heemskirk continued his Solicitations all December, and the beginning of January, by his own Druggerman, to the Vizier's Kiab, and by Letters to Mauro Cordato; and wrote a Complaining Letter to the Vizier of his being come thither for an Answer, and after so long time, and being come so far, nothing was done. To which he was answer'd by Word of Mouth, never in Writing, That my Lord Paget being come to Belgrade, and get in his way thither, it was thought fit in a Council to attend his Arrival, to see if he brought no other Proposals; for if they were the same, one Answer would serve them both.

Lord Paget arriv'd at Adrianople the 1st of January, and was receiv'd by the Council to attend his Arrival, to see if he brought no other Proposals; for if they were the same, one Answer would serve them both.

1693. The sixth of January Seignior Colyer came to Adrianople against the Desire of Seignior Heemskirk, who wrote to him not to come; and at first there was great Coldness between them, and Tyles was never employ'd by Seignior Heemskirk.

The last of January, his Excellency my Lord Paget arriv'd; he would have enter'd privately, but the Vizier desired the contrary, that it might not be thought the Port had wanted in their Respect to him, and his Lordship was receiv'd with a great deal of Ceremony, and Numerous Attendance of Chiafies, and Janisaries.

The 18th of February his Excellency had his first Audience of the Grand Vizier, and gave him his Credentials, one for his Residence, the other for the Mediation.

The seventh of March his Lordship had his Audience of the Grand Seignior, and was very kindly receiv'd: He spoke his Complement, which was interpreted by Mauro Cordato; and the Grand Seignior answer'd, That His Majesty was a good Friend to the Port, and all such should be ever kindly receiv'd by him.

The seventeenth of March, his Excellency had a private Audience of the Vizier, where was the Mefti. His Lordship made the Offers of His Majesty's Mediation for a Peace, or Truce between the Emperor, and his Allies, and the Port, on the Foot of Uti possidetis, only Caminick to be restored, or razed. The Vizier said in a Business of so great Import, he must consult the Heads of the Law, and the Militia, and an Answer shou'd be given.

The 14th ditto, his Excellency Seignior Heemskirk, and Colyer, were call'd to the Vizier to a Publick Audience, where on the Saffra sat the Vizier, the Mefti and Cadelesker on his Left Hand; on his Right the Chirmacem, Imael Passa Janifar-Aga, the Nifangi Passa, and the Tefterdar, and the three Ambassadors, the two Generals on Stools; below the Saffra, the Kiab-Beg and all the Heads and Ojacks of the Janisaries, the two Generals, chief of the Spahys, and chief of the Treasury; in all near 100 Persons: The Rais Effendi came into the middle of the Saffra, and read aloud Seignior Heemskirk's Proposals, which he own'd. This was done only to exasperate the Militia: The Vizier said, They must consider of them, and give an Answer.

The 17th the Vizier was turn'd out, and his Excellency finding the Vizier had his Design in Irritating the People by such Extravagant Demands, went to the new Vizier, Mefti, Cadelesker, and Janifar-Aga, telling them these Proposals read were none of his, which was only one plain Proposition in a Uti possidetis, which His Majesty thinking equall, was willing to interpose his Offices hereon, if the Port thought fit, out of real Friendship. The Vizier said, They would consider of it, and give an Answer. The Mefti said, The coming of three Ambassadors had rais'd great Expectations in the People, and they could do no less than make known what Proposals had been made: They were very well satisfied of His Majesty's Friendship. The Cadelesker and Tefterdar said, Without Relitition of the Morca, there could be no Peace. The Janifar-Aga, who was come from Constantinople said he had seen the Proposals, That God would humble the Pride of the Emperour, and chastise it, be hop'd, this Year.

But his Excellency Lord Paget, had vindicated himself clearly to all Ministers, as his Proposal was, but the other was sent over all the Empire to prepossess the People; but Seignior Tyles had set all right in three Days.

It is observable, when Seignior Heemskirk had no Intimacy with Tyles, he wrote to my Lord Paget in January, and to the Emperor, there was no hopes of Peace; but when he came into a Familiarity with Tyles, he was illuminated, and in March wrote His Majesty, the Peace was in a fair way, and he hoped to be himself the bringer of the News of it; and yet now Tyles says to us, in eight Months he has been here, they have never done any thing, and the Port will not have Peace, nor were inclin'd to it.

Seignior Heemskirk was much Embroid'd, and press'd my Lord Paget much to sollicite the Vizier with Memorials; but his Excellency had seen so ill Effects of his Writing, that he thought it much better to seem Indifferent, than Importune, and to attend their Answer to his Proposal.

1693.

Extract of my Lord *Paget's*
Letter to a Friend, of the
same Date with the pre-
ceding.

NOTWITHSTANDING all their
seeming Reluctancies, and high Words,
I am of Opinion the Turks may be persuaded
to hearken to Peace, especially if the Imperial
Army do any thing to purpose this Summer:
The State here is shortly thus.

This present 7th of June, N. S. the *Jani-
sar-Aga* is not yet gone into the Camp, nor
will he go (as I think this 10 Days: About
a Week after him the Grand Vizier goes;
and about a Fortnight after that, the Army
will begin to March.

It is not at present strong, not of above 5
or 6000 Men, but the Asiaticks and Tatars
are to join them at Sofia: How many
they may be is very uncertainly reported; they
reckon upon 20000 Tatars, that will be their
greatest Strength, and these altogether can-
not be at Belgrade till the latter end of July
at soonest; so that if the Imperial Army be
as strong and as ready, as when I came
from Vienna, I thought it would be, they
will have time enough to attempt any thing,
before these Forces can appear to hinder
them.

And such was the true State of Affairs
at this time in the Ottoman Court in relation
to a Peace.

The Ambassadors Heemskirk,
and Colyer's Letter to the
Emperor touching the Peace.

Serenissime, Potentissime, Invi-
cissime Cæsar, Imperator
semper Auguste.

SACRÆ Cæsareæ Majestatis submis-
sissima reverentia significandum cen-
sumus, quod abhinc quindecim diebus
inter primum Visirium, Caimacanum, Ja-

nissorum Agam, Romeliæ Cadetisquiritum
& Tetterdarium in adibus dicti Visirii
circa Pacis Negotium alterum Consilium
fuerit exquisitum & ibidem nominatim dis-
cussum. Quid de Dominis Legatis & re-
sponsione ad Pacis proposita celsitatem &
promissâ denique statuant singulorum sen-
tentias enucleatim enarrare opportunum
non arbitramur, ne forsan informationis
debitæ penuriâ in uno altrove erremus:
Verum enimverò Cæsareæ vestræ Majes-
tati indicandum hanc finalem fuisse con-
clusionem, quippe cum variarum defec-
tionum, Ditionum & Provinciarum defec-
tionem hic sit quæstio Regiminis & Imperii
participes super hoc deliberando tan-
quam maximi ponderis Negotio ulla-
tenus negligere ipsis integrum non esse, &
nominatim Tartarorum Hannum dicentes
hunc ex Crimæa quidem discessisse, verum
probabiliter in finibus Visirii exercitus se-
se additurum; insuper excusantes respon-
sionem Dominis Legatis tradendam eo us-
que esse protelandum: porro exilissimam
grato animo officia conciliatoria Magnæ
Britanniæ Regis & Dominorum Ordinum
Federati Belgii acceptando satis signi-
ficatum fuisse (dum modo aquis Pax fiat con-
ditionibus) sese non renixuros eoque id
idcirco à nobis tam ardentem ad dictum
responsum pronunciamandum non oportere
impelli quod parum prolationis æque Pa-
cificationis promotioni quam dissolucioni
foran conducet. Quantum vero ad Do-
minos Legatos ab iisdem ex æquo efflaga-
tari non posse, ut omnes cum Visirii hinc
ad limites proficiantur Domino Paget, id-
circo Constantinopolim esse petendum nec
non Domino Colyer nisi hic mallet diutius
commorari, aut Domino de Heem-
skirk soli Visirium eomituro dictam re-
sponsionem positivè & in scriptis in castris
circa fines vel itinere extradituros.

His autem totis obistere viribus nulla-
tenus desuimus, obnoxia incommoda pla-
nè edocendo, verum frustra illis ubique re-
plicantibus leviora & minoris momenti
Negotia ubique cedere majoribus, pradi-
ctas quoque locorum cessiones unice non
esse animadvertendas, sed applausus & ap-
probationes universales ad Majorem Im-
perii ejusque gubernacula tenentium cau-
telam non minus reputandas, quocirca in-
mutabilem stare sententiam non abs re opti-
namur credimusque fore quod dudum præ-
sagivimus, nimirum inchoantibus bellorum
operationibus eos hostium numerum &
foran virtutes prius experturos quam
quid stabilis & fixi de Pace decernant, in-
terim tamen quævis spes ferus ocyus felici
exitus nostris non ceciderit animis.

Domium

1693.

Domium de Heemskirk ante Vigesi-
mum Mensis futuri iter facturum non
suspiciamus.

Vigesimo quinto alter juniorum Prin-
cipum geminorum naturæ vitam red-
didit.

Caput Aly Pachæ abhinc parum plus
anno Visirato privati & in Rhodum pro-
scripti nuper huc apportarunt. Principi
Moldaviæ initio Hebdomadis futuræ Jaf-
sum petenti Principatum occupandi animo
mandatum est ut Tartarorum Hanni sub
auspicio ardentissime in id incumbat ut
Polonorum Regem ad Pacem peculiarem
statuendum persuadent. Gallorum
Legatus deseruit partem oppositam quam
non ita pridem fovebat novumque hunc
Principem sibi devincere nititur. His nos
uberrime Sacræ Cæsareæ vestræ Majesta-
tis gratiæ committentes fumus conatu
summo,

Serenissime, Potentissime, Invicissime
Cæsar, Imperator semper Auguste,

Sacræ vestræ Cæsareæ Majestatis

Adrianop. 31 May, 1693. Humillimi & Devotissimi Servi,

H. HEEMSKIRK.
COLYER.

All thoughts of Peace, and Treaties,
being thus laid aside, the Government em-
ployed its utmost Endeavours, and Coun-
cils were taken in Matters and Contrivances
tending to the War: It was reported,
That the Grand Seignior, Sultan Achmet,
had resolved to go as far as *Sophia*, where
he would pass the Summer, being nearer
to Belgrade, and the Frontiers in Hungary;
but the Physicians persuaded the contrary,
as being prejudicial to the Health of
the Sultan, who was already affected with
the Dropsie, (the fatal and common Dis-
ease of that Ottoman Family) for Cure of
which, many Consultations were held by
the Physicians; who, in regard that they
found as yet a Schirrus only upon the Liver,
they gave great hopes of his Recov-
ery; howsoever the People took occasi-
on from hence to discourse, That in case
this Sultan Achmet were Dead, he would
be succeeded by Sultan Mustapha his Ne-
phew, and Son to the late Sultan Mahomet,

who had been Deposed; which would be a
happy Change for the whole Empire, he
being Young and Brave, and as to all ap-
pearance, of a Martial Spirit, and a Lo-
ver of Justice.

To forward the Preparations for the
War with all Expedition possible, strict
Orders were given to provide *Cavalry* with
Provisions, as they did in *July 1693*, for
want of which, the *Turks* laboured under
the greatest Extremity.

Letters also, and Commands were di-
patched to all Parts in *Asia*, to hasten the
March of the Janissaries and Spahies, and
to enroll new Janissaries, a Method not u-
sed in former Times; by which, taking
every Pitiful Fellow that offered to come
in, they composed such a Band of raw Sol-
diers, not only unexperienced in War, but
Poor, and Feeble, and Old, that scarce
one half of them were judged able to hold
out a March to Belgrade.

The Turks also dispatched away 2000
Janissaries to reinforce the Garrison at *Negropont*; likewise they reinforced *Causa*
with Men and Provisions; as they also did
their Army in and about the *Moravia*, and
strengthened their Castles at the *Dardanelles*,
with Soldiers, Gunners, and Engineers;
under Command of *Mustapha* Pasha, who
had formerly been Chiamac with the
Grand Seignior, but the Troops designed
for Hungary, marched slowly. These Pre-
parations being much retarded by the late
Change of those two great Officers, namely,
the Grand Vizier, who, as we said,
voluntarily resigned, and the Tetterdar, or
Lord Treasurer, called *Ismael Effendi*, Ma-
jor: tulle, or put out, Disgraced, and Exiled;
tho' some reported, That he was secretly
Strangled; which was a strange, and an
unseasonable Policy at such a time as this,
to put all things backward by the Death of
two prime Officers of State, who perhaps
were Innocent, and Good Ministers: But
under such a Government as this, it is not
sufficient to be Wise, Honest, and Indus-
trious, but you must also be Successful;
and free of Enemies, which are things not
in our power.

By these Changes, place was made for
other Officers; for *Osmán* Pasha, a Cun-
ning, Knavish Candiot (as most of that
Nation are) was made Chiamac in
Adrianople. *Mustapha* Pasha, who had been
Chiamac, and Seraskier on the *Danube*
was declared Grand Vizier; and *Cantemir*
the Son of *Dica* Bey, who had for 30 Years
past been Prince of *Moldavia*, was made
Successor to his Father. This Grand
Vizier, before he could be warm in his
Place, or provided with things necessary
for the War, or acquainted with his Soul-
diers,

1693. diery, and the Chief Commanders, which were to fight under him, was commanded to be gone with all expedition to the Army; which he prepared to do with what speed was possible. And in regard that all intentions for Peace were laid aside, the Mediators were dismissed from their further Attendance, and Mr. Heemskirk was licensed to return to Vienna; tho' some difficulties arose thereupon at the instance of the French, who suggested, that Heemskirk was an Instrument, and Spyc of the Emperor, and a German; and not sent as a Mediator from the King of England, whose true Minister my Lord Paget was: And this colour had like to have cost Heemskirk dear, had not my Lord Paget own'd him for a Minister of the King, and unridded the Secret of the two Ambassadors. In like manner my Lord Paget had leave to go to his House at Pera near Constantinople, which is the usual place of the English Ambassador's residence.

But as to the French Ambassador he continued still at Adrianople; and when the Vizier marched, he sent Fontaine his Dragoman, or Interpreter with him to attend all the Motions of the Vizier, and his Camp.

Whilst these things were in Action, the news from Asia was unpleasing, and administered Matter for serious Consideration at the Ottoman Court; where it was reported, That the Army of Bassora, under their New Arabian Prince did daily increase, and that the Palha of Sivas, or Schaffie, on the Frontiers of Persia were in Arms; and that such was the confusion in those Eastern Countries, as obliged the most powerful of the Asiatick Spahees to remain at home on the guard of their own Country and Estates; so that the present Ottoman Force was inferior to that of the preceding year; and by reason of the fore-mentioned Changes; to which we may farther add, that of the Seimen Palha, who was Lieutenant General of the Janitaries, and advanced to be Aga, or General of the Janitaries, in the place of Imael Palha. Likewise divers Captains, who had been Creatures and Favourites of the late General, were deprived of their Commands, lest they should make Disturbances, or raise Factions in the Army; all which, as it diminished and enfeebled their Force, so it hindered the early appearance of the Turks in the Field.

But the Preparations at Sea against the Persians proceeded more briskly than they did at Land; for in the Month of May, 22. Sail of Gallies, and 13 Great Men of War were provided and fitted out of the

Arfenal at Constantinople, and ordered to sail down to the Castles of the Dardanelles, there to join with the Gallies of the Beyes of the Archipelago; to which some Ships of the Barbarouses being added, they computed, that they might form a Fleet of 24 Sail of Men of War, besides Gallies.

Things proceeding thus slowly by Land, for the Causes before-mentioned, the Vizier did not begin his March from Adrianople towards the Christians, until the 26th of June Old Style, designing at first for Belgrade; when on a sudden, express Orders were given to the Army to change the course of their March, and leave the Road to Belgrade, and take that for Valachia, and through that Country to enter into Transylvania: This alteration was the more surprising to the Germans, who expected not the Turks on that side, because it was not known above a Week or 10 Days before the departure of the Vizier, the which Council was judged to have been given by the French Ambassador, or otherwise by the Tartars, who propounded to the Vizier to join him on the way with such a Force, as should make up his Army at least 80000 Men.

But whilst these Matters were consulting, news came that the Germans had a design to lay siege to Belgrade; and on their way thither had designed against the Palancha's of Jeno, and Julia, and threatened the Turks with devastations over all the plain Countries; and since the taking of Great Waradin, streightned Temeswar with want of Provisions; which put the Turks into some confusion both at home and abroad, and diverted entirely the design of the Turks upon Transylvania, where the most mischief might have been done on the Imperial Dominions; because Transylvania hath ever been esteemed the most convenient Door to let the Turks into Germany.

But what about the same time also caused some disturbances at home, was a Terrible Conflagration which happened at Constantinople; the Fire began first in the Street called Zildali, where they make the Muskets, and all sorts of Arms for the Grand Seignior's service, destroying all the Forges, and Instruments belonging to that Work; and the fire taking its way, consumed all before it, until it came to the great Capan, which is the chief, and only Magazine for Flour, and Corn, and all Provisions whatsoever, laid up for the Use of the City; and afterwards taking up the Hill, it took its course down by the way of Balata, and consumed at least

The Vizier begins his march from Adrianople.

1693. a third part of that Division, To that the Turks report, that above 20000 Shops, and Houses were consumed.

This great Conflagration being over, People began to enquire after the News which the Expresses brought from the Armies, from all parts; and particularly that from Asia was of considerable importance; giving a Relation, that the New Arab Prince, Emir by Name, who reckned his Descent in a Direct Line from their Prophet Mahomet, brought an Army into the Field, pretending to make himself Sovereign of Bassora, to which he had an Hereditary Right, and Title: His Army daily increasing, obliged the Grand Seignior to send many of his Troops out of Europe under the Command of the Palha of Bosnia to reinforce the Militia of those Countries.

The European Generals being unacquainted with the situation, and qualities of those Countries, and not knowing that in the Month of July the Rivers upon the melting of the Snows swell to a prodigious height, were strangely surprized to find themselves without any cause, or knowing how it came about, in the midst of a deep Water: For being encamped in the Valley of a flat Country, the Arabs opened their Sluces, and having made some Channels like Aqueducts, they let to great a Flood of Waters out of the Neighbouring Rivers into the Turkish Camp, that before the Turks understood from whence that Inundation proceeded, 6 or 7000 of them were drowned, and the rest being put into confusion, and endeavouring to save themselves, fell into the hands of the Arabs, and were all cut in pieces, or made Prisoners; only the Palha of Bosnia with 14 more escaped of all that multitude: And soon after this defeat the Arabs attacked, and took a Caravan, with the Spoils of which they enriched themselves.

The news of this Defeat very much discouraged the Turks in Europe, having lost by this accident 25000 Men of their own Friends and Acquaintance, which became the more sensible to them at that time, when the Turkish Army became so feeble in Hungary, that had not the Tartars assisted them with great Numbers, the Vizier would have been forced to return home with Confusion, and Dishonour.

The Tartars being made sensible of the great need that the Turks had of them, stood the more strongly on their Terms, and made some difficulties of joining with them, but at length suffered themselves to be worked upon, when they saw the rich Presents which the Grand Signior had sent

to the New Tartan Han, to engage him to come early this Year into the Field; and when they saw the rich Vests lined with Sables, and the Sword set with great Diamonds, with 40000 Zaichins in Money, they needed no other Rhetoric, or persuasive Arguments to prevail upon them, but all unanimously prepared to make an early Campaign.

Upon the news that the Christians designed to besiege Belgrade, the Vizier hastned his march thither; where by reason of the many losses which that Garrison had sustained, a Recruit was sent of 1000 men out of Bosnia, and 2000 Annates to reinforce the Garrison. And also 15000 Turks more were detached from the Army in Bosnia to recognize, or take a view of the Christian Forces in those Countries; and having passed the Save over three several Bridges, came and shewed themselves before Ock, which was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Baron Ogiley: This Governor finding himself unable to oppose the Turks in the Field, kept himself within his Bulwarks and Fortifications; until the Turks having at their leisure taken a view of the Place, and Country round about, retired back towards Belgrade, plundering every thing they could carry with them, together with Men, Women and Children, which they carried into slavery, to the number of about 3000 Souls. After which Ogiley drawing together a Body of about 800 select and choise Men, he passed the Save, and with them surprized a Town called Bratzein, to which having given fire, 200 Turks were burn'd therein, and the like number endeavouring to save themselves from the flames, ran out of the City, of which near 100 men were killed on the Place; and many Christians lately taken by the Turks, were released, and sent back to their own Habitations.

Since the taking of Great Waradin, Temeswar, Giula, and Genu, were so streightned for want of Provisions, that they were forced to send away all Women, and Children, and unnecessary Persons from the Places; the better to conserve the Victuals, and Provisions for the use of the Garrison: For General Hessler having for some time blocked up Genu, he made a nearer approach to it; and on the 16th and 17th day of June placing his Camp within half a mile of the place, he attacked the Suburbs, which were surrounded with a Ditch, and fortified with Palisadoes; howsoever the Germans forced the place and took it, the Turks retiring with much confusion into the City.

The next day being the 18th, General Hessler having received four pieces of Cannon,

The Turks in Aga drowned in the Waters.

Fire at Constantinople.

June.

1693. non, he fired with them into the City, and threw some Bombs thereinto; after which he summoned the Place, and threatened them, that in case they did not immediately surrender, he would afterwards give them no Quarter. But the *Turks* not hearkening hereunto, a Battery was rais'd, from whence the Guns fired without ceasing; and thereby in the space of five or six days a Breach being made, all matters were prepared for a Storm on the Place; which the *Turks* not daring to withstand, and adventure, they resolv'd to capitulate; and on the 27th hung out a White Flag, and sent out three of their Principal Men into the German Camp: Where entering into a Treaty, it was agreed, that the next day one of their Gates, and Bulwarks should be delivered up into the Hands of the Besiegers; which being performed the following day, the Garrison of the *Turks* consisting of about 800 fighting Men, with 200 Horse, were conveyed within half an hour's march from *Lippa*.

This City was provided with four Bulwarks, fortified with a high and strong Wall, broad and deep Ditches, into which the River *Aerez* hath a passage; and within it hath another retreat fortified with four Towers. In this Place the *Germans* found 35 Brefs, and three Iron Guns, with other Warlike Stores, as 20000 pounds of Powder, and other Ammunition proportionable. In this Siege, within the Town, 350 Men were killed, and wounded.

Immediately after the surrender of *Geno*, General *Heffler* invested the strong Forts of *Philaoras*, situated between *Geno* and *Lippa*, which yielded unto him; and having repaired the Breaches of *Geno*, and placed a small Body of Men in those parts, under the Command of General *Hofkirken*, he returned to *Great Waradin* with his remaining Forces.

The Grand Vizier being on his march to *Belgrade*, the news of what had happened at *Geno*, and *Philaoras* was brought to him; and thereby suspecting that *Temeswar* would be the next enterprize of *Heffler*, dispatched immediately Orders to the Pasha of *Belgrade* to send another Convoy, and more Troops thither to reinforce the Garrison of *Temeswar* with Men and Provisions. But the Pasha with several other Commanders refusing to obey, upon certain pretexts, that such a Detachment would be the Ruin of the Place, and that to save *Temeswar*, they should lose *Belgrade*; the Vizier became so enraged, that with his own Hand he killed six of the Principal *Turks*, who were Complices with the Pasha, and left their Dead

Bodies in the Streets to the view and terror of others.

Whilst these things passed at *Belgrade*, the Duke of *Croy*, who commanded the Imperial Army, prepared all necessities to besiege the Place. And in the first place he caus'd a Bridge to be laid over the *Danube* at *Verefnarton*, of an hours journey in length; over which he pass'd one half of his Army, and the other half he transported in Ships and Boats, and were followed by the *Hanover* Troops, and the Artillery: And tho' he had by these means gotten together in a Body, yet many things were wanting to begin, and carry on the siege; to supply which, being camp'd on the 25th of this Month near *Peter Waradin*, he dispatched an Express to some *Brandenburgher* Troops, which remained in the Rear, to advance forwards, and hasten their march: And having assembled a Council of War, it was resolv'd forthwith to pass the *Save* over the Bridge of *Peter Waradin*, and proceed to *Belgrade*. And accordingly towards the end of this Month, marching with great diligence, the *Hussars* having the Vanguard, surpris'd the *Turks* near *Belgrade*, of whom they took many Prisoners, with some Cattle, which they brought back into the Army; by which the *Turks* were so alarm'd, and by the march of the Imperial Army towards them, that they endeavour'd to carry away, and save the best of their Goods, but the Imperial Horse prevented their design.

The Christians approaching near the *Augst*, *Turks* on the first of *August*, began to fire on all sides from the Town; whilst the *Germans* on the contrary, were busily working on their Lines of Circumvallation, had not finish'd any Battery until the fifth, when they likewise began to fire on the City. It was farther at that time design'd that two of the Christian Gallies, well armed, should drive away from before the Town some light Turkish Gallies, by which means that side lying open, they could easily encompass the City on all sides.

On the ninth the *Brandenburgher* Troops joined the Army, and on the same day, some *Turks* belonging to the Garrison of a Palanca called *Baskowa*, situated about three hours distance from the Army, came to the Camp, and offer'd to capitulate; relating the which being granted with such Conditions as were propos'd, the Forts surrendred, and the Soldiers and Inhabitants were convey'd safe to *Semenaria*: In the Palanca they found nine Guns with some Ammunition, with good store of Hay and Corn.

1693.

1693. On the 12th of this Month the *Turks*, to celebrate their Annual Feast of the Bairam, fired all the Guns round the City and Castle; and the Day following made a brisk Sally with such Bravery, that at the first they brought the *Germans* into some Confusion; but rallying themselves again into good Order, they beat the *Turks* back into the City.

The *Turks* made a Sally, and drove in with loss. On the 14th they made another Sally more furious than the former, but with less Success, being repuls'd with the loss of 500 Men killed and taken Prisoners: This Blow gave the *Christians* an advantageous Opportunity, in the space of two Days to advance their Approaches to 150 Paces from the Countercarp.

Another Sally. On the 17th another Sally was made by the *Turks*, but were repuls'd with the loss of about 100 Men; by which the *Germans* advanced their Works within 80 Paces of the Countercarp. And

Bombs thrown into the Town. On the 19th threw several Bombs into the City, which did great execution; and posted six Regiments on the other side of the *Danube*; by which all Succours coming to the Town from *Temeswar*, or other Parts on that side, were hindred from giving any Relief; and the *Turks* Ships were bridled, and oblig'd to keep at a distance.

On the 26th the great Battery of 36 Guns was finish'd, from which the Besiegers continually fired on the City, and the *Turks* again on the Battery, where the Duke of *Croy* standing open was shot through the Hat with a Musket-Bullet, and his Adjutant-General killed by his side with the like.

The next Day being the 30th of *August*, *Kathana Myfapha* Pasha, with a Body of 300 Horse, Attack'd the Emperor's advanced Troops near *Semlin*, but were received by them, that 40 of them remain'd upon the Spot, several Wounded, and many made Prisoners. The same Day Intelligence was brought to the Duke of *Croy*, That the Grand Vizier had drawn together from all Parts, as many Forces as he had been able to do, with Resolution to relieve the Town.

The Grand Vizier marches to relief of the Town. On the last Day of *August*, the Chief Engineer *Keyserfeldt* entering the Trenches, was killed by a Musket-shot.

September. In the first six Days of *September* nothing was performed which was considerable, but that the Approaches were still advancing; so that on the 7th, the Besiegers Storm'd the Countercarp, which con-

tinued until the going down of the Moon, when the Darknets of the Night put an end to the Assault, in which the *Christians* lost 1000 Men, killed and wounded, in the Place, and amongst them the *Bavarian* General *Syeldorf*, with two Lieutenant-Colonels, and other Officers.

The ill Success that the *Christians* had sustain'd by the Storm made on the Countercarp, being the cause of Raising the Siege, it may be very proper to infer here a Relation, which a principal Officer gave thereof, who was present at the Attack made thereon the 7th of *September* 1693, in this manner.

Whilst these things were acting, News came, That the *Tartars* had appear'd in the Neighbourhood with a Body of 2000 Men, and had driven away with them some Cattle: And

On the 10th Instant News was brought by several Expresses, That the Grand Vizier with an Army of 80000 Men, was arriv'd, together with a great Fleet of Ships and Gallies, before *Widin*: Upon which News, and the sharp Blow received some few Days before, upon the Countercarp of the Town, it much discourag'd the Proceedings of the *Germans*: Upon which a Council of War being call'd, it was judg'd dangerous to expect the Arrival of so great an Army, or to attend and stand their Shock; and therefore it was concluded best to Decamp, and quit the Siege, which accordingly was executed with good Order, and the whole Army drew off with Bag and Baggage, Guns, and all other Materials; and so passing the River *Save*, over the Bridge which they had made, they Burnt and Destroy'd it: And thus ended this Expedition with no small Charge and Expence of Blood and Men to the Emperor.

In the Management of which, many Errors and Blunders were committed: The Trenches were not open'd until 13 Days after the Place was Invested; and that the Batteries were not ready until 13 Days after that: It was another Oversight, That the Fleet, which should have hindred all Provisions from the Town, coming from *Temeswar*, was not ready before the Town was Invested; which was as ridiculous, as when the King of *Denmark* forgot his Mortars, going before *Hamburg*; and so were the *German* Cannon, which were not brought before the Town till five Weeks after it was Invested.

1693.

Copie de la Relation envoyée
à & sur l'assaut de la Contre-
scarpe de Belgrade, du
7 Septembre, 1693.

QUOYQUE je n'aye pas manqué de rapporter icy qu'il étoit dangereux de donner un assaut de Contrescarpe, quand elle se trouve encore éloignée plus de cent pas des approches, comme effectivement étoit celle de Belgrade le 7 Septembre, parceque ceux qui portent la fascine devant venir de si loin à decouvert sont la plus part tués ou blessés avant qu'ils arrivent à la Pallissade, & par conséquent n'en peuvent fournir assez, ny assez vite pour faire le Logement requis & sa Communication aux approches avant l'arrivée du jour, outre que par cette grande distance on expose plus d'ennemis de commencer le dit assaut après la nuit close par les Raisons suivantes : Et

I. Parceque notre Artillerie, & nos Fusiliers ne pouvant ajuster leurs coups aux Parapets, & défenses de l'Ennemy ne savaient aussi l'empêcher de plonger à decouvert son feu sur les assaillants, & sur les travailleurs.

II. Puisque nos Grenadiers par l'Obscurité ne voyant pas la contenance de l'Ennemy, ny pouvant reconnoître sa foiblesse dans les postes, qu'il occupe pendant la Chaleur de l'assaut, ils n'ont pas lieu aussi de profiter du moindre avantage, que la Confusion du d'Ennemy luy peut donner dans l'action, apres quoy il peut se remettre, & revenir à son devoir.

III. Parceque les Turques ont accoutumés de redoubler la garde dans chacun de leurs postes pendant la nuit seulement.

IV. Le Soldat, & bien souvent l'Officier ne se piquant pas d'une égale bravoure, quand ils ne sont pas observés de leurs supérieurs comme ils le seroient s'ils agissaient pendant la lumière, ils profitent souvent de la Moindre confusion pour se cacher ou se dérober à leur devoir.

V. Parceque le tems du travail devenant par ce moyen plus court on ne savaient plus fort qu'au nombre d'environ 150 par un bon Logement, ny faire la Communication en arriere avant l'arrivée du jour

sans la quelle on seroit ensuite forcé par 1693.
l'Ennemy d'abandonner le poste.

On ne laissa neantmoins pas le jour 7 Septembre deux heures apres le soleil couché d'ordonner l'assaut de la Contrescarpe de cette place, qui fut disposé comme il s'en suit. A sçavoir 400 Grenadiers avec deux Capitaines sous le commandement du Baron de Flouk major du vieux Staremberg partagés moitié à la gauche, & moitié à la droite devoient donner depuis le Ravelin du Roy jusques à la Contregarde de la gauche de notre attaque soutenu par 200 Fusiliers, qui étoient aussi commandés par deux Capitaines, les quels devoient être secondés par 400 autres Fusiliers, à sçavoir par 200 sous le commandement du Lieutenant Colonel de Thau, qui étoit destiné à la droite, & soutenu par le Colonel Comte Marfigli avec deux Bataillons, & les autres 200 sous le commandement du Lieutenant Colonel d'Anali qui étoit destiné à la gauche soutenu par le Colonel Danois Stockamer avec deux autres Bataillons. L'attaque s'agitit d'abord menée par le General Seiberstorff sous la direction, & commandement du General Comte Guido Staremberg. Ce qui fut exécuté immédiatement après le signal donné. Quand nos Grenadiers virent l'Ennemy qui sortit en même temps aussi de sa Pallissade, sur le Glacis vers l'ouvrage à Corne, chacun tenant un Flambeau allumé d'une main, & le fabre de l'autre pour les recevoir, mais poussés par la vigueur des nôtres, & par le grand feu qu'ils luy firent dessus il fut obligé de rentrer au plus vite dans son chemin couvert, & dans ses contre-approches, ou nos gens le chargerent avec une si grande quantité de Grenades, & le Fusil crevé à la pallissade qu'ils en firent rester un grand nombre, sur la place, & le mirent partie en confusion, lors qu'on Capitaine des dits Grenadiers ayant fait dire à Monsieur le General Seiberstorff de luy envoyer du monde pour le soutenir & pour faire le Logement sur la Pallissade ; Le dit General luy fit répondre, qu'il scauroit bien luy envoyer tout cela, quand il seroit temps il étant pas son Affaire d'entrer dans ces sortes de dispositions, de maniere que nos Gens furent une grande heure & demy à decouvert sur la Pallissade, sans qu'on leur envoyât ny les Fusiliers destinés pour les soutenir, ny les travailleurs avec des Fascines, & Gabions pour les Loger, quoy qu'ils en fissent toutes les instances possibles, après quoy les dits 400 Grenadiers ne se trouvant plus fort qu'au nombre d'environ 150 le reste ayant été tués ou blessés, on fit sortir les Fusiliers pour les soutenir ;

Monsieur

1693.

Monsieur le Comte Guido de Staremberg voyant la perte considerable de nôtres sans aucun fruit, commanda qu'on deut se retirer de l'entreprise lors qu'on luy vint fausement rapporter, que nos Gens s'étoient logés à la gauche sur la Pallissade, ce qui luy fit suspendre sa resolution, ordonnant de continuer le travail, & dans ce tems là le Colonel Comte Marfigli sortit sur la droite pour le soutenir avec ces deux Bataillons, étant rentré un moment après avec une Legere blessure à la jambe apres quoy Monsieur le Comte Guido ayant appris que nos Gens sur la gauche bien loin d'être logés à la Pallissade, comme on luy avoit fait croire, avoient abandonné le travail, & qu'à la droite au Lieu d'avoir attaqué entre l'angle saillant du Ravelin du Roy, & la Contregarde du Côté de la Save, s'étoient attachés entre le dit Ravelin & l'ouvrage à Corne, contre la disposition faite, & toute raison, à cause du grand feu de Flanc & de Front, dont l'Ennemy les chargeoit, crut à propos avec le reste de la Generalité de faire retirer le monde se contentant de pousser un petit Zie Zaccavé d'environ 20 pas hors de notre parallèle éloignée encore plus de 60, pas de la Pallissade, qui n'étoit qu'environ deux pieds profond, lors que le jour arriva.

Quoyque la bravoure de nos Gens alla jusques à l'opiniâtreté celle des Ennemis fut assurément toute extraordinaire puisqu'il se défendit avec une telle constance, & fit un feu du Mousquet si continué pendant deux bonnes heures, qu'on ne pouvoit distinguer un coup de l'autre, outre les Bombes, & Grenades, qu'il tira sans cesse particulièrement du chemin couvert entre l'ouvrage à Corne & le Ravelin du Roy, ou nos Gens attaquèrent parme prise contre la disposition faite, & ou il y avoit trois Pallissades l'une devant l'autre, dont de la plus avancée l'Ennemy se défendoit avec le Mousquet, de la seconde il jettoit des pierres, & de la troisième des Grenades avec des Cuilleres sans discontinuer un moment.

S'il est extraordinaire, qu'on aye manqué de faire un logement de Contrescarpe particulièrement avec des si braves Gens, comme nous avions, il doit l'être encore plus qu'on n'aye pu réussir devant un Ennemy, qui n'en a jamais descendu jusques à présent, & on ne scauroit en attribuer la faute qu'à la mauvaise disposition à sçavoir parceque on l'a attaquée de trop loin, que l'on a voulu attaquer la nuit contre les raisons adoucies, que l'Artillerie n'a jamais tiré aux défenses, & Pallissades des lieux

1693.
que nous devions attaquer. Que les Ingénieurs (Particulièrement Morandé) Abandonner d'abord le poste. Que les Grenadiers de la droite en attaquèrent pas ou il falloit. Que ceux cy, & ceux de la Gauche ne furent pas soutenus, & parceque enfin l'Ingénieur, qui avoit la direction du travail sur les autres ne sortit jamais le s'ant aux faux rapports qu'on luy faisoit.

Cependant si le malheureux vouloit qu'il fallut quitter cette Place, il est constant que, laissant à part la principale raison de n'avoir pas coupé à l'Ennemy la communication de la Riviere, Les Ingénieurs, & l'Artillerie ont par leur negligence, particulièrement contribué à cette perte, puisque les premiers ont commencés travailler à la sappe étant encore à 150 pas loin, faisant ainsi les parades, & 4 ou 5. Clôter d'ouvrage en 24 heures, & les seconds n'ont jamais voulu avancer leurs Batteries, en il falloit pour rompre les défenses de l'Ennemy, ny tirer cette quantité de Bombes, & Canons nécessaires pour rompre cette place, particulièrement le jour 7. Pendant le quel jour ils ne firent rien, ny aux Pallissades du Chemin couvert, ny aux défenses des Contreapproches, & pièces, que nous devions attaquer, ce qui donna lieu à l'Ennemy de soutenir si bien ses Ouvrages, qui étoient encore tous entiers.

L'on aura perdu dans cette assaut environ 1000 hommes, tant tués que blessés parmi les quels il y a 254 Grenadiers bien comptés & beaucoup d'Officiers, & entre autres Monsieur le General Seiberstorff tué.

Nous sommes environ 80 pas de la Pallissade de la Place, de fort que Samedi 12 du mois nous serons en état d'attaquer la Contrescarpe une seconde fois qui ne réussira pas mieux que la premiere, si les dispositions n'en seront meilleures.

Ce matin 9 de Septembre, sur les 9 heures, les Tartares sont venus jusques à notre retranchement & ont emmenés plus de 800 Beufs, & quelques chevaux de l'Armée, & parlois ou deux fois Prisonniers on eût averti, que le secours sera icy dans cinq à six jours fort de 90000 Hommes, avec 80 pieces de Canon, ceuy cependant ne se conforme point, avec les nouvelles du General Veterani ; De quelle façon que cela soit, si le secours vient je ne vois pas que nous ayons assez d'infanterie pour soutenir les Approches, Garner les Lignes pour mettre au de la Danube, & empêcher

T E T A cher

1693. cher le secours, & pour Garder les ponts, & providance, qui fera sans doute coupée par les Tartares, qui passeront la Sauve ou a la nage ou à Sabagg de forte que, non obstant que sur le commencement nous ayons eu assez de temps, & moyens, pour emporter cette place, Je vois tres necessaire d'en abandonner le Siege, & repasser au plus vite la Sauve, si l'on veut conserver l'Armée, le Royaume d'Hongrie, & toutes les Conquêtes, &c.

Continuation du Journal de Siege de Belgrade, depuis le 5 jusqu'au 9 Septembre, 1693.

Le 5 le feu de nos Batteries fut fort grand, & nous jettes quantité de Bombes & de Carcasses sur l'ouvrage à Corne. Nous commençâmes aussi à faire une grande Ligne parallele à notre droite.

Le General Archinto fut dangereusement blessé d'un coup de Mousquet, & pendant tout le travail nous n'eûmes qu'un Soldat de blessé & pas un de tué.

Sur le soir un transfuge de la ville, qui étoit Chrétien & qui avoit travaillé aux Mines des Ennemis rapporta qu'il n'y en avoit encore pas une de remplie. Il s'offrit à nous découvrir toutes celles qui avoient été faites contre notre Attaque ce qu'il fit le lendemain, & on a trouvé que cela étoit conforme aux avis que quelques uns de nos Ingenieurs, qui avoient fortifié autrefois Belgrade, nous avoient donné & à ceux qu'on a eu depuis.

Le 6 il arriva 2 Expres que le General Veterani renvoyait de Transylvanie avec nouvelle certain que le Grand Visir avoit passé le Danube avec les Turcs, & que parmi les Tartares il regnoit une Maladie contagieuse qui en faisoit mourir plusieurs.

Le même jour on fit la Parallele gauche & on l'avance beaucoup, & en plusieurs endroits on s'appa. Nous commençâmes aussi à fermer le Danube avec des bateaux de Moulins à la Turque & une maniere des chasses Flottantes, au dessous de la Ville,

entre deux Forts que nous avons aux deux bords de la jiviere depuis nos Lignes de Circonvallation.

Le 7, à 4 heures du Matin le General Archinto mourut de sa blessure & à 7 heures on fit assembler les Generaux de l'Infanterie & on tint conseil pour sçavoir de quelle maniere on attaqueroit la Contrescarpe & on résolut pour mieux tromper l'Ennemy d'attaquer le polygone par plusieurs endroits à la fois, & à chaque endroit premierement avec 100 Grenadiers ensemble, ensuite avec 300, qui devoient poursuivre ceux des Ennemis qu'ils trouveroient. Ceux ci devoient être suivis de 300 autres qui avoient ordre de prendre poste sur les Palissades.

Les Grenadiers devoient être soutenus de 600 Fusiliers, & tous ensemble devoient être couverts de 1200 Mousquetaires des dernieres Lignes. On destina 1700 hommes pour toutes sortes de travaux & 6 Bataillons de reserve. Excepté ce qui étoit de reserve il n'y eut que 4100 hommes pour l'Attaque, dont 2 tiers des Imperiaux & un tiers des Brandebourgeois & Lunebourgeois devoient donner à la droite.

Le General Guido Stahremberg eut l'Attaque droite, & le General Bavarin Monsieur Seybelsdorf la gauche. Les Auxiliaires avoient leur poste au milieu, chacun devoit commander les siens & avoir son Corps de reserve particulier en cas de besoin.

L'Attaque devoit commencer une demi-heure avant la nuit, afin que pendant la nuit on pût se fortifier & avoir toutes les Communications necessaires.

A midi on amena tout le monde dont on avoit besoin & à 2 heures après Midi S. A. le Duc de Croy & le General Heusler vinrent eux mêmes donner les ordres sur la place ainsi on fit en toute diligence apporter des Fascines, des Gabions & autres choses necessaires; mais avant qu'on fût prêt non seulement le tems destiné pour l'attaque se passa, mais on trahna jusqu'à 10 heures du soir lorsque la lune se couchoit de sorte qu'on croioit de renvoyer au lendemain, mais l'ardeur des Soldats & des Officiers étoit si grande & la connoissance de l'Ennemi qui se tenoit pres de ses feux donna si bonne esperance qu'on voulut faire une tentative.

1693. Les Grenadiers qui coururent d'abord, firent fort bien, & sauterent en plusieurs endroits dans la Contrescarpe, les autres commencerent à prendre poste : Nos Canons & nos Bombes les secondèrent à merveille, & c'étoit un beau feu à voir ; mais les Ennemis qui étoient assemblés dans la Contrescarpe & dans les ouvrages de dehors en ayant eu le vent fans qu'on s'en doutât, illuminerent tout par le moyen de leurs feux d'Artifice.

Ils firent une opiniatre resistance & attirerent à eux avec des Crochets nos Fascines & Gabions, & en jettant continuellement des Sacs de Poudre, des pierres & des Grenades ils empecherent que nous ne gardassions poste si près de la Contrescarpe.

Outre que pendant l'obscurité ceux qui étoient à l'Attaque gauche s'avancerent si fort de là droite & y pousiferent tellement ceux du milieu, que chacun n'étant pas dans sa veritable place, & ce poste étant si éloigné de nos Lignes qu'on ne pouvoit s'y maintenir de nuit, encore moins de jour, on trouva bon de faire reculer notre Monde & de le faire avancer peu à peu jusqu'à l'endroit on nous sommes presentement. Ce qui se fit après un rude choc qui dura pendant 2 heures, & nous nous sommes logés à 24 pas par le Moyen d'une nouvelle Ligne. Nous avons eu 6 ou 700 Hommes de tués & blessés.

Le General des Bavares Monsieur Seybelsdorf a été tué dans cette occasion, comme aussi le Lieutenant Colonel Horn, le jeune Comte Beck : Parmi les blessés se trouvent le Colonel Marigli, le Colonel Blankensee, le Comte de Thaur Lieutenant Colonel de Guido Stahremberg, les Barons d'Alman & d'Andremont Capitaines. Les Ennemis doivent avoir aussi beaucoup perdu de Monde.

Le 8 on a beaucoup avancé la nouvelle Ligne, & on a achevé un grand travail sans faire aucune perte, en forte que dans 3 jours on espere d'être pres de la Contrescarpe. On a detaché des Partys pour aller reconnoître l'Ennemi qu'on croit d'être bientôt icy aux environs.

Le 9 un Party de Tartares vint jusques vers notre Camp. Il a emmené quantité de bestail, qu'on faisoit paître malgré la défiance au de la des Sentinelles. On les a poursuivis & on fait 2 Prisonniers qui disent que le Grand Visir est vers la Morava

avec son Armée & qu'il doit incessamment s'avancer vers Semendria.

The Grand Vizier having entered the Town on the 15th, the Christians retired from before it, the Vizier caused all the Works which the Germans had made, to be filled, and levelled; and what damage the Cannon and Bombs had made, to be repaired; and sent fresh Provisions for Temeswar under a strong Convoy; and having caused the Tartars to make some Excursion near Peter Waradin, and taken a view of the Imperial Camp, the Vizier attempted nothing more of moment. Nor did the Imperial Army undertake any thing farther, than to Retrench which felt near to Peter Waradin, and act on the Defensive, which was all that had been done of moment, during the remainder of this whole Campaign, unless in their two Particulars following.

On the 17th of September, Count Batthian Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Sclavonia, marched from the River Unna, and Cofanizza, with the Land Militia, and arrived on the 19th at three a Clock in the Afternoon, before the Turkish City call'd Brancin Maidan; where having taken a Survey of the Ground, the following Night the Trenches were opened : And

On the 20th, they began to fire their great Guns, and to throw Bombs into the City : The Garrison, and the Inhabitants defended themselves bravely ; for tho' they were twice Summoned, they refused to Surrender, saying, That the Place was a Magazine belonging to the Sultan, which therefore they were obliged to maintain to the last Drop of their Blood : The Place was also of greater importance, by reason of the Iron and Copper Mines, which arose in the Neighbourhood, out of which they forged Mortar-pieces, and great Quantities of Iron Bullets.

The Besieged defended themselves very valiantly for the space of two Hours ; but at last the Palissades being pulled up, or cut down, the Walls of the City were forced, and taken, and above 500 Men and Women were put to the Sword, amongst which there were two Chief Commanders, and a third, Chachilovich by Name, was taken Prisoner, together with many principal Persons more of both Sexes.

Within the Town the Besiegers found great quantities of Bombs, of which some were of 200 weight, with store of brags of rare and cunning Workmanship, together with other very rich Booty ; of all which having Plundered the Inhabitants,

1693. and carried away all that was worth the taking, they burned the City and Suburbs to Ashes, with the Houses that were in the Neighbourhood, with the loss only of about 40 Men.

The other Successful Enterprize was executed on the 19th of October by General Hoffkirken, against Giula, of which the General himself gave this Narrative in a Letter to the Duke of Croÿ, sent him by an Express in this manner.

General Hoffkirken's Letter to the Duke of Croÿ.

THIS Morning I fell upon the Turks and Tartars very early, when they least expected me, and having at the first onset forced them to retreat beyond the first Palanca, I caused the Dragons, with 500 Horsemen to alight from their Horses, and with their Swords in their Hands to pass the Ditch: The Enterprize was bold, but vigorously executed. The Turks were very strong, their Force consisting of 40 Troops of Horse, 1200 Janisaries, with 2800 Tartars newly arrived to Convey Provision into that Fortress; but being on the other side of it, they were so hotly attacked, that they were driven to the Castle, and upwards of 1000 of them were killed, and 2500 Horses and Camels taken from them. All the Provisions which should have been brought into Giula were yet lying in their Magazines within the Palanca, together with some thousands of Measures of Corn which came laden on Camels, were burnt in the sight of the Turks, and thereby all their toil and labours lost, which were designed to supply that Place with Provisions. And I come but eight Hours sooner, I had also met with the Tartars marching to Debreszin; howsoever I am now preparing to follow them, and hope to come up with them to morrow, or the day following.

The Tartars returning homewards to Bactria, and passing through Walachia, they entirely ruin'd and destroyed the Country. But before we end this Year, and the Accidents which happened therein, we are to take notice of another terrible fire at Constantinople: For as there happened one before in the Month of May last past, so now another broke out on the

26th of August, more grievous and terrible than any had done for many years before. The former Fire in May began at Balata, as we have related; but that in the Month of August broke out at Odus August Scheleff, or the Wood-wharf, being the common place where all the Timber for building Houses and Ships is laid, and in which are many hundreds of Chambers of vast bigness for receiving all sorts and sizes of squar'd Timber, with millions of Boards, and other Timber fitted for building; the Damage of which amounted to an incredible sum; and was of such a general terror and consternation, that had it happened at the time when Belgrade was last besieged, the People for very afflictment would have fled from Philippopolis and Adrianople; and at Constantinople it self the People were possessed with such a Panic Fear, that thousands of Families were ready to abandon the City, and to fly into Asia, for a quarter part of the City was burnt down; and to encrease this terror among the People, it was given out, that the Germans were coming upon them with a very numerous Army. And it is here very observable, that about that time things being in a doubtful condition, and no news coming from the Army, nor from Belgrade, the Grand Seigneur in a most furious rage swore, that if that City were lost, he would take off the Heads of the Grand Vizier, and of Osman Pasha, the Chimacem, who affrighted with this Menace, fell sick, and died with fear. The Eunuchs also in the Seraglio took the confidence from hence to speak against the Government, exclaiming openly, that if such Misfortunes were permitted in, and amongst the Principal Officers, the Sultan would be forced to quit Europe, and take refuge in Anatolia.

But when the news came that the Siege of Belgrade was raised, the Anger of the Sultan began to abate, and to be appeased against the Chief Officers; and then the language of the People changed its tone, and praised the Officers, who but a few days before they had cursed and condemned to utter Ruine, saying that the raising of this Siege was a Miracle of God, who had heard their Prayers; which brought a vast Confluence of People to their Mosques, to give Thanks to God, and to make Corban, as they call it, which is a kind of Sacrifice, offered in this manner; they who are of the richer sort, kill Sheep and Lambs, and having prepared them, they cut them in pieces, and give them to the Poor, which is a great Charity and Relief to them; and this

1693. this in such cafes of Joy, and Thankgiving, is the most Solemn Act in all their Religion.

The Turks before this Action were grievously dejected and cast down, but were again revived by the news that the Siege of Belgrade was raised. To these Misfortunes and Miseries the raging Pestilence of this Year contributed very much, of which thousands of People died in all parts of the Ottoman Dominions; and thus the Turks had three Judgments of God upon them this last Year, namely Fire, Sword, and Pestilence.

And this is all that passed this Year of any moment; for the Venetians had neither done, nor attempted any thing; and the Turks having lost nothing, took courage against the next Year to be early in the field, with a far greater Army than they had this, and likewise at Sea with a stronger, and a more numerous Fleet, having 20 Sail of Stout Men of War in the Archipelago already fitted, from 50 to 80 Guns, besides the increase of their Gallies, and Brigantines on the Danube. Theft and such like matters encouraging the Turks, with the Expectation of a Peace with Poland, which the French Ambassador fomented, and forwarded so far, that an Ambassador being sent from Varsavia to Adrianople to treat, the same backed with the French Interest; it was generally believed that the Peace was concluded; but how true that was, the Successes of the next Year will demonstrate unto us.

Anno 1694.

THIS following Year of 1694. produced no greater Actions than the former, but yet continued still to be successful to the Emperor. In the beginning of March the Grand Vizier was dispossessed of his High Office, and succeeded by Ali Pasha of Tripoli; the cause whereof was on a slight occasion, which was this; the Vizier being desirous to take some recreation with hunting Hares on a certain day, his Enemies took the opportunity to bring the Sultan that way, where he unluckily met with the Vizier's Dogs, and a noise of hunting; of which the Grand Seigneur enquiring what it meant, some Enemies to the Vizier answered, that it was the Grand Vizier, who might have employed his time in management of the Affairs of the Empire, better than in Sports and Recreations, reserved, and more becoming the pleasures of his Master, than his own; but this (as they added) was no wonder, it be-

ing his constant trade and practice. With which the Sultan became so enraged, that he immediately sent for him, and taking the Seals from him, he deprived him of his Office.

Hereupon Ali Pasha was sent for, being esteemed a Man of great Courage, and Experience in all State Affairs, and being Arrived at Adrianople in the beginning of May, he immediately put forth the Horse-Tail, which is a Signal that the Vizier designs his march for the Camp in 40 days afterwards; and to shew his readiness, and zeal for the Grand Seigneur's Service, he raised and equipped 3000 Men at his own Charge, and out of his own Estate. But here we may observe, that before the former Vizier was deposed, Orders had been given, that henceforward no Venetian Ships should be permitted to come into any of the Ottoman Ports under English or French Colours, upon confiscation of Ship and Lading; howsoever two Months were allowed for execution of the Penalty, on those Ships which were already arrived within the Ports.

As the Grand Vizier was deposed for the reasons aforesaid, so also was the Chimacem, called Calaficos Ahmet Pasha, of Greek Extraction, in danger of being strangled, had not the Queen Mother, and the Kuzlir-Aga, or Chief Eunuch procured the favour to have his Punishment altered, and changed to an Exile into Egypt, for many Tyrannies and Cruelties he had committed; and particularly for that he had taken away the Ancient Church called St. George at Constantinople, belonging to the Patriarchate for some hundreds of Years before that time: In his place feticen Pasha, a prudent Person, and one very well practised in Affairs, was constituted Chimacem; and being the Nephew of the famous Kupriogli, gave general satisfaction to all People, and particularly to the Greeks and Christians, to whom he always shewed much favour.

At this time, as is usual, there were two great Factions at Adrianople, one in the Seraglio, consisting of the Queen Regent, the Kuzlir-Aga, and other Principal Courtiers; the other Party in opposition to these, were the Musti, the Grand Viziers, and Principal Officers of the Janizaries, and Spahees: To strengthen these, after the Death of Osman Pasha, the Seliçtar-Aga was chosen Chimacem, being a Young Man, a Chircassian by Nation, of a very good understanding, and for his years very well versed in Affairs: This Person being promoted to this Office without the knowledge or consent either of the Grand Vi-

1694. zier, or the Mufti, but only by the Machination or Contrivance of the Kuzlir-Aga and Queen Mother, rendered his Condition the more unsettled, and uncertain. And indeed not only the Court, but all the Empire was in great Confusion by reason of the weakness of three or four Sultans successively, of whom we have already given a Character, and particularly of this Sultan Achmet, of whom the best we can say is, that he was a Good Natur'd Jolly Prince, and feared no hurt, nor withheld it to any Person whatsoever.

But how the state of Affairs were in those days, we may learn from a Letter, which my Lord Paget wrote to a Person of Quality at Vienna, dated April 24. N.S. 1694.

Lord Paget's Letter.

SIR,

THET so often change their Ministers here, that an Ambassador can scarce come to treat twice with the same Person. Since my arrival here at the Port, they have had three Grand Viziers, three Chimacans of Adrianople, four Chimacans of Constantinople, three *zias* of the Janissaries, three Testerdars or Lord Treasurers, two New Castellers or Judges of Asia, and Romelia; and in short, all the Great Officers of the Empire were changed, (the Mufti only excepted) by which there was such a New Set of Idiots and Fools got into Places, as would overturn the best settled Government in the World. For these Officers being only such, as Chance offers, it is a doubtful Wager, whether he proves a Fool, or a Wise Man; and in case he should prove a Man of Parts, yet he is suffered so short a time to remain in his Office, that he is in no capacity to improve them.

Ambassadors, unless it be at their first Audience, and at that of Congedie, have no Conference or Access to the Grand Seigniors, and then they affect such a sort of Grandeur, as may best cover all their Thoughts by a Silence, so that they give no place for any debate; and a Man can never lay any foundation upon their Words: For as their Ally of France seems to be a Slave to his word; so they hold it to be no dishonour to be open, and esteem nothing for a Secret. It is true, that very seldom or never, a Minister shall receive a flat denial from a Turk, for he shall strain you on to the very last point; and when

you come to the last Argument, and Upshot of all, then a Sum of Money will make the Conclusion.

The disorders made by the Arabian Princes in the Countries about Aleppo did still continue, which caused great fears, and apprehensions at Constantinople itself: but those Countries being far remote, and distant made little alterations or noise at Court.

The Negotiations of Poland at Adrianople had no success, so that the Envoy was dispatched away, *re infectis*. Some few days afterwards, the Tartar Han quitted the Court with dissatisfaction, and all things seemed in much disorder; however they talked high of great preparations for the following Campaign: And to make some evidences thereof, they dispatched away 1200 Janissaries from Adrianople to Belgrade; moreover they sent away 32 Saïques for the Danube.

About this time the Grand Vizier arrived from Tripoli de Siria, where he had been Pasha, and was sent for by the Grand Seigneur to head the Army in Hungary, having been recommended by some Favourites to have been the wisest and most experienced General in the Empire, but the trial shewed him to be a Man rather of the Pen and good Language, than of Arms.

But to speak more fully and pertinently concerning the Negotiations of the Polish Envoy at Adrianople, he was lodged at Demerdesh, about an English Mile from the City, in a poor Village, without Ceremony, or any great Equipage; he had a Coach with six Horses, in which was a French Jesuit: His Business was declared rather to be designed to the Tartar Han, who was at that time at Adrianople, than to the Grand Seigneur, and accordingly had Audience of him.

In the first place it was observable, that the Polish Envoy's Audience with the Tartar Han, the Polish Envoy kept his Cap the Tartar Han asked him, whether he had any other Letters for him; to which he replied no. He asked him from whom that Letter was, he answered, from the King his Master. The Han asked him, whether he had any thing to say to him by word of Mouth, to which he answered no, for that all was contained within the Letter. The Han spoke in the Tartar Language, and the Pole in his own. The Audience ended, the

1694. the Pole arose, kissed the Han's Vest, retired backwards with his Face towards the Han, which is a part of respect amongst Turks and Tartars, and most of the Eastern People, all which was over in less than half an Hours time.

The which Passage seemed very Mysterious, and not well understood, from whence, and from whom this Envoy was sent; but being gone out of the Presence of the Han, the Negotiation appeared to concern War and Peace, and a Treaty proposed to be held in order thereunto, between the Turk and Tartar on one side, and of the Emperor, King of Poland, and the Venetian State on the other. Hereof intelligence was given by my Lord Paget, Monsieur Heemskirk, and Heer Colyer, to the Emperor, Venetians, and all the Allies whom it might concern; the which seemed very strange, that such a Negotiation should be set on foot unknown to them, or to the Mediators of the Peace; the which was still more surprizing, when the Orders for such a Treaty given to a Polish Minister, were disavowed, and unexpected by the Emperor and the Venetians; and what made the Business the more doubtful, was, That this Envoy brought no Letters for the Mediators, from any of the Allies, or Princes concerned; nor did he admit of any Salutes from the Foreign Christian Ministers; for tho' my Lord Paget had his Secretary Mr. Coke, and the Ambassador Colyer had his Chief Interpreter upon the Place, yet the Pole would admit of none of their Addresses, or Visits, but adhered close to the French Ambassadors, with whom he had long and frequent Conferences.

This unusual way of management of Treaties, gave just reason of suspicion to all Persons, that this Negotiation was nothing but an Artifice of the French, to bring Poland into a separate Peace with the Turk, which perhaps by the Cunning and Crafty Insinuations of the French might have succeeded, had not the Pole too earnestly insisted on the Surrender of Camineck into their Hands, with all the Provisions, Arms, and Fortresses, and with the *Uri Passidets*; which was a Term at that time, and during the late Treaty, mortally hateful to the Turks: Had not that Term, I say, been unluckily started, it is very probable, that the Turks would have accepted of a separate Peace with the Poles: And moreover this particular Article would go down the worse, in regard that the Turks had lately repaired that strong Fortrefs, and supplied it with all sorts of Provisions, and of all Parts had made it almost impregnable: And another Difficulty was, That Poland was not willing to Surrender some

1694. small Places which they had taken on the Frontiers of Moldavia; by which it plainly appears, That all this Treaty was nothing but an Artifice of the French, to amuse the Turks, and try if possible, by some Overtures of this Nature, to bring the Poles into a separate Peace.

The Cham of Tartary being a Chief Actor, and designed to bear a principal part in this disguised Treaty, finding that hereby he began by his Friendship with the Polish Envoy, to lose his Credit, and Reputation, and that his good Friend the Grand Vizier, (tho' newly put into Place) was tottering, and near being Deposed, and to be himself commanded to return into his own Country, he hastned away this supposititious Envoy all he could, and accordingly, by Order of the Grand Seigneur, he was dispatched away with some Indignity, and Disgrace; neither the Tartar Cham, nor the Grand Vizier daring to open their Mouths in his Behalf, or to mention any of the Conditions he had proposed for a Peace: And such a Person must have been endued with a good Stock of Confidence, and Impudence to manage a Business of the highest Importance on such weak Grounds as he had to pretend, especially at a time when all the Grand Officers of the Empire were upon their Change. But such a speak most favourably of this Business say, That this Polish Envoy, or Agent, was not sent to make a separate Peace, but to prepare things in order thereunto, by advancing their Conditions, on which the Port might afterwards treat with the Emperor and the Venetians, sending their Ministers into Transylvania with Powers to that purpose; but all this came to nothing as will appear by the sequel of this History.

In the mean time all things were in great disorder in the Court between those Officers who live within and without the Seraglio, to make up these Differences. The Grand Vizier, with the Tartar Han, Testerdar, Pasha, and Janissar Aga, and some others held a Council in the Month of February, where it was resolved, To move the Grand Seigneur, to remove the Kuzlir-Aga, and the Haznadar-Aga; and to that end the Vizier made *Talkish* to the Grand Seigneur, and the other *Ars*, for removal of those Persons, who were Mysterious, and Intriguing in Matters of State.

Upon this Complaint the Grand Seigneur grew very angry, and told the Vizier, That the Kuzlir-Aga deserved indeed to be punished, for recommending him, the Vizier, to that high Office; adding, That he was neither a Fool, nor a Child, to be governed by other Mens Humours; and that the

U u u Report

1694. Report was false, That the Kuzlir-Aga meddled in Affairs of State.

The Grand Seignior showing in this manner some Displeasure against the Vizier, who had now but little Support besides the Tartar Cham; it was insinuated to the Sultan, That it was improper for two Princes to live in the same City; and that it had never been the Practice of former times, for the Cham to reside at the Port, there to pry into the Secrets of the Empire.

Heretofore the Cham having had some Intimation, and seeing the Disorders arising in the Court, and fearing to be sent away, he desired to be dismissed, pretending that his Presence was necessary in his own Country, he took leave of the Sultan at a Solemn Audience; and being richly presented, he began his Journey homewards, being accompanied out of *Adrianople* by the Grand Vizier.

After the Departure of the Cham, the Grand Vizier's Wife, who was Sister to the Grand Seignior, was forbidden the Court, which was an evident demonstration that her Husband was not likely to continue long in that Office.

The Heer *Heemskirk*, who had been sent to the Assistance of Monsieur *Coyser*, Ambassador for the States-General at *Constantinople*, for management of the Peace between the Emperor and the Turks; or rather for want of an *English* Ambassador, the two former, Sir *William Huxley*, and Mr. *Herbert* being both Dead. At that time the Turks seeming inclinable to a Peace, King *William* thought it not fit to let pass this Opportunity for want of an Ambassador from *England*; but rather qualified Monsieur *Heemskirk* then at *Vienna*, with the Title of *English* Ambassador to the Grand Seignior (of which we have formerly made some mention) the which had currently passed with the Turks, had not the French discovered the matter, and declared that this *Heemskirk* was no *English* Man, nor no Minister of the King of *England*, but a *German*; and one under Notion of an Ambassador, sent for a Spy to deceive the Turks.

Upon which Insinuation, *Heemskirk* was not able afterwards to treat with the Turks, nor would they accept of any Propositions from him, or acknowledge him for a publick Minister, but committed him to Custody, and kept him under a strict Guard; and so was detained for some Months, until the Lord *Argens* was sent to supply the Office of a true and undoubted Ambassador; at which time Heer *Heemskirk* was called to Audience, and had his Dismission.

Upon Departure *Heemskirk* said, He was sorry that his Endeavours for putting an end to this Bloody War, had been unsuccessful. To which the Vizier answered, That Peace would be, when God pleased, and was not at the Pleasure and Will of Man: And to without saying any thing more material, *Heemskirk* was dismissed; and began his Journey from *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade* on the 2d of March.

During these Matters, great were the Disorders at Court; the Grand Vizier grew weary of his Office, and would gladly have been rid of it, could he have done it with safety, and Name his Successor; and in the mean time his Wife endeavoured to accommodate Matters between her Husband, and the Kuzlir-Aga: Notwithstanding which Differences, and the great Animosities, yet they slackened nothing of their Diligences to be early this Year in the Field; and accordingly Commands were justified out to dispose all things thereunto: And an Aga was sent to *Walachia* for 500 Horses to carry Flour to *Belgrade*.

The French Ambassador perswaded the Turks to open their Campaigns this Year, by way of *Transylvania*; and to induce them to follow his Advice, he assured them that his King would have an Army this Year in *Germany* of 100000 Men, but the Turks never gave much Credence to the Boastings of the French, whom they commonly styled with the Name of *Talangi Francois*: And to second this Opinion of the French, the *Nogay Tartars*, who were The Nogay Tartars, settled in a Part of *Moldavia*, made an Incursion through that Province into *Transylvania*, and took from thence about 6000 Captives, and a considerable Booty.

These *Nogay Tartars* were called into those Countries by the Tartar Han, to succour and assist him at the time, when the *Moscovites* came against *Crim*, and were then placed with their Families in good Numbers about *Budziac*, and part of *Moldavia*; the Prince of which made Complaint to the Grand Seignior, that being deprived of a great part of his Country by his new come Guests, the Provinces were entirely ruined, and the People no longer able to support the Charge, and pay their Tribute: But this Complaint having but little Effect, the whole Blame of these Misfortunes were attributed to the ill Conduct of the Grand Vizier; for which cause he was Deposed, and the Embassador, or the Grand Vizier deposed, Master of the Horse, was sent to demand, and receive the Seals from him, and the Chimaam of *Adrianople* employed to Seal up his House.

Hereupon

1694. Hereupon the Deposed Vizier obtained by the assistance of Friends, a Hattaheriffe, or Royal Command from the Grand Seignior, to return towards his Government of *Tripoli de Soria*, without molestation; for which he gave the Messenger that brought it five Purfes of Money.

Notwithstanding which, a Capigi, with several Boatswains, were dispatched after him to bring him back, and having overtaken him, he was committed Prisoner between the Ports, from whence very few escape with their Lives; nor did he long survive, his Estate being all seized, and confiscated to the Use of the Sultan.

Another Capigi-Basha was likewise sent to fetch the Head of *Ali Pasha*, who was Great Vizier before this last Deposed Vizier. Likewise about the same time, the Kahya of *Osman Pasha*, the lately deceased Chimaam of *Adrianople*, was put under Arrest, and his Master's Money, Jewels, and Goods, with his own, were demanded to bring Money into the Seraglio.

But before we proceed any farther, it may not be from our Purpose to declare an Action which happened in the Port of *Smyrna*, in the Month of March, as follows.

March

One Capt. *Hely* Commander of a Merchant's Ship of 30 Guns, having brought some Goods to *Smyrna* from *Legerne*, and finding no Goods that presented for a Voyage back again, he resolved to seek his Fortune in some other Port: The same Morning Captain *Marine*, a French Merchant-Man, and Captain *Tessiere* another French Man weighed also, and accompanied the *English* Ship half way to the Castle, where they remained a Back-stays for several Hours; and seeing Captain *Hely* turning out, watched an Opportunity to bear down upon him; which *Hely* endeavouring to avoid all that was possible, could not yet hinder the French Man from falling foul of him, by which he broke his Sprit-sail Yard, and Jack-staff, and presented many Muskets, and Pistols at the Mento provoke them to Fight, or commit some rash Action, to the Breach of the Peace in the Grand Seignior's Port; but Captain *Hely* managed his Business with such Moderation, and Courage, that he saved the King's Jack, and took it in, and then hoisted it again; and the French cutting some of their own Mizen-Shrouds, *Hely* got clear, and Sailed away towards the Castle, with a good part of the French Man's Colours, being foul of a Block.

That Night *Hely* having procured Materials to repair his Damage, sailed away, and the next Day got within five Miles of *Marine*, Rowing to come up to him, which

he did near Cape *Caraburno*, and there engaged him, and after four Hours Fight, in which *Hely* fired above 200 of his Cannon, he took the French Ship, which was said to be worth more than a 100000 *Lych* Dollars.

There being two Viziers lately Deposed, the New Vizier should be actually at *Adrianople* on the 15th of April, so as that he might be with the Army in the Field before the Month of June.

This New Vizier was called *Ali Pasha*, as was also his Predecessor, and both had been Pasha's at *Tripoli de Soria*, and came from thence; but as to this, he had no great Reputation for his Qualities: He had five Years ago been Treasurer, or Lord Treasurer, at the Port; he had been a great Favourite, and an old Friend of the late Kuzlir-Aga; but others who knew him well, had no great Opinion of him, but looked upon him, as a Man of little Experience, without Parts, or Abilities for so great a Charge, and esteemed for a Person not likely to continue long in that sublime Station.

Whilst Matters were preparing for the Camp, against the Arrival of the New Vizier, *Ahmet Pasha* who had been Chimaam of *Constantinople*, was declared Pasha of *Azerum* in *Armenia* Major, and was actually Lifting Soldiers in *Nicomedia*; at which every one wondered, and commonly reported, That he having been disoblged by the Court, was there Raising and Lifting Soldiers to join with the Rebels in *Asia*; of which some Murmurs coming to the Ears of the Kuzlir-Aga his Friend, he advised him to hasten away with all diligence possible, for that his loitering in those Parts, gave just Jealousie and Ground to the contrary Faction, to report Evil and Dangerous Matters concerning him; and for that reason he urged him to be gone on the Business for which he was employed; promising, That in case he dealt Faithfully and Wisely in this Business, he would at his Return use his best Endeavors to make him Grand Vizier. The least Whisperings of this Nature in the Time of another Sultan, had been sufficient to have taken the Heads both of the Pasha, and of his Friend the Kuzlir-Aga, but this present Grand Seignior feared no Evil, nor designed it unto others; so that *Ahmet Pasha* lived boldly, and without controul in *Nicomedia*, being Proud, Obstinate, and Capricious, carrying no respect to the Commands and Orders of the Port; but gave out his own Commands to several Places, to raise some Thousands of Segmen, which are a sort of Foot Soldiers; which he acted

1694. to openly, that the World could not but take notice thereof, and declare him a Rebel: Upon which, fearing some worse Proceedings, he quitted *Nicomedia*, and marched towards his Brethren in *Asia*, to take part with them in their Rebellious Designs.

In the mean time News came that the Grand Vizier was speedily expected at *Adrianople*, and that he was already arrived at *Chalcedon*, which was a Place anciently famous for one of the four General Councils, and opposite to *Constantinople*; from whence on the 18th of April he passed the Channel into *Europe*, and taking the ready Road leading to *Adrianople*, he entered that City on the 21st of that Month, where he was received with all imaginable Kindness by the Faction then predominant in the Seraglio.

And the Vizier to demonstrate all Duty and Obedience to the Sultan, as also Affection to the People, and Militia, he issued forth the Horle-Tails on the second Day after his Arrival, which denotes the Intentions of the Grand Vizier to begin his March in 40 Days from the time, or at farthest on the first of the following June.

According to this Ancient Custom, the Vizier 20 Days before his Departure pitched his Tents, and sent out the Horle-Tails into the Camp near *Adrianople*, with intent as was reported, to march towards *Belgrade*; but *Transylvania* was this Year chiefly in their Eye, as was advised by the French Ambassador; but it appearing, that great Preparations were making by the Imperialists, to fall upon *Belgrade*, the Turks altered their Design, and took their way towards that Place, to Fortify, and Strengthen it with what Forces they were able.

Upon the Arrival of the Grand Vizier at *Belgrade*, many sad Complaints and Lamentations were brought him from *Temeswar*, and *Ginla*, complaining of their frightened Condition for want of Provisions; upon which it was resolved to supply them with Rice and Corn of all sorts; and the Chimaam of *Adrianople*, in the absence of the Vizier, sent them several Horle Ladings of Provisions, and Money to the value of 40000 Dollars, or 80 Purcs, under the Convoy of 800 Janissaries.

Whilst the Grand Vizier was acting in *Hungary*, Advices came from all Hands in *Asia*, and was reported as well from *Europeans*, as from *Asiatics*, that the Sheriffs Army increased daily, and had Plundered a very rich City, in which were great Quantities of Rich Goods of all sorts, and

that this Army lived under exact Discipline; the which Army (as was reported) was divided into two Parts, one Division remained with the Sheriff, and lay Encamped between *Mecca* and *Medina*; and another part of this Army was encamped in the Province, or Kingdom of *Balgora*, where they made Head against those *Palha's* which were Constituted by the Sultan, endeavouring to obstruct all those Ways leading to *Aleppo*. The News hereof did not a little trouble the Mind of the Grand Seignior, and served to increase his Disease of the Dropsie, which had been very fatal to the *Ottoman* Family; howsoever a certain famous Physician gave hopes of his Recovery, pretending to Cure him, by opening four Issues in his Legs and Feet; but an acute Fever coming thereupon, People began to despair of his Life, which caused a great Silence in all Parts, particularly in the Army in *Hungary*, where it was reported, That the Sultan was Dead, or out of all hopes of Recovery; besides which, all things went ill for the Turks, for the three *Palha's* which were dispatched from *Sofia* to receive Taxes from the *Venetians*, not far from *Narenta*, returned back without Contributions towards the War; which so grievously troubled the Grand Vizier, that he dispatched away three other Beyes with a good Detachment of the *Albanian* Militia, to force and collect his Taxes. And tho' the Turks put a good Face on their Misfortunes; yet the Villanous Rebels, and Tumultuous Robbers in *Asia* continued their Outrages, so that nothing came from thence, but Complaints and Unhappy Tydings: All the force that they could make, or expect from thence, was no more than the Yearly Succours for guard of the Castles upon the *Hellepont*, together with three *Palha's*, and two Beyes, making in all 3600 Men appointed for Recruits for the Grand Vizier.

To add farther to all these Misfortunes Advices were carried to all Places, That the *Venetian* Fleet was arrived before *Mytilene* with 30 Gallies, four Gallies, 12 Ships of War, on which were Shipped 15000 Soldiers, the greatest part of which consisted of *Albanians*, *Greeks*, and *Sclavonians*.

Moreover farther intelligence came from *Salonica*, or *Thessalonica*, That they greatly feared the *Venetian* Fleet, which threatened to make a Descent within that Gulf, and were in some apprehensions lest the Enemy should make an attempt on the Island of *Scio*.

About

1694. About the middle of August the Turkish Forces began to arrive at several Quarters about *Belgrade*, where the 14th at Night, all was in Alarm by a Turkish Gally, which took Fire by the Negligence of the Men, and having much Powder and Ammunition aboard, blew up, to the terrible affrightment of the Turks in *Belgrade*, who apprehended, that the German Army was already under the Walls of the City; tho' at the same time they were no nearer than *Peter Waradin*, within the Retrenchment of last Year; where finding their Troops increase but slowly from other Quarters, they resolved there to remain Encamped, and act upon the Defensive.

Septemb. On the 8th of September, the Day before the Vanguard of the Turkish Army appeared in sight of that Retrenchment, a most Terrible Storm happened, which carried away the Tents of the Imperial Army, sunk several of their Ships, broke their Bridge of Boats, and drove five Ships of the Fleet down to the Islands. All which they had much ado to repair, and bring in order again before the whole Turkish Army came to assault them; for the Grand Vizier having received a positive Order from the Sultan, to Attack and Fight the Imperialists wherever they could meet with them, in compliance therewith Decamped on the seventh Instant from *Salankement*, and marched directly for *Peter Waradin*. And

On the ninth, some of the Van-guard appeared in sight of that Place; the Grand Vizier with the Body of the Army then Encamping at *Carlowitz*, three Hours distant from the Imperial Army.

On the 10th, the whole Army came within half an Hour of the Imperial Retrenchment, the Foot taking their Quarters next to our Front, and the Horle placing themselves to the left of their Foot, and on the left of these were Camped the *Tartars*. Their Fleet consisting in 110 Ships, came likewise within Cannon-shot of the Imperial Ships, and cast their Anchor there, being posted in a Line of Battle.

The whole Day the *Hussars* were Skirmishing with the *Turks* and *Tartars*; and on the 11th it was thought the *Turks* would have Stormed the Imperial Camp; wherefore all was prepared to receive them: They appeared with 3 or 400 Ensigns, or Companies, within 800 Paces of the Retrenchment, but behind the Earth of a Ditch which they had made, and which covered them so well, that the Imperial Guns could but little annoy them.

On the 12th the *Turks* began to fire from all sides on the Imperial Camp, with their Great Guns: Their Fleet also advanced

higher up, and fired furiously on the Imperial Ships, and on the Bridge, but were answered as hotly both from the Imperial Ships, and from the Batteries on the Shore: Two Waggon with Ammunition were set on fire by a Shot of the *Turks*, and about 30 Men were thereby Killed or Burnt. Count *Solms*, Major of the Regiment of Cuirasses of Count *Herberstein*, was also Killed with a Cannon-Bullet.

On the 13th, the firing both by Water and by Land, was again renewed: The Attack made by the *Turks*, seeming to be a formal Siege both of *Peter Waradin*, and of the Imperial Camp; they having either on their Ships, or Batteries, upwards of 500 Great Guns continually firing, tho' with little damage to the Germans: The Design of the *Turks* being to ruine the Imperial Bridge.

This great Shooting continued at the same rate the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th, which last Day the *Turks* not only threw Bombs out of three Mortar-Pieces into the Imperial Retrenchments, but also from the Point of the Island with two Mortars, into *Peter Waradin*, and carried more Guns on their Batteries.

But the Night betwixt the 17th and 18th, the *Turks* were pretty quiet, but after Break of Day they again fired more hotly than ever, and threw themselves beyond the Imperial Retrenchments; but being briskly Attacked by the *Hussars*, they were driven back to their Camp. The *Turks* also drew a new Parallel-Line 60 Paces nearer to the Imperial Camp, and were very buie to close the said Line with their Line of Communication.

On the 19th in the Afternoon, the German Right Wing fired with Great Guns and Muskets from an Emblence on the first Lines of the *Turks*, and annoyed them very much, so that a great Alarm arose amongst them, and the *Turks* came running from all sides with Horle and Foot, to strengthen and assist their Left Wing: That Evening the *Brandenburgh* Foot, consisting of six Battalions, arrived in the Camp, which were received with three Salvo's of the Guns from the Castle and the Batteries on the Water-side: This Reinforcement being arrived, the *Turks* seemed less brisk in their Attack; but that which most incommoded them, was, That the Governor of *Tital* surprized and took 25 Turkish Ships laden with Provisions for their Army, and sunk two or three of their Frigates. That the *Tartars* having at the Request of the Grand Vizier swam over the *Donau* near *Cobila*, (where indeed they had taken about 1000 Horle, and part of the Imperial Baggage) were overtaken in their Retreat

A Night by Water and Land.

1694. Retreat by General Bassempiere, who cut down above 1500 of the *Tartars*, amongst which was the Han's Son; and that thereupon the *Tartar* Han fell out with the Grand Vizier and Commanded his Troops, confisting of 7000 *Tartars* which remained, to prepare for their return Home; notwithstanding the Grand Vizier continued his Endeavours against the Imperial Retrenchments, and *Peter Waradin*, and the Bridge, till the 13th of *October*; but seeing that they lost more than they got at this Port, and that also because the six or seven following Days of great Rains, the *Turkish* Soldiers were up to their Knees in the Water in their Approaches, which caused Numbers of 'em to Die, having also been several Days without Bread, by the taking of the abovesaid Ships; and not knowing when any would arrive, the Grand Vizier on the 13th at Night, caused all the Guns from the Forts and Batteries to be carried off, and Shipped on their Gallies; and thereupon quitted at once all his Approaches, Guards, and Retrenchments, and marched back with the whole Army to *Salankement*, leaving nothing in his Camp but some few Shovels, and three Dead Bodies; neither could the *Germans* follow them, their Horse being Encamped on the other side of the River, and the Retreat of the *Turks* not having been perceived till the next Day; when immediately upon the discovery some Horse were sent after them, which returned with some stragling *Turks* only, the rest of their Army having passed the *Save*, and broke their Bridge down after 'em: And thus the *Turks* ended this Campaign; but the *Germans* had the good fortune to joyn the City of *Ginla* to their other Conquests.

Towards the end of this Month of *September*, News came in an unexpected and astonishing manner to *Adrianople*, That the *Venetians* had Surprized the Island of *Son*, and in a few Days, without much difficulty, had made themselves Masters of the whole Island.

At first both the Castle and the Forts Captulated, and on the 19th all was yielded up; and the same Day the *Turkish* Garrison was by agreement Transported into *Shatoliz*, and Disbarked at *Chisme*, (as the *Turks* call it) being the nearest Land unto the Island.

With this News the *Turks* were affected with a most Terrible Consternation; and then those two long Words might have been said of them *Constatantur Constantinopolim*. The News was so surprizing at first, that no Man would believe it; but various and frequent Reports confirmed the Truth thereof; and tho' the great Mor-

tification of the *Turks*, the News came confirmed from all Hands, yet the *Turks* comforted themselves with the Thoughts, that that Island could not remain long in the Hands of the *Venetians*.

The Sultan howsoever cheered himself up with better Successes by Land; and gave order to the Grand Vizier to fight the *Germans* upon what Terms soever should be offered; but the Vizier returned for Answer, That his Forces were so weak this Year for want of the *Asiatick* Troops, that he was unable to fight the *Christians*; which if he should attempt to do, he should undoubtedly Sacrifice all to the Ruine of the *Musselman* Cause, and Destruction of the *Ottoman* Army. For the truth was, the Grand Vizier had then but a very small Army, consisting of 11000 Janifaries, and 6000 *Albanians* under their General *Mehmet Ogbla*, an *Albanian*, together with 20000 between *Spahces* and *Segmen*, with some Troops belonging to *Palmes*, and 7000 *Tartars*: Besides which, Money was all this Year very scarce.

Asfa was all in Confusion, and in want of every thing; so that it was no wonder that the Number of true Janifaries should be no greater in the Field; for *Kara Mustafa* when he went against *Vienna*, had no more than 14000; and the famous Sultan *Murat*, when he went against *Bagdat*, had no more than 16000, which would not likely appear strange, in case it were considered, that in the whole Empire, the entire number of Janifaries consists not of more than 40000 truly Lawful, and Legitimate Janifaries; three parts of which, in the times of Peace, are lodged in Garrisons, as *Candia*, *Negropont*, *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, and in other Islands, as also in Greece, which are parts of the *Morea*, and on the Confines of *Perfia*, where the most considerable Numbers are lodged; to which may be added *Caminieck*, *Ofi*, *Asack* in the *Black-Sea*, as also in *Dalmatia*, *Bosnia*, and other Confines. With this Answer of the Grand Vizier to the Sultan, and representation of the present State of the War, the Grand Seignior yielded to the Urgency of the Times, and permitted the Vizier to return to *Adrianople*, and the Soldiers to their Winter-Quarters; the which was done with so much Precipitancy, that the Motion looked more like a Flight, than a Retreat.

The which News being on the 18th of *October* brought to *Adrianople*, all things looked very melancholy, and the People began to droop with sad Countenances, the Grand Vizier returning back with Shame and Silence; when on the 15th of the Month all things appeared in a most Tumultuous

1694. multuous manner at *Adrianople*, and particularly in the chief Mosch there, called *Sultan Solim*, in which at all times of Prayer, there is a great Concourse of People, and those of the best sort, and of the greatest Officers of State, having their best and most sumptuous Palaces near thar Mosch, which is the finest and stateliest part of all the City.

It was now early about the time of Morning Prayer, or so soon as the *Sabbana Maaz* was ended, People being still upon their Knees with much Silence and Devotion, as their custom is, when a bold *Turk* well Learned, and of a smooth Tongue, mounted the Pulpit, having several Complexes attending beneath to defend him, in case any Attempt should be made upon: He began with a daring Speech, to inveigh against the Government; crying out,

Musselmen, or Believers,

YOU are all at this time obliged to stand up for the Faith, for your Country, and Government.

You cannot but be sensible that the *Christians* Attack us both by Sea and Land: That we have a Sultan who Attends to nothing; and a Great Vizier who is not Acquainted, or Practised in Affairs either Civil, or Military: Wherefore let us all run to the Gate of our *Moski*, and there cry out, and exclaim for a Change of Government.

Do you not observe what a Capricious Fool we have for a Vizier, how Obstinate, and Ignorant, and how he daily commits a thousand Follies?

Whilst all People were attentive to hear him, two Aga's belonging to the *Chimacem*, being near the Gate of the Mosch, and over-hearing the Discourse, run away with it to the *Chimacem* their Master; who immediately without any delay, or stop, in a trembling manner mounted on Horseback, and taking with him his Servants, Officers, and Janifaries all Armed, and Commanded by the Lieutenant-General of the Janifaries, ran to the Mosch, and made this Seditious Preacher to be seized, which caused great Confusion and Noise through the whole City; for appealing which, the *Chimacem* took a large Turn through all the High Streets of *Adrianople*.

At that time it happened that a certain *Pasha* arrived within a few Hours of *Adrianople*, who had been Banished by Command of the Sultan, for many Robberies and Thefts he had committed in the Publick Treasury; his Name was *Benli Hasaen* *Pasha*, whose Head he took off; as he did in like manner, and at the same time the Head of one *Musa* Aga, and threw them both into the first Court-yard of the Seraglio, before the Gate of the *Divan*, declaring that these two were of the Seditious Mutineers, who had raised the Tumult in the City, which terrified a little for the present; which when the *Chimacem* perceived, he was encouraged to proceed, and took 11 Officers, who were Ring-leaders of the Sedition, whose Heads were heaped up together before the *Divan* Door, and their Bodies thrown into the Cannels in divers parts of the City: Amongst these, was an Officer of the Grand Seignior's Stables, called *Asfa*, who was a Foolish Astrologer, with 22 others, who were one Night all Strangled, and their Bodies thrown into the River *Tounis*, (which runs near to the Grand Seignior's Palace at *Adrianople*) and in this manner the *Chimacem* prevented a Mutiny, and quashed a Rebellion which was rising to a dangerous height: Howsoever the People murmured, but durst not speak so Audaciously as before.

After these Tumults were over at *Adrianople*, People began to discourse of Prodiges, strange Sights, and Apparitions; and among others, a Report was at *Constantinople*, That an Owl was seen at Noon-day, sitting on the Old Pyramid in the Market-place; which as was reported, fell down of it self that Night, and next Morning there was found within the Basis of the Pyramid, a piece of Wax, on which was inscribed in Greek Characters, these Words.

After 300 Years, this Monarchy will suffer Great Destruction and Ruine, both by Enemies at Home and Abroad; And this City will be Infebled by Pestilence, and by Earthquakes reduced to a Heap of Stones.

All these Stories and Reports being aggravated to the Grand Seignior, put him into a grievous Affrightment, so that in all haste he dispatched Posts one after the other to fetch the Grand Vizier from *Belgrade* to *Adrianople*; but howsoever he would not move until first he had supplied *Temeswar* with all sorts of Provisions; for want of which the *Turks* died of Fluxes, and all sorts of Camp Diseases; and lying

1694. on wet Grounds, and upon Morasses, more Men died than would have done in a Day of Battle.

By these means the whole *Turkish* Army was reduced to 30000 fighting Men; to repair which, and make the Numbers to seem a little more formidable, they forced, and Pressed about 10000 Artisans and Country Men, Raw, and Unexperienced Fellows, to make a Shew of, which had they most died, the World would scarce have misfed them, only the *Albanians*, a Stout and Valiant People, were to be lamented, of which not one half returned into their own Country.

The Mufti and others growing sensible of their Low and Miserable Condition, and overwhelmed on all sides by Enemies, by Sickneses, by Famine, and Poverty, wrote *the Mufti's Letter to the Scheriff* a Letter to the Scheriff, exhorting him to Peace, at such a time as this is, when the Enemies to the *Mahometan* Cause overwhelmed them in all Parts; declaring, That without betraying the *Musliman* Cause, they could not persist in their Wars against the Sultan; and therefore they exhorted them to retire into their own Dominions, and to live quietly there, rather than to expose the Holy Religion to the Insults of Infidels.

By this Letter, and other Advices, which were seconded by many Exhortations of the Religious, and Holy Seighs, or Preachers, in their respective Monasteries, the Scheriff seemed to be somewhat appeased, and to relent a little of his revengeful Humour against the *Turks*: Besides the meaner Princes of the *Arabians*, who are the most Religious, and Superstitious of all the others, falling off from the Alliance with the Scheriff, on the score of Religion, things became more quiet in *Ararat*, and gave the *Turks* less Fears, and Apprehensions than before.

Moreover *Calaiticus Achmet Pasha*, a cunning Sophister (of whom we gave lately an Account) having been sent from *Constantinople* with some Forces against the Scheriff, changed his Method from Arms, to Epistles, Sermons, and Exhortations, perswading him, that since he saw so many Martyrs on all sides, Dying for the *Mahometan* Cause, that he should not add to the Slaughter of the *Muslimen*, nor joy in Infidels to the Destruction of the True Faith.

To these were added also divers Letters from other *Pashas*, as also from *Mullas*, Seighs, and Cadi's of the most esteem in *Asia*; which to prevailed upon the Mind of the Scheriff, that he for some time desisted from all Hostilities upon the *Turks*.

Notwithstanding which, the Eastern Princes bordering on *Ararat*, were a little cautious how they trusted the sincerity of the Scheriff; for in despite of all his fair Words, they would not be decoyed to leave their Country open, and exposed to the Mercy of the *Ismaelites*, a People that never kept Faith; so that the *Turks* received no more Forces from *Asia*, the following Year, than they had done in this present, by reason of the Jealousie they conceived of the *Arabians*.

Notwithstanding the pressing Desires of *the Vizier* to hasten the return of his Vizier, he made his Excuses to delay his Journey; alledging, That Prince *Lewis* had been reinforced by considerable Recruits, and therefore it was necessary to observe his Motions; that the Floods by the Land-Waters, caused by perpetual Rains, made it impossible for the Army to march without Hardships, and unportable Labours: But at length the old Year drawing towards an end, and it becoming necessary to provide for the Actions, Wars, and Councils of the New, the Vizier was forced to leave the Army; which he did with great haste, and arrived before *Adrianople* about the 8th or 10th of December; where he remained under his Tents, making a show as if he intended to march into the *Morea*, with intention to recover *Scio*; but before this Design was resolved, a Conference was held in the Vizier's Tents, where the Mufti was present; after which the *Chimacam* was called, as also the Aga of the Janifaries, and the Aga of the Spahes's, with divers other Officers, who returned back with the Grand Vizier; at which Assembly it was concluded, That by reason of the urgency of the Times, and that the Imperialists were chiefly to be attended, as being the strongest, and most considerable Party, the Grand Vizier should remain at *Adrianople*, to raise new Forces, and prepare for the Wars of the following Year. But as to the present, that all their Thoughts and Stratagems should be employed for the recovery of the Island of *Scio*, the which obstructed all Correspondencies and Commerce with *Smyrna*, *Rhodes*, and even with *Egypt* it self; so that Coffee, Rice, and Sugar, were raised to an excessive Price: Wherefore cost what it would, it was agreed, That that place was the first to be taken; for which Expedition *Misir-Oghli* was appointed Captain-Pasha, an old experienced Sea-Captain. To provide against which Attempt, the *Venetians* put all things in good order both by Sea, and Land; and in all Places where they suspected that the Enemy might Land, and make their Descent, they

1694. they raised Forts, and planted Cannon, and supplied all necessary Provisions against a Siege, giving a report, That they would make it as strong as *Malta* it self.

The Sultan being sensible that his People were become much disheartened and weakened by the many Misfortunes and Troubles which they had sustained, gave Orders to the *Chimacam* of *Adrianople*, named *Musapha Pasha*, to treat the People with Kindness and Civility: This *Chimacam* was a prudent Person, and being a lover of Justice, and tender of the Welfare of the People, was esteemed and well spoken of by all; and having known Miseries and Hardships during the time that he had undergone a Slavery in *Poland*, he knew the better how to commiserate the Afflictions of others: But above all, as Matters stood now in these Times, the great Concern of a Chief Governour was to prevent Tumults and Insurrections of the People; of the danger of which the late Disturbances had given a pregnant Example, and so moved the Spirit of the *Chimacam* to prosecute the Offenders, that 315 were put to Death at *Adrianople*, for the aforesaid Sedition; and six of the principal Officers being forced to fly to *Constantinople*, were there taken, and being put into Sacks, were strangled, and after the Ancient Fashion thrown into the Sea; the which had been amongst the *Romans* the Punishment for Parricides.

Insui voluerunt in culem virum & deiici in mare.

After the Conference which the Grand Vizier held at his Tents with the Principal Ministers of State, he made divers Dispatches into several Parts; namely *Halil Pasha*, whom he made *Seraskier* in the *Morea*, with Instructions to keep a watchful Eye upon the Island of *Negropont*.

Likewise three Aga's were dispatched to *Algier*, *Tripoli*, and *Tunis*, to hasten their Maritime Preparations, the with little hopes of success, by reason that those Governments in *Barbary* were at Wars one with the other, and had great Jealousies amongst them.

At this time also Orders came from *Adrianople* directed to the *Chimacam*, and Lieutenant-General of the Janifaries, to provide Quantities of Rice, and other Provisions for the Relief of *Temeswar*, which for want thereof was greatly distressed; and so Orders were given all the way on the Road thither, to take up all the Waggon and Carts that they could meet with, by that time that they came to *Philippopolis*

and *Sophia*, might make up a Number of 300; which might probably prove a sufficient Convoy to secure them; And for a better Reinforcement, Orders were given for the enrolling of 300 Janifaries, being new raised Soldiers; and with such Preparations as these for the next Campaign, ended this Year.

Anno 1695.

THIS Year began with a most Terrible Fire in *Constantinople*, which consumed 4000 Houses and Shops towards that part where stands the Historical Pillar, which is about the middle of the City; which Accident gave some stop to the Councils then in hand; howsoever the Preparations for the next Years War by Sea and Land proceeded.

The *Tartar* came to *Adrianople*, where he spent the remainder of the Winter in Conferences with the Grand Vizier, and other Principal Officers of State, in order to carry on the War both by Sea and Land: And whereas all sorts of Provisions were become very dear both in *Adrianople* and *Constantinople*, by reason that the Seas were obstructed by the *Venetians*, so that no Coffee, Rice, nor Sugar, could be transported from *Egypt* into those Parts; the *French* Ambassador undertook to supply the same with *French* Ships, demanding only, That when such Commodities arrive, the *Turks* should pay no more for them, than in Times of Peace; which besides some other private Contracts were very pleasing to the *Turks*, and served to confirm the Friendship, and increase the Confidence between the two People.

As the Eyes of all the *Turkish* Officers were intent on the War, there being a Design to recover *Scio*, in the Winter Season, before the *Venetians* could come forth with their Fleet, the Sultan sent for *Mezzo Morto*, who was Admiral of the Fleet, together with six Captains of the Men of War, reproaching them for Cowardice; for that in case they had done their Duty in the last Engagement against the *Venetians*, *Scio* had not been lost; wherefore these Officers were discharged of their Commands, and *Sarhos* or Drunken *Chusfacin Pasha*, was declared Captain *Pasha*, or Admiral, in the Place of *Mezzo Morto*; being esteemed a Man of more Boldness, and Courage, and Conduct, than the other; and such was the Shame, and Confusion that the *Turks* conceived for the loss of *Scio*, that even in the Winter, a thing not practised by the *Turks*, Orders were given to the New

X x x Admiral

1695. Admiral to prepare, and equip an hundred Frigates.

Whilst all things were preparing for this Years War, and in an especial manner for the recovery of *Scio*, on the 27th of *January*, Old Stile, the Grand Seigneur Sultan *Achmet* dyed, which for that present put a stop to all Business then in agitation both in regard to the War, or Peace: For as to the latter my Lord *Page* arrived at *Adrianople* on the 23d, and next Day desired an Audience of the Grand Vizier, which was promised to him on the 31st, when the Propositions he had to make, were for reasonable, and the *Turks* in so good a Temper that the Ambassador persuaded himself that they would be accepted, the Great Vizier, and *Chimacem* showing themselves not averse, but rather well inclined to a reasonable Peace.

But whilst they were thinking of these things, the Court, and City, and all People were surprized to hear the News of the Death of the Sultan; who at the time of his last Agony, desired to see and speak with his Successour Sultan *Mustapha*, who could not be persuaded to go to him, and so he died without that Satisfaction, by a great *Defluxion*, or *Catarrh*, which fell upon his Lungs: Only he left it in Commission to his Servants, to acquaint his Nephew, Sultan *Mustapha*, who was undoubtedly to succeed him, That all he had to desire of him was, to desire him that he would permit his Son to live; but whether this Request was granted him or not, is not yet known; for Matters of this Nature are seldom reported without the Walls of the *Seraglio*.

So soon as he was dead, *Mustapha* Eldest Son to Sultan *Mahomet* IV. was proclaimed, and saluted Emperor, and all passed without any Disturbance, Disorder, or Inconvenience whatsoever.

In very few Hours afterwards the Body of the Deceased *Achmet* was hurried away to *Constantinople*, and with a small Attendance buried in the Sepulcher of his Brother, and immediately the Sultana, his Mother, was required to hasten thither and retire, and Expresses dispatched to all Parts to carry and divulge the News, and most especially acquaint the New Valide Sultana with the Exaltation of her Son to the Throne of his Father. For the present Sultan *Mustapha* being about 33 Years of Age, and in his Prime, appeared very Robust, and Comely, and to show a mildness of Spirit at the beginning, he for the present confirmed the Great Vizier in his Place, by restoring the Seals to him which he had resigned into his Hands, and giving

him a *Coffin* lined with Sables. His Mother was now every Day expected at *Adrianople*, until whole coming thither, nothing was to be done; for as she was a Person highly beloved, and esteemed by her late Husband Sultan *Mahomet*, Father of the present Sultan *Mustapha* (as we have manifested in our foregoing History) so she was a Woman of Intrigue, and one who had so great a Power over her Son, that he entirely gave himself up to the Government and Guidance of his Mother. She was a Native of *Canea* (tho' some say she was a *Circassian* born) and taken from thence when the Place was first possessed by the *Turks*; her Father was a *Protopapa*, or Bishop of that Place.

His first entrance into Business was to enquire after the State of the Treasury; and to inform himself therein, he called for the Treasurer, and demanded of him, *Mustapha*, How much Money there was in the Treasury? To which Answer was made, fifteen Purpes: What then (said he) is become of all the rest? To which it was answered, That his Predecessor had disposed of it: It is well, (said he) and I shall take it from them who have received it.

With these Beginnings it was much feared that he would prove a troublesome Neighbour to all *Christendom*; and a Cruel and a Severe Master to all the surviving Ministers of State; but things were carried so closely, that the Government had no News of any thing until the Successor had carried his Point, and secured every thing for his Establishment; to which many things concurred, as that he was the Son, and lineally descended from Sultan *Mahomet* IV, who after a Reign of 48 Years, was Deposed, by reason of the Ill Fortune, and Avaritious Temper of some of his Ministers, or to please the Soldiers, who said, That he had Lived and Reigned long enough. Moreover the People had a great Esteem for this his Son, being Young and Handsome, and in his Robust and Mature Age; nor was there any Person able to stand against him, nor capable of being offered to the Soldiery for their Emperor: There was none of the *Ottoman* Family known unto the World, but a Child of two Years old, the Son of the late Sultan *Achmet*, and of such an one in such a Conjunction of time, it was not so much as to be thought of; tho' most of the Ministers in Power did all they could, to keep Sultan *Mustapha* from the Throne.

His Beginnings were very brisk, (for besides what he said to the Treasurer) he startled the Grand Vizier, and all the *Pasha's* of the Bench, who knew not what to say, or act, or resolve, or whom to trust, This



*Sultan Mustapha the Second, the Present
Emperour Eldest Son to Sultan Mahomet*
the 4th p. 522

1695. This suddain change humbled much of the Spirit of the Grand Vizier, so that he did not adventure to act so freely in Business as he had formerly done in the time of Sultan *Achmet*: For tho' he had received several Favours of his New Master, which served to encourage him at first, yet they were so mixed with his Frowns, and Impetuous Threats, that he thought not himself safe, but lived in a continual apprehension of Death.

When the Grand Seignior Vested him, as is commonly done by every Sultan at his Inauguration; he told him, 'That he should be careful what he did, that he should treat his Soldiers well, and above all, that he be sure to tell him the truth; and if not, he should soon know and be sensible of what would follow: But since this Severity, and sharp Saying, he remitted something of his Angry Temper, and became more mild and easy; so that to encourage and raise his Spirit a little, he sent his Kuzlir-Aga in Ceremony with a great Attendance, to carry to the Grand Vizier a Prayer, which he himself had composed in the time of his Solitude, and Seclusion from the World, which were received with profound Respect; the Bearer himself had five Purfes presented to him, and the Chief of his Attendants was treated with several Rich Vests, and the others of meaner Degree had a good number of Zaichins distributed amongst them. The Grand Seignior also would not want his own Present, which was in Horses, and Jewels, several Young Damfels, richly adorned, with above 100 Purfes of Money; and yet for all this the Vizier thought not himself safe, nor did the bitter Thoughts of Death pass from him: for whilst he was trembling for himself, he received a Hattesherrif, or a Royal Command from the Hand of the Grand Seignior, requiring him to command the Chiaus Pasha to Arrest the Chimacem of *Adrianople*, the Vizier's own chief Creature and Confident, and to put him between the Gates, a Prison for great Personages: The Fault objected to his Charge was, That in the time of the late Sultan *Achmet*, he had put to Death two of this present Sultan's Favourites, for endeavouring to promote the Interest of their Master, to the Prejudice of the Ruling Prince. Notwithstanding all which Mortifying Commands, and Accidents, the Grand Vizier appeared outwardly with a cheerful Countenance, for the least Sadness would have been interpreted for Conrumacy, and a Discontented Spirit against the Commands and Pleasure of his Master; for which reason he bore up brave-

ly against all Misfortunes, concealing the Agitations of his Mind from all those who had Business with him, and even from his own Domesticks.

At this time my Lord *Paget* Ambassador from His Majesty King *William*, was then at *Adrianople*, watching an Opportunity to make Proposals for a Peace with the Emperor, of which, tho' about the latter time of Sultan *Achmet*, there was a great and a fair appearance; yet after his Decease this young Sultan mounting the Throne, all the hopes vanished, he himself being of a hot and fiery Spirit, was fully resolved to try his Fortune in the War, from which Design neither his Mother, nor his Women, nor his greatest Favourites could divert them. And the *Kiah-Bey* himself, who was Lieutenant-General, of the Janifarics, a Person of great Esteem, and Power in the Army, was disgraced, and put out of Office, for arguing in the Divan against the Grand Seignior's taking this Field this Year in Person.

These Changes had disconcerted all the Measures which my Lord *Paget* had taken towards a Peace, of which there now remained no hopes for this Year; for the Sultan was not to be removed from his Resolution, nor the Soldiery averse to it, having fixed it in their Minds, that this Sultan was Lucky and Fortunate, and was to restore all that had been lost, since the Siege of *Piemma*, and the fatal Managements of the Grand Vizier *Akara Muliaph*. And to this purpose the Grand Seignior discoursing with the Vizier, he told him, how sensible he was of the evil management of Affairs in the Empire, and that they were much worse than they had been in the time of his Father; to restore which to a better Condition, he again declared his Resolution to try his Fortune for another Year; the which not succeeding well, he was of an Opinion, That he could at any time make a Truce with the *Christians*, which perhaps he might be inclined to accept next Year, not out of a Necessity thereof, but in consideration to his People, to whom, after a long War of 17 or 18 Years, he was glad to give Ease and Quiet; for he was sensible, that the *Ottoman* Empire was in great Disorder, by reason of the Ignorance, Negligence, and ill Administration of some of the principal Ministers of State, which he would make it his Care to remedy.

With these Resolutions of the Sultan, all things were preparing to take the Field early with a strong Army; it being divulged, and published amongst the Soldiery, that their first March should be to-

wards *Belgrade*, from whence if they could have made any Conquest on the other side of the *Sava*, the *Turks* might yet (as low as they were) have proved a troublesome, and a dreadful Enemy to all *Germany*. And indeed the *Christians* were more sensible herof than formerly; for the *Turks* had lately had many lucky Hits to encourage them, and which did indeed animate the People very much, seeming to them like good Omens of Change of Fortune in their favour: For the *Venetians* had in two several Engagements at Sea been worsted by the *Turks*, which was the cause of the Surrender of *Scio* to the *Turks*, of which they puffed themselves without any great Difficulty: where tho' the loss the *Venetians* had sustained both in Ships, and Men, was very considerable, yet the loss of their Reputation at Sea, was much more, and of a more evil Consequence; for the *Turks* animated hereby, fell boldly upon the *Venetians* in the *Moræa*, and put them to the Rout, fanning the Summer following to regain all again, despising now the Enemy which lately they durst not see, and were afraid to approach.

To these good Fortunes of the Sultan, the News was added by way of *Moldavia*, of a great Victory that the *Tartars* had obtained against the *Poles*; which with the Successes the *Ottoman* Palha's had obtained against the Rebels in *Asia*, put all things at the Port into a smiling Condition, no Man doubting, but that the influence of these prosperous Beginnings would crown all the Actions of this New Sultan, with Success and Victory.

The Fight between the *Poles* and the *Tartars*, in the Suburbs of *Leopolis*, happened on the 11th of *February* of this Year, being Extracted out of a Letter of the Great General, Written to the Envoy Cavalier *Proski*, of the 16th of *February* from *Leopolis*.

An Extract of the Great General's Letter, Written to the Envoy Cavalier *Proski*.

WE have not only in the Season of the last Spring, but during the whole Summer, and Autumn, lived in continual Alarms, and Skirmishes with our Enemies, but even in this very Winter been engaged with them in divers

Bloody Fights: And particularly on the 11th of this Month of *February*, a Battle was made between 3000 of our Soldiers, against 7000 *Tartars*, within the Suburbs, and under the Walls of *Leopolis*: The Particulars of which, are these.

Sultan *Zabas Gerei*, Son of the *Tartar* *Hon*, who in the Month of *October* last, gave up to our Hands, all the Provisions belonging to the *Turks*, which he had taken into his Care and Conduct to be Conveyed to *Kaminitiek*; of which Disgrace, and Dishonour his Father being very sensible, urged the Son to repair his Credit by some great Action worthy the Fame of his Valour, and his Proveys in War: Accordingly being assisted by all the Power of the *Tartars*, as well those of *Budziac*, *Bialogrod*, and *Dobruca*, as those of *Crim*, who the last Year had joined with the *Turks* under *Peter Wardin*, came on the 10th of this Month of *February*, and Encamped themselves in the Plains of that Town, which is called the *Cracovian Leopoldis*, with intention to fix his Camp there; and from thence to send out his Parties to all Places, where they could Burn and Spoil, make Slaves, and put all to Fire and Sword; and so they ravaged every where for the space of eight Days, until at length all the Countries round being alarm'd hereat, I raised all the Forces that I was able, and brought them together from their respective Quarters, which alas, was a most inconsiderable Power against so Mighty an Enemy; for all that we could gather, and unite, did not amount to more than 3000 fighting Men.

The Day following about Eight of the Clock in the Morning, the Sultan *Tartar* drew out his Men into form of Battle; and I also having my Confidence in God, drew out that Handful of Men which I had with me, and made a Sally out of the City to cover the Suburbs. The Enemy staid not long to look on us, but seeing some *Polish* Companies to march boldly against them, they Detached a Party of *Tartars* to meet and engage them, and to force the Outworks, which were only fortified with Hedges, and a kind of Wall made up with Mats and Rushes well woven together. This Command was executed with such Vigour, that doubtless the Place had been carried at the first Attack, had not the danger wherein they were of losing their Lives, and Estates, and all they had, made them desperate,

and

and forced them to make all the resistance that they were able; and in effect they fought like Lyons, receiving the Enemy so bravely, that in a short time all the Fields were covered with the Dead Bodies of the Slain. The *Tartars* made Thirteen Attacks to try their Fortune, and were as often repulsed by the *Christians*, without any great loss on their side.

This Fight continued four Hours, until at length the Enemy observing that all their Assaults prevailed little, but were very Bloody, and of great loss, they resolved, That at the same time, when they engaged us in the Front with one Party, they should break in upon the Hedge with another, and whatever loss, or Blood it should cost, to carry it by main force, as it immediately proved; for the Enemy having by this means got between us and the City, we remained without any hopes of imaginable relief; howsoever with a Courage full of resolution to overcome, or die like Brave Men, turning our Faces upon them, to whom we had but newly turned our Backs, we did not only overcome them, but cut a great Number of them in pieces; and after another Engagement, which lasted about two Hours more, drove them out of the Suburbs of the City; tho' in the time of this Fight, the *Tartars* having set Fire thereunto, the Wind, and Smoak, and Dust did so incommode our People, that they were in a manner Blinded, and knew not which course to take; howsoever their invincible Courage was such, as that the Enemy was put to Flight.

This Fight continued until Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, by which time they had been so beaten, that they were forced to withdraw before the Evening, about a League and a half from the City, and the next Day proceeded on their March; and the third Day passed the *Neister*, on their way homewards.

The Number of the Slain on the *Christian* side did not exceed above 100, and about 160 Wounded; what the Enemy lost, is not to be known.

But such Matters as these, at so far a distance, and between *Tartars* and *Poles*, did not much affect, or trouble the *Ottoman* Court; but such as were nearer hand, as Naval Fights, and the Taking and Recovering of the Island of *Scio*, being near the

Royal Cities, made great noise both in *Europe* and *Asia*, and raised the hopes of the People to great and high Expectations of the future Fortune of this New Sultan, as if he had been born to be Restorer of the decaying Condition of the *Ottoman* Empire.

We have related already the ill Successes which the *Venetians* had had in two several Fights at Sea against the *Turks*, which being unusual, and of many Years not known, made it matter of Wonder to all the World. For after the *Turks* had beaten the *Venetian* Fleet, all things were put into great Consternation at *Scio*, so that the *Venetian* Commanders most shamefully abandoned the Place, stealing away in the Night without giving time for some of their Troops which were abroad to guard the Island, to Embark with them, which gave cause to some of their Officers, who thereby became Slaves to the *Turks*, to vent out Thousands of Imprecations and Curses upon them; and indeed their Case was sad, but Necessary had no Law, for the *Venetians* had now been beaten twice at Sea by the *Turks*, who had they followed their Blow, might have utterly destroyed the *Venetian* Fleet; but the *Turks* being contented with this unusual Success, a thing not known to them for more than a hundred Years past, were contented with the Flight of the Enemy, and therewith a Cession to them of the whole Island; and the *Turks* entered triumph thereupon without any Opposition.

The first Act of the *Turkish* Clemency was to Hang up four Men of the *Latine* Rite, who were of the *Romish* Church, and of the *Italian* Race; namely, Signior *Pietro Giustiniani* of *Antonio*, Signior *Domenico Stella*, who were Deputies, ordained to protect that Religion; Signior *Franco Draco*, and *Giovanni Castelli* of *Brecci*. Signior *Sofisti*, who was Vice-Consul for the *English* Nation in that Island, fled with his Family, and was well received at *Tino*: *Domenico Castelli* Son of *Vincenzo Castelli*, escaped also, (with whom I was well acquainted) together with forty of the chief Families of the *Latine* Rite, leaving their Possessions, and Moveables behind them: *Antonio Rendi* happened to be then at *Smyrna*; but his Family deferring their Departure, his House was Plundered, and all his Estate ruined like that of his Neighbours; for tho' they fled to *Smyrna* for refuge, by this Revolution the *Greeks* gained a clear Victory and Ascendant over the *Latines*: For whereas formerly there were great Animosities between those two Rites; the *Latines* by reason of their Riches, having the Pope on their side, were always esteemed

1695. ed the Superiors, and by the great Collections made for them, and Legacies bequeathed, they gained much more of the Hearts and Favour of the *Turks*, than the Poverty of the *Greeks* was able to purchase; but now a fair Opportunity happening of gaining and Confiscating all that appertained to the *Latines*, they seized on all that belonged to them; treating the *Greeks* more favourably, because they believed them to be the less culpable, having the less Riches; and in reality the *Greeks* having been under the Dominion of the *Turks* for some Ages, were become almost their Natural Lord, from whom they expected better Quarter than from the *Venetians*, or other *Italians*; and so always wished well to the *Turks*. Thus was *Scio* in a short time fallen again into the Hands of the *Turks*, from whence they are never again likely to recover it, unless the *Venetians* amend their Politicks, and prove more Vigilant and Brave in the Wars both by Sea and Land; but that is not now to be expected, nor those of the *Latines* permitted to live in that Island, unless they conform to the Rites of the *Greek Church*, the greatest part of which were restored to the Enjoyment of their Estates, with their Ancient Privileges; but the *Latines* were deprived of both, by the Infatigation of their old Inveterate Enemies the *Greeks*; tho' at first they were put in hopes of obtaining the like, or equal Favours with them.

Changed at Court.

After the Death of Sultan *Achmet*, and that Sultan *Multapha* was exalted to the Throne; in the first place *Achmet Pasha*, Chimacam of *Adrianople* was Disgraced, and all his Goods and Estate Confiscated to the Use of the Grand Seignior, and he himself made a Prisoner in the Seraglio, but pardoned at the Intercession of the Grand Vizier, and sent Governour to the Island of *Mytilene*, where I had once a Pasha for a Friend Married to a Sultana, which had like to have cost me dear; but (God be praised) I escaped him without much loss.

In the Place of this Chimacam, the Nifangi Pasha, who sets the Grand Seignior's

Firme to certain Writings, was put in his Place; and the Vizier's *Kahya* into the Place of the Nifangi, and *Geleji Ibrahim Aga*, was made *Kahya*.

Upon the Arrival of the Valide Sultana at *Adrianople*, *Istif Agi*, who had been formerly *Kahya* to the Hafaki Sultana, or the Royal Queen, was Constituted *Aga*, or General of the Janifaries, and at the same time Vizier of the Bench: These were succeeded by the Spahlyer *Agasi*, who is General of the Horse, and his Place supplied by a *Salakiar* of the Seraglio.

About the beginning of March, *Imam-Sade Mahomet Effendi*, then Kadilesker of *Romelia*, was created Mufti by the Grand Seignior; and his Predecessor was sent to *Constantinople*, from whence the Sultan sent for *Mimadi Effendi* to be Kadilesker of *Anatolia*.

The *Nakib*, who is the Chief of the Green Heads, or those of the Race of *Mahomet*, was deprived of this Office, and *Mahomet Effendi*, Kadi of *Constantinople*, which was as much as Recorder of that City, was put into his Place.

In like manner the *Tefterdar-Kahyasi*, or the Lord Treasurer's Steward, or Secretary, called *Galil Effendi*, was also changed, who had been Treasurer in the Time of the foregoing Vizier *Ali Pasha*; and thus had he formed all his Court according to his own Humour and Fancy.

And as to the High and Sublime Offices Abroad, he began also to form and modelize them: That of *Egypt*, he conferred upon *Ishmael Pasha*, who had been lately Beglerbeg of *Damascus*; and the Government of this latter he bestowed on the Kadilesker of the Deceased Sultan *Achmet*.

Hassan Pasha, who was Kinsman to the Queen Regent, late Governour of *Scio*, was called back to Court from his Banishment at *Hatjack*, and made the Deputy-Chimacam, or Vikil-Chimacam, to Govern at any time during the Grand Seignior's Absence.

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1695.

A LIST of such as were put to Death for the late Conspiracy at *Adrianople*.

STRANGLED.

BENGLI HASSAN PASHA, late Governour of *Tripoli* of *Soria*.

BEHEADED.

Hassan Turcman Agasi,
Bester Aga, Salahor of the Grand Seignior.
Weli, Aga of the Chimacam.
Hassan Effendi, *Kahya* of the Chimacam.
Matpach Emmini, or Customer.

HANGED.

An Astrologer.

These following were Banished.

Fisala Effendi, formerly Mufti, who had been Banished to, and afterwards Exiled into the *Upper Egypt*.

Johata Effendi, late Kadilescher, sent to *Aleppo*.

Mahomet Effendi Nakib, Banished to *Aleppo*.

Ganzack Effendi, under Kadi of *Galata*, was sent to *Lemnos*.

As was also *Nissani Oglu Hassain Aga*, Favourite to the aforementioned Vizier, *Ali Pasha*.

Besides these, were above a Hundred more Strangled of Inferiour Quality, whose Bodies were thrown into the River *Meritz*, which runs by *Adrianople*.

The Valide Sultana being arrived at *Adrianople*, was received with open Arms by her Son, who governed himself much by the Measures had been given him by his Mother, who made several Changes and Alterations every Day amongst the Officers of State; only the Grand Vizier and Mufti continued in their Offices, and the greatest part of the others consisted of Old Servants of the Court, established in the time of his Father Sultan *Mahomet IV.* of which the Queen-Mother had an Opinion that they would prove the most Faithful Servants of any in the Court. To make room for these Men, the Chimacam, the Great Master of the Horse to the Sultan, the *Chichaya Bey*, or Lieutenant-General of the Janifaries, (who is always more feared, and esteemed by the Soldiery than the *Aga* himself) were all displaced, with the Janifar-Aga, as also the Principal Officers of the Spahces; having an Opinion, That the Youngest are always the more Bold, and Daring, their Courages being excited with Ambition, and Vain-Glory.

Things being in this manner modelized both for Domestick and Martial Affairs, the Grand Seignior again confirmed, and published his Resolution to go this Year to the War; and to make Provisions of Money to maintain the same, with the usual Donative to the Soldiery, which was always given in former times, whensoever the Sultan made his first Years Campaign.

Those who were against the Grand Seignior's going in Person to the War, preferred very hard the prevailing Argument of want of Money, to raise which, all means possible were contrived; for the Sultan would not be put by his Resolution, alledging, That the Negligence of his Father and Uncle's not going to War in Person, had been the Ruine of the *Ottoman Army*, and the Cause of all those Losses, and Disgraces which his Empire had sustained; but Money must be found by one way or other; to do which, the Grand Vizier was strictly enjoined to give an Account of Eighteen Millions in the space of Thirty Days, besides the Arrears due

1695. to the Soldiery, in the Time of the last Sultan *Achmet*: And tho' the Grand Vizier alleged, That it seemed reasonable, that such as had managed the Publick Offices during the two preceding Reigns, should be answerable for the Miscarriages, and not he, who had been employed therein but only some few Months before; yet the Sultan would not admit of this Excuse for a Reason, but required the Account of the Eighteen Millions: His Mother also furnished her Son with Seven Millions and a half in ready Money, and Fifteen Millions in Jewels, which he had been collecting in the space of fifteen Years that he had been the Wife of his Father; and from the Widow of the late Deceased Sultan *Achmet*, they took another half Million; the Vizier was Taxed at a Million and a half, and five Millions in Jewels; likewise a good round Sum was demanded from the Chimaacem, and other *Pasha's* and Persons in great Offices.

There was a farther Proposition made to scrow Money out of all the *Arabians*, and Negro's at Court: The *Kuzlir-Aga* was the first of that Rank from whom the most considerable Sums were exacted; to pay which, their Estates and Faculties sent and conveyed out of sight to *Constantinople*, were all called from thence. The like was also demanded from the *Ulema*, and all the Ecclesiastical Lands and Estates were Taxed.

To execute all these Contrivances and Ways for raising Money, the Grand Seignor was solely intent, labouring Day and Night to amass Money; and spent his whole time to heap up Riches; to do which, he acted many things without the knowledge of the Vizier, and wrote Letters, and received Answers relating to the raising Men, and providing Subsistence for the Troops without intertelling his Grand Vizier therein; the which struck such a Fear and Terror into the Minds of all those who had to do with the Publick Interest, that none durst to act any thing privately, or in an obscure manner, which might be of prejudice to the Grand Seignor, and his Government.

To keep this Sultan in the Humour of going to the War, his Mother laboured to keep up his Spirits; which being observed by the great Men, such as the Mufti, the Grand Vizier, the Lord Treasurer, and the Generals of the Janifaries, and of the Spahces, they all submitted thereunto, only they gave in a Petition to be delivered to the Sultan by the Hand of the Valide Soltana, or Queen-Mother; representing, That since they had observed that it was

His Majesty's Resolution to go in Person to the War, they were concurring with him in the same, promising to be helpful therein to the best of their Powers; beseeching only, That His Ottoman Majesty would be pleased to Indulge them so much time, as might serve to assemble, and gather their Militia into a Body, and to make Provisions for their Subsistence, as also Ammunition, and Cannon, with Powder and Bullets sufficient to attend so great an Army: Of all which they gave the Sultan in Writing a particular Account in what forwardness all things were; and concluded, That since it is the Custom of the *Germans* to be late in the Field, they did not doubt but to be more forward than they, and to Grace and Honour the Sultan's first Expedition with the Success of Glorious Achievements, of which the Mis carriage would prove of evil Consequence, as the contrary would be of mighty advantage to the whole Ottoman Empire, which languishing after a Fortunate Sultan, would then think the Wheel turned in case they could fee the end of a Campaign concluded with Honour of a New Sultan.

The Grand Seignor being sensible hereof, raised all the Forces he was able, both in *Asia* and *Europe*: And to Engage the *Tartar Han* on his side, certain *Aga's* were dispatched to *Tartary* with Purfes of Money, with Presents of a Sword richly adorned with Diamonds, and with rich Costars; as also with Presents to the other Kinmen of the *Han*, and to the *Mirzees*, who are the Noble Men, and Chief Officers both of War and Peace, desiring them all to be early at the War; by which great Assiduity of the Sultan, all the Great Officers were in fear of him, knowing that as he Rewarded generously, so he Punished severely.

The Grand Vizier in the mean time considering the Troubles under which he was to labour, as also the Invincible Difficulties of the present War, in case the Sultan should persist in his Resolution of going in Person to Command the Army, he endeavoured what he could to obtain the Favour that he might lay down his Office, and quietly and safely retire from all Buifness; for which he made Talkish to the Grand Seignor, which is a Petition made by the Master of Requests; (of which there is but one belonging to the Court called *Talkishgee*) the substance of which was to lay before the Grand Seignor the impossibility of making the Donative to the Soldiers, amounting unto Twelve Millions, the which was always given by the Sultans to the Soldiers, whensoever they made

1695. made their first Campaign: This was for reasonable an Exception, and Excuse, that there was no reply to be made thereunto, but the absolute Will and Pleasure not to pay it; for besides the want of Money in the Treasury, which had been exhausted by a long and an unfortunate War, the Grand Seignor added, That he did not esteem himself obliged to a Custom which was begun in the most Flourishing Times of the Empire, when Success crowned all their Enterprizes with Victory, when the Enemies were forced to pay all Charges of the War, with an Overplus of Riches and Increase, which filled the Royal Exchequer, and that Wars maintained the Empire: But those Days, added the Grand Seignor, are now past; and that it would be an Insolence in the Soldiery, to expect a Donative from him, who was not in the least beholding to them for his being placed in the Throne, to which he came by Succession, and a Just Title, and not by the Favour and Assistance of the Soldiery; and that whosoever had opposed him therein (who was their True and Lawful Sovereign) would have been guilty of High Treason, and ought to Die by the Just Laws of the Empire.

In this manner, the Wisest and most Experienced Officers observing how difficult, and almost impossible it was to divert the Grand Seignor from his Resolution of going in Person to the War, they all agreed to joyn with their Master, and to applaud his happy Designs, which they prayed to God might be prosperous, promising to give all Assistance with their Lives and Fortunes, that he might return with Victory and Success: So soon were their Minds changed to the Will and Pleasure of their Absolute and Uncontroulable Lord, that none durst open his Mouth against his Determination, nor no Murmurings heard unless by some few Janifaries, who Talked a little, without any Notice taken thereof.

The Grand Vizier finding himself also under Invincible Difficulties, thought it the safest way to close with the Sultan, which he accordingly did, and with much outward Zeal dissembled a Cheerfulness of Spirit in Compliance with his Master.

This Matter being resolved, it was concluded, That an Army should be formed of 80000 Fighting Men, and the Tugh, or Horse-Tail, being with Prayers, after the usual manner, exposed at the Vizier's Gate, the 30th of March was appointed to take the Field, and enter the Tents, which are commonly pitched about two

English Miles distant from the *Grand*: 1695. And the Grand Seignor to lose no time, Commanded that 2000 of his Pages, and as many others on Horseback, appointed for his Guard, should be at the appointed time in a readiness to attend the Sultan: But yet things went but slowly on, by reason of the great Disorders arisen in *Adrianople*, whereby many of the Chief Men had been killed, which gave a stop to the March of the Militia.

To which also another step was given by the News which the *Tartar* *Ilza* received, That the *Czar of Moscow* being joyned with the *Cossacks*, was pulling down the *Tatars*, with design to fall upon *Asia*; of which he gave Advice to the Grand Seignor, by an Express dispatched to *Adrianople*, acquainting him, That the Enemies were grown to numerous, that he could not this Year send his Troops to *Hungary*, having hard Work to defend his own Country, and People, from so numerous an Army as that of the *Moscovites* joyned with the *Cossacks*. But the Grand Seignor not satisfied with this Excuse, returned an Answer, That notwithstanding all Impediments to the contrary, he must by all means come with a Numerous Army, and appear in his Presence; but this was impossible to be done, the Soldiers and People not being contented to please the Grand Seignor to see their Country laid open, and exposed to such a Powerful Enemy.

This Grand Seignor Sultan *Mustapha*, when he came first to the Throne, was Feared, Esteemed, Loved, and Obeyed; but the Affection of his People was soon estranged from him, since he Deposed the late Mufti, and caused the Grand Vizier, with many other Persons, Innocent and Worthy, to be Strangled, with Ignominy and Dishonour. But the Mufti was most of all lamented, having the Reputation of a Just, Sincere, Honest, and a Holy Man, in whose place the Sultan established his late Hogia, or School-Master, named *Fazlulah Effendi*, a Wicked, False, Perfidious, and Covetous Wretch, as he was generally esteemed to be.

The Grand Vizier, (as we have said) was always afraid of the Changeable Humour of the Sultan, and could not cover his Passion, nor dissemble his Countenance; of which the Sultan taking notice, deprived him of his Office, and Banished him at Midnight to *Chifme*, which is a small Village on the Coast of *Anatolia* over against *Scio*; but this Proscription continued not long, before he was brought back again to *Adrianople*, and Strangled, and his Body

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flung

1695. flung out at the Scraglio-Gate, where it remained until the next Day at Noon, with the Face and Beard all befmeared with a

At *Adrianople* all the Court was changed; only the Grand Seignior when he first entered upon the Throne, confirmed the Janissar-Aga in his Place, who was an Honest Man, and a good Soldier, but soon afterwards he put him out, and Constituted another in his Place, called *Baltage Delis*, which signifies Mad Battle-Axe Man, the Son of an *Armenian Renegade*, a Vile Fellow, without Sense, or Manners: Likewise the *Kahya-Bey*, or Lieutenant-General of the Janissaries; and the *Kuzlir-Aga*, or Eunuch of the Women were displaced; and in short since this Sultan came to the Throne, there was nothing done but placing and displacing of the Principal Officers; all which was acted by the Councils of Women, and Favourites in the Scraglio, who neither had Sense, nor Experience in the Affairs of the World. The like soon after happened to the *Chimacem*, who being a Friend to the late *Vizier*, and one of his Creatures, was Banished first to *Mytilene*, where he was likewise Strangled; from whence his Head being brought to *Adrianople*, was thrown before the Gate of the Scraglio, with divers others esteemed Innocent by the People.

Thus the Sultan, as he thought, having purged his Army of Cowards, and his Councils of Ill-affected Ministers, began his March from *Adrianople* on the 10th of June; the Janissar-Aga marched away on the 3d: The Army was said to be very powerful, and composed of Choice Men, which encouraged the *Turks*, that they talked of nothing less than the taking of *Buda*; and about that time News came from *Stalida de Zetuns*, a small Island near *Negropont*, That *Ibrahim*, Pasha of that Island, had entered into the *Morea* with 30000 Men, and was Encamped under *Corinth*, expecting the Captain-Pasha, who was then designing to depart from *Constantinople* in ten Days, where he had been detained longer than was usual, to repair the Damages which the *Turks* had received in their late Engagement against the *Venetians*: Belonging to this Fleet, seven Ships were appointed for *Alexandria* to fetch Soldiers thence for the *Morea*; and likewise about this time Recruits were sent to the *Black-Sea* to several Ports there, the *Turks* being in fear of the *Moscovites*, who being very strong, the *Tartars* were afraid to encounter them, and would have excused themselves this Year from the War, but the Sultan would not hearken there-

unto, but proceeded with Resolution on his March.

But before the Sultan began the same, he caused the *Tallos*, or Common-Cryer, to make Publication, That the Grand Seignior's Will and Pleasure was,

'That no Man going to the Wars, ^{New Ordert for the Army.} should be served by Young Boys.

'That good Order and Discipline should be observed in the March.

'That no Man should ride out of the Common High-Road, or by Bye-Ways, into the Corn-Fields, or Vine-yards, or other Grounds belonging to the Husband-Man.

In pursuance of these Commands, the Sultan on the very Day that he departed from the Camp before *Adrianople*, being then Teptil, or in Disguise, he found a Man cutting another's Corn to give his Horse; and only asking him, Whether he had heard of the Grand Seignior's Command: He ordered the *Selidjar-Aga*, who was General of the Spahes's, for he had no other with him (excepting the *Kapugiler-Kahyas*) at the same time to kill him, which he presently executed with his Lance, not giving the Unhappy Wretch one Moment to speak for his Life. At the same time also, the Grand Seignior espied another walking through the Corn, whom he took and carried to the Tents, where he caused his Head to be cut off. The *Toghibassee*, or Master of the Ordnance, likewise the Day or two before very hardly escaped; for having a Boy in his Company, of whom the Grand Seignior had some Jealousie, or ill Thoughts, had certainly been put to Death for the same, had he not had some present Wives at hand to prove him to be his Son.

These and such like Acts of Severity, rendered this Sultan very formidable, so that all People were afraid of him, not only in their Publick Actions, but even in their Private Conversation, scarce trusting their own Thoughts. Amongst these Severities *Achmet Pasha*, late *Chimacem* to Sultan *Achmet*, was turn'd out of his Office by this present Sultan, and Banished to *Mytilene*; and after having taken from him an hundred Purfes of Money, his Head was brought to *Adrianople* about two Days after the *Vizier* had been Strangled.

All things being now prepared for the March of the Army towards *Belgrade*, the Janissar-Aga with his Janissaries, according

1695. to the usual Custom took the Van, and marched away one Days March before the rest of the Army, so that the Grand Seignior, attended by the Mufti, Grand Vizier, Spahlar-Aga, or General of the Spahes, Tefcedar, or Lord-Treasurer, began their March, following the Janissaries, on the 20th of June, but after some few Hours, they made a Halt to give time to three of the greatest Pashas, or Beglerbeys of the Empire, to come up with them; that is to say, to the Pasha of *Damascus*, the Pasha of *Aleppo*, and Beglerbey of *Anatolia*, every one of which brought with him about 1200 Men, recounting Spahes, and Sarigiaus, and Segmen on Horseback, with all which and others attending the Sultan in his March, they did not amount to more than 12000 Horse, with which he marched from *Adrianople* six Days to *Philippopolis*, and Encamped over against that City in those Plains, where a great Council of War was held, touching the Methods which were to be observed in the War, and the Places which were to be Attacked.

The Numbers of this Army appeared so small and inconsiderable, that the Sultan remained very much unsatisfied, and would not be contented, unless the *Tartar Han* would follow him with all his Force unto the Camp at *Belgrade*; but he positively refused it; and said, That it could not be done; unless he should expose, and lay his People open to the Incursions of the *Moscovites*, who were coming down in vast Numbers to over-run all the Regions of the *Tartars*: Howsoever not to displease overmuch the Grand Seignior, the *Tartar Han* forced himself to appear in the *Turkish* Camp with an Army of about 5000 *Tartars*, which was a good addition to the *Turkish* Force, so that in all they composed an Army of about 50000 Men.

The *Christian* Army led by the Elector of *Saxony*, was not much stronger, but very desirous to meet the *Turks*, who had taken their March towards *Transylvania*: But in regard the *Turks* were so far advanced before the Imperial Army, that it was impossible for the Elector to come in opportunely, and in season to succour the Places which the Sultan designed to Invest, unless they could take a shorter way, which was offered unto them, being guided by some of that Country; but the Ways proved so bad, being all Marishes and Wet Grounds, that it was impossible to pass them with the Cannon and heavy Baggage of an Army; so that after great Fatigues of three or four Days Marches, the Elector was obliged to return back again to

his former Camp; and in the mean time the *Turks* had got such a way before them towards *Transylvania*, that it was impossible for them to be overtaken by the *Christian* Army; and having liberty to give every where without any Opposition equal to them, they fell in upon the Palace of *Lippa* on the 7th of September, without Breach-works, or Parapets, or any Approaches, Defences, or Shelter before them, but only with the Scimiter in their Hands, they Attacked the Palace at four several Places, with such incredible Resolution, that after four Hours Engagement, they took the Place by Storm, and put all to the Sword, excepting only Major *Toldo*, who was Governour of the Place, with some others of the Principal Officers, whom the *Turks* after their usual Custom, referred to carry in Triumph, and to show them to the People at the Port, as one Signal of their Victory.

In the mean time the Imperial Army continued their March near to *Clonad*, situate upon the River *Maros*; and on the 13th of that Month, pitched their Camp before *Natla*, where they rested that Day, and the 14th marched directly to *Lippa*, hoping to overtake the *Turks*, and to come time enough to Attack the Enemy, and relieve the Place, but they found it too late, and the *Turks* reinforced with an Army of 6000 *Tartars*, Commanded by the *Hen* in Person: This News gave a stop to the March of the Imperial Army under the Command of the Elector of *Saxony*; and what was most discouraging, was the News, That the *Turks* lead by the Sultan himself in Person were marched into *Transylvania*, to Attack *Corn Veterani* in his Camp, which consisted not of above 6500 Men; who tho' they were very well fortified, and Resolute Men, and good Soldiers, yet being too unequal a Match for the whole *Turkish* Army, which consisted of 18000 Janissaries, and 40000 Spahes, they were all cut off, with the most part of their Officers, and as to General *Veterani* himself he was shot through the Body with a Mulet-Bullet, and cut over the Head with a Scimiter; notwithstanding which, he being still alive, Endeavours were used for his Recovery, but he Died of his Wounds.

This ill News was followed by the unfortunate Loss of *Tirul*, which the *Turks* having Attacked by Land and Water with 15000 Men, the Place Surrendered it self to the *Turks* by Treaty, in virtue of which the Garrison consisting of 1600 Men, ought according to Articles, to have been Conveyed to *Peter Waradin*; but the *Turks* re-

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1695. turning after they had burnt, and Abandoned the Place, carried all the Garrison with them to Salankement.

This Place was taken by the Turks, before that General Herberville, who was Encamped with 6000 Men near *Kobila*, as also fortified with 8 Gallies and 16 Frigates, could hinder the Enemies Approaches: After which the Turks leaving the Place, the Imperialists entered into the same, and took Possession of all what the Turks had ruined, for nothing was left but heaps of Rubbish.

In the mean time the great Army under the Command of the Elector of Saxony, advanced so far as *Solnak*, where the Grand Seigneur having received intelligence, That the *Christians* Army was marching towards him, hastened with all speed for *Temeiswar*, with intention to enter into *Scalavonia*: Upon which the Elector of Saxony made a Halt, and on the 17th marched back, and pitched his Camp about half an Hours distance from *Chonad*, and the next Day being the 18th, continued his March as far as *Alukona*. But whereas Advice came, That the Enemy designed to enter *Transylvania*, the Elector resolved to send all the Infantry to *Peter Waradin*, whilst he in Person, marched with the Horse to oppose the Enemy, giving Commands to the National Militia of *Scalavonia* to join with the *Croats*, to oppose the Entrance of the Turks into that Province: And here it was, that certain Intelligence was given of the Defeat of that Worthy General *Veterani*, and that he was dead of his Wounds; which News was received with much grief of all Brave and Worthy Champions for the *Christian* Cause.

After which Count *Heissler* took the Van of the Army, and marched before them for *Deva*, there to provide all sorts of Provisions for sustenance of those who were to follow and to assemble the Estates of *Transylvania*, commanding them to meet His Electoral Highness, and consult with him in the best manner, how things might be put into a posture of Defence for the Safety and Security of that Province. At which time also came the unhappy News of the loss of *Titul* taken by the Turks.

It was the common Opinion at that time of all the well experienced Soldiers, That the Martial Affairs of the Empire, were all very ill managed for that Year: For had the *Christians* instead of Ingulfing themselves amongst Marasses and Moorish Grounds unpassable for an Army, in which they lost fix or seven Days, and gave the Turks the advantage of marching to many Days before them to *Temeiswar*, and thence

to *Lippa*, they had saved the loss of *Veterani* and his Forces at *Lugos*, as also *Titul*, and *Karanssebes*, all which fell that Year for want of good Conduct: for the Turks were esteemed not stronger at that time than 40000 Men, and one half of them Raw and Undisciplined Soldiers; but the The ill Conduct of the Imperial Army, in Anno 1695. in their Years Expedition, broke all Measures, as if there had been a Fatality attending this Years Actions: For no sooner did the Turks understand that the Imperial Army was marching after them, but being struck with a sudden Consternation, they Decamped with their whole Army from *Lippa*, more like Cowards flying before the Enemy, than in Order and Posture of War, marching Day and Night to get into *Temeiswar* before the Enemy could overtake them. But so soon as it was known to the Turks, that the Imperial Army was marched to *Segedin*, they took Courage, and gave a stop to their precipitate Flight. And here it was that Fortune changed, and gave unexpected Success to the Turks, in this Years Expedition, which turned greatly to the Fame and Renown of this New Sultan *Mustapha*: For considering that he was but a raw Soldier, and kept himself in every Action at a distance and out of Musket-shot, yet the whole matter being carried on against the Opinion of all his Ministers, and the Inclinations of almost all his Soldiers, especially the Janifaries, and all the prime Officers of the Army and the State, things looked at first with a very bad Face, and promised nothing but Destruction.

Yet afterwards succeeding quite otherwise than were expected, all was attributed to the Courage, Wisdom, and Conduct of the Sultan; so that it became a Wonder to the World how it was possible for a Sultan without Experience, who had but newly come out from an Imprisonment of eight Years, and known nothing yet of War, to be attended with such Success, that all his Army did avow, That his Victories were due to his Valour and Conduct, which gained him a wonderful Esteem amongst all the great Men of his Empire, both Martial and Civil; the Effect of which was found in the following Year, when all the soldiery being clothed with Blood and Spoil, came willingly to the War, and struck an Awe and Fear into the Hearts of all the Ottoman Subjects, believing this Prince to be sent them from God, to rescue them and the Empire from Ruine and utter Destruction.

Great Victory gained by the Sultan.

1695. The Sultan being sensible of the great Honour and Fame which he had gained by the unexpected Successes of this Campaign, being unwilling to lose the same, so soon as he heard that the Imperial Army was marched towards *Transylvania*, he resolved to return homewards, and not to tempt Fortune again for this Year, and accordingly marched again with his whole Army to *Temeiswar*, whence he sent Commands and Decrees one after the other, with Letters to *Ziafer* the Pasha of *Belgrade*, to provide *Temeiswar* with all sorts of Victuals necessary for maintenance of the Place; and that he should take care to send them thither, with a Convoy sufficient to defend them from the Enemy: And farther he ordered that Pasha to take notice, That he was returning to his Palace at *Adrianople*, by the way of *Walachia*, of which Advice was given to the Prince, and Commands sent him to repair the Bridges, and mend the Ways of that Country, and to enlarge them for the more easy Passage of the Army: The like Decrees and Commands were sent to the Prince of *Moldavia*; and divers Letters were Wrote by the Grand Seigneur himself to his Mother the Valide *Soltana*; as also to all the Chief Governors of the Provinces in *Anatolia*, and to the *Chimacans* of *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*; in which, after he had recounted unto them all his great Actions and Successes, he Commanded that Days and Nights of Rejoycings should be celebrated for the same through all the Dominions of his Empire, in regard that he had Taken, and laid Desolate a greater City and Territory than that of *Belgrade*, and that he had slain more than 10000 Germans, and made above 3000 Prisoners, with the Officers belonging to them; for which Glorious Victories and Fortunes Commands were given to offer Thankgivings in all Places of the Empire, and to praise God, for that he had been pleased to appease his Wrath against the Muffelmén, who had long provoked the Divine Anger.

The Sultan being in this manner resolved to make his Return to *Adrianople*, by way of *Walachia*, notice was given thereof (as we have said) to the Prince of the Country, who was thereby put into a most grievous Terrour and Consternation of Mind, not knowing what to do, or how to help and protect his Poor Miserable Province already wasted and consumed by the War; and what was now to be more done on the Passage of divers *Asiaticks*, *Abantians*, *Turks*, &c. was not to be resolved; until the Prince considering, and revolving all things in his Mind, concluded, That

the best and safest way was, immediately to depart and meet the Sultan on his way, according to his urgent and reiterated Commands; shewing no Fears or Jealousies, but a Confidence of the Grand Seigneur's Favour to him: In pursuance of which, he proceeded, and met the Sultan over against *Widin*, where being seen by him, and looked upon with a tender Eye, and a kind Aspect, the poor Prince began to take Courage, and ease the Throbs of his Trembling Heart. Howsoever being acquainted with the Humour of the Sultans, who often speak fair to their Pasha's, and yet nourish a secret Design to take away their Lives, he could not settle his Thoughts, or believe that the bitterness of Death was yet over; but there was nothing to be done now, nor any starting back, but on he must go, as he did to the Place called *Turno* on this side of the *Danube*, over against *Nicopolis*, where the Army Encamped on the 13th of *October*, and the Sultan took some Repose for certain Days, called by the Turks Days of *Oratorack*, the Officers of the Prince proceeding in the mean time to prepare the Ways, and to make them wider.

The Grand Seigneur coming very weary to *Turno*, reposed there about an Hours time, and then Embarking in his own Boat, passed to the other side of the *Danube*, after which the Grand Vizier followed with the whole Army, there being Boats and Floats sufficient to Ferry them over. And here it is to be for ever recorded to the honour of this Sultan *Mustapha*, That in passing this Province of *Walachia*, strict Discipline was kept, and which was observed with so much Rigour, that a Soldier durst not steal an Egg, a Pullet, or a Hen; and a Tartar was known to be Hanged, for taking away a Kid by force; and two *Asiaticks* *Turks* were Hanged on a Tree for Robbing a Bee-hive, by which Severity, to the Wonder of the whole World, the Ottoman Army passed that Afflicted Province without the least damage or hurt to the People.

And here at this place of *Turno*, it is to be noted, That before the Grand Seigneur passed the River, he called to him the Prince of *Walachia*, and bestowed upon him rich Costan, or Vest, which is a Signal of the Favour of the Sultan, and told him, That he was greatly pleased and satisfied with his Service and Diligence, commanding him to return Home to his Place of Residence, but above all he charged him to observe Justice, which if he did, he should always enjoy his Favour; the like said the Grand Vizier to him, who giving

him

1695. him a Vest as an Evidence of his Favour, gave him Licence to return to his own Place of Government.

When the *Turks* were come on the Confinces over against *Fetiblam*, they Embarked all their Cannon and Ammunition for *Belgrade*; but the lighter Field-pieces, (of which they found some in *Karantefes*) they carried with them, to render their Entry into *Adrianople*, the more Stately and Magnificent.

But whilst they were contriving all things for the more Triumphant Entry of the Grand Seignior; it was judged most requisite and proper for the present State of the *Turkish* Affairs, to make the Triumph into *Constantinople*, which was ever esteemed the Head of the Empire, and the Place where the *Ottoman* Throne was ever seated: And as to *Adrianople*, it was ordered, that the Sultan should make a short stop there of four or five Days only; and in the mean time the Valide Soltana, with all the Female Court, was ordered to take up their Quarters in the usual Places of the Great Seraglio, which was prepared on all sides to be fitted for Reception of the Grand Seignior.

This coming of the Grand Seignior to *Constantinople*, was a sudden Resolution, and unexpected, being the effect of his Thoughts on his March, only for considering that *Constantinople* (ever since the *Turks* entered into *Europe*) was always esteemed the Head and Seat of the *Ottoman* Empire, and the Place where the *Ottoman* Emperors were ever Enthroned with the Benediction of the *Mufti*, assisted by the *Nakib*, who is Chief of the *Emirs*, who wear green Tushants; and also the Place where the *Mufti* gives the Sword to the Sultan's Thigh, called *St. Iul*, in Memory of that Soldier, who was the first that stormed the Walls of *Constantinople*, when it was in the Possession of the *Greeks*; for which reason, his Memory hath ever been held in great Veneration with the *Turks*. The Thoughts wherewith incited the Grand Seignior with a sort of Impatience and Ambition to imitate the Practice of his Ancestors, at a time when he esteemed himself Great, Prosperous, and in a way to recover the lost Honour and Reputation of the Empire.

Moreover, his Design being to be as great at Sea as at Land, or at least of equal Match with the *Venetians*, or to have a better Army to enter into the *Moravia*, and recover the Country, his Thoughts were fixed upon *Constantinople*, as the proper Place for that Design; as *Adrianople* was for the Wars by Land so no time was lost in the

March of the Army, to possess the Ancient Seat of the *Osmanli*s.

The Grand Seignior having reposed some few Days (as we have said) at *Adrianople*, proceeded forwards and arrived in Company with his Mother at *Constantinople*, the first it was appointed otherwise, and that the should go first, and lead the way; but it afterwards seemed more Great and Glorious, and of less Charge to go together, which accordingly they did, and arrived at the Great Seraglio about the latter end of *October*, or beginning of *November*: But on the Road the Court and Army happening to feel some Scarcity and Want of Provisions, the Sultan became very angry and displeased against the Treasurer of the Army, and against those Officers whose Business it was to Oversee the Provisions, and not to suffer any Want to be in Court or Army: Upon which Occasion, the Grand Seignior Discharged the Treasurer of his Office, with Threats and Menaces of his Life: And the Commissaries for that Business being in like manner faulty, as also the second Person under the Treasurer, was Discharged of his Office, and great care was taken to supply their Offices with Men of Skill and Industry.

And now about the beginning of this Month of *November*, the Grand Seignior, with all his Court, entered into the Capital City of his Residence, with such Applause and Triumph, and Joy of the People, that the like was never heard or known in the Time of any former Sultan, all which served to comfort the People, and encourage the Militia.

Amongst the Particulars of this Triumph, 300 Slaves were shown, and all represented for Great Generals and Captains; for tho' there were but very few Officers amongst them, yet they were given out for such, and for *German* Princes: All the light Cannon, and Field-Pieces, with the Ammunition, Colours, Flags, Drums, and Trumpets, were all showed, and brought into the Account of Spoil; with a Report amongst the Soldiery, That the *Turks* had not lost above 500 Men, killed in the Field, tho' others of them which came out of the Army, and had been Eye-Witnesses of the whole Batel, and of the *Turkish* Army, which consisted of 50000 Men, with the Sultan at the Head of them, and yet were hard put to it to fight against 8000 of *Veteran*'s Men; who having maintained a Fight for six Hours, were at length forced to retire for want of Powder and Ammunition, and other Warlike Provisions.

Thus

1695. Thus much the *Turks*, who had been in the Batel, confessed themselves; whilst others who came from all the Countries round to see the Show, and Triumph, Wept for Joy, saying, That the Time was now come, that God would Avenge himself on the Christians, for their Pride; and would for the future blind them in their Designs, and infatuate them in all their Councils.

Howsoever all the World cannot but confess, That the loss of so many Brave Men, could not but prove a fatal Blow to all *Christendom*, especially to the *Germans*, who fought almost to the last Drop of Blood: Nor were the *Turks* unensible of their Losses also, both as to Numbers and Quality; for one of the Sultan's Brothers-

Sabin Pa-in-Law, called *Sabin Mehmet Pascha*, a brisk daring Man, and a good Soldier, and so Named from *Sabin*, which signifies a Falcon, and was the next to the Grand Vizier, and carried three Horse-Tails gilded before him, was killed by a Carbine-shot; for which reason he was much lamented at the Court, and most especially by the Queen-Mother, not only because he had been her Son-in-Law, but a Person endued with many Rare and Excellent Virtues: Besides which, the famous *Mahmud Pascha*, Celebrated by all to be one of the most Accomplished Soldiers of this Age; and the most Warlike Cavalier of all the *Ottoman* Nation: He was an *Albanian* Born, a Man of great Reputation and Fame, called *Mahmud Bei Oghli*, and was slain with three Carbine-shots, and fell amongst the most Renowned Officers of the *Turks*: These two were said to be the first who broke into *Veteran*'s Army, one to the Right, and the other to the Left-Wing, where they found and encountered such unexpected Opposition, that the *Turks* confessed, That they had never met the like, and had not prevailed against their Enemies at that time, had it not been for the Resolution and Bravery of their Fortunate Sultan, who standing in the Rear with his Scimitar in his Hand, hindered the base intended Flight of his Soldiery.

This Action gave a full stop to all the following Designs of this Year; for the *Turks* reasoning with themselves, That in case to small an Army as that of *Veteran*, was able to do such Feats, what would become of their Forces, were they to engage against the whole entire Army of the *Kral*, that is the Elector; for they call the King of Poland *Kral*, and so other Inferiour Princes to the Emperor, whom they call *Kaiser*; but the King of *England*, they call that never be taught to call otherwise than *Kral*.

The Grand Seignior having made his Triumphant Entry into *Constantinople*, the Militia of *Asia* which attended the Sultan from the War, had licence given them to return Home to their own Countries, and Orders were given to open a Door, as they call it, to enroll Janissaries, according to the usual Ceremonies used on these Occasions, and care was taken to draw them, as well the New Janissaries, as the *Old Veterans* *Albanian* Troops; as also the Levants, or Marine Regiments, and to recruit their Numbers, of which several had been lost in the late Engagements at Sea; the which, tho' they had not for many Years been fought with so much equality of Fortune between the *Venetians* and the *Turks*, as they had been for this Year, yet it was not determined which side had gained the better; tho' the *Turks* avoided the Fight, so much as was possible, and thereby gave an evidence of their own Weakness, and doubtful Condition.

It hath been long since we have heard a Discourse of *Turkey*, being not regarded so much by any as by the *French* Ambassador; for as to the *Turks*, they had no Opinion of him, nor would they have it be thought that they had any need of his Forces, or Interest of his Party in Hungary; but suffered him to Lodge in one of the vilest Streets in the Town, amongst *Jews*, and the meanest sort of the *Armenians*, called *Balata*; his Countenance was much changed, pale, and fallen, and his Feet Swelled, so that his Enemies scorned him, and his Friends could expect nothing more of good from him.

The Year drawing now towards an end, all the Endeavours of the *Turks* were to begin the following Year with greater Forces than that of the preceding; and herein they were the more concerned, in regard of the *Moscovites*, who were coming down upon the *Tartars* with vast Numbers of Soldiers, and all things prepared to make War upon them, and to take *Ajacs*, at least the Diversion hereby would be great, and so employ the *Tartars*, that to defend their own Countries, they would be obliged to desert the Service and Cause of the *Turks*: Howsoever the Successes of the *Turks* had been this Year so great, as gave them courage to consider in what manner they might be able to form two Armies for the next; with one of which the chief Design was to enter *Transylvania*, and if possible, to make Peace with the *Moscovites* by the Negotiations of the *Tartars*; but all this came to nothing, as we shall see by the Sequel of the following Year.

Thus

Ann. 1696.

1696. HO' the *Turks* had gained some advantage the last Year over the *Venetians* both by Sea and Land; namely, in the Recovery of *Scio*, and by giving a Check or Stop to the *Venetian* Fleet; yet they gained little more thereby, than some little Fame and Reputation to the present Sultan *Mustapha*, whom the People began to consider, as a Deliverer sent to them from Heaven to recover their almost lost Empire, which lay under sad Distresses as well in *Asia* as in *Europe*.

This Opinion of the People when they observed the Justice, the Courage, and the Resolution of this Sultan to go in Person to the War, and that nothing could divert him from it, gave them Courage and Assurance to expect a turn of Fortune, and hopes of better Successes for the future; and tho' the *French* promised them not to make Peace without them, but to join with them in a perpetual League of Friendship; yet the *Turks* did not much trust them, but kept a watchful Eye over them, knowing very well how little stress there is to be laid on the Promises of the Great Monarch of *France*, who was also equally jealous of the Faith of the *Turks*, and both of them equally doubtful of one another.

This Great *Ottoman* Empire had the last Year changed both their Master, and the Chief Officers, without any considerable Change, or Troubles in the State amongst themselves, for that this Sultan, in whom clearly appeared a Spirit of greater Wisdom and Courage than in his Father *Mahomet IV*, or in his Uncle's succeeding him, gave the Soldiery and the People such Hopes and Expectations from him, that none durst open his Mouth, or lift up his Hands against him; there appeared also something more of Justice and Virtue in him, and of Diligence, and Care, and Sedulity in his Business, than was found in his Father, or in any of the succeeding Uncles, as we have formerly said; which gave hope to the great Governors of the Empire, that under him the Losses which the Empire had sustained in these last Wars, might be repaired, for tho' the Recovery of the Isle of *Scio* was made before he came to the Throne, and consequently might be looked upon, as an effect of his Uncle's Councils; for that *Mustapha* did not enter upon the Government until the end of January 1695, when that *Scio* had been taken about a

Month before by the *Turks*; but that falling so near to the time that *Mustapha* came to the Throne, that piece of good Fortune was looked upon as an effect of the Wisdom of the New Emperor, rather than of the Uncle *Achmet's* Council, by which, and by some other Exploits of the preceding Year in 1695, *Mustapha* grew high in the Opinion of the People, and the Soldiery; to which some Successes being added, as the taking of *Titul* and *Lippa*, with the Defeat given to *Veterani*; for which the *Turks* paid very dear, and would not have been cried up for a Victory, had not Victories become very rare in those Days; their Hopes were very big, and that he might make these Actions the more Triumphant and Glorious, the Grand Seigneur dispatched away several Messengers to the Kings of *Perfia*, and the Princes of *Arabia*, and to other Tributaries, to communicate unto them all his Successes and Victories of the last Year, whereby he hoped to encourage the drooping Spirits of his own Soldiers, and confirm those of his Friends and Allies unto him.

The Loss of *Scio* was certainly not very considerable to the *Venetians* at that time after they had gained it from the *Turks*; for Conquests at such a distance from them can never turn to any Account, or benefit.

The *Morea* indeed may be a more useful Conquest, than any of those on the Coast of *Asia*, where the *Turks* are far stronger than on the Coast of *Europe*, and this Year also the *Venetians* had been most successful in those Parts of the *Morea*, having defeated the *Turks* there in all their Attempts, in this as well as several other Years; but these Successes are not likely to be continued, for unless the *Venetians* increase the Number of their Ships at Sea, and augment their Forces at Land; and make good choice of their principal Commanders; all Matters will probably go backwards; for such Generals as *Morofini* and *Kaushan* are not easily to be found, under whom all things thrived and prospered, so that it were now to be wished, that the *Venetian* Forces were more numerous than formerly, and composed of their own Subjects, rather than of Foreigners.

But the *Turks* had a more watchful Eye over their War in *Hungary*, and the Parts about *Belgrade*, and *Transylvania*, than either in *Asia*, or other Countries of *Europe*, or over the Province of *Bassora*, or *Basora*, of which the *Arabians* had made a late Conquest over the *Turkish* Balha of that Country, who having but 2000 Men with him, was forced to submit to the greater

1696.

1696. greater force of the *Arabs*, and upon his Surrender made a Capitulation with them, That he might pass into *Perfia*, where he was well received at *Isfahan* by the King, being a Wife Man, and a Soldier.

About the same time likewise *Solyman Bey*, a *Turk*, a Native of *Curdisthan*, having routed a Party of *Perfians* on the Frontiers, had a Commission given him by the Grand Seigneur, to do all the Mischief he was able on the Frontiers of *Perfia*, not on the *Perfians* only, but on the *Georgians* and *Arabians*, who had joyned together and made themselves Princes of those Provinces.

Nor did the Affairs of the *Turks* prosper better at that time in the *Morea*, where a strong Party of the *Venetian* Forces made an Irruption upon the *Turks*, and advanced so far as *Thebes*, where the *Turks* received an entire Defeat, all the Country being Spoiled, Plundered, and Sacked by the *Venetians*, who upon their return carried with them a great Booty, with vast Numbers of *Turkish* Slaves.

Whilst these Matters were transacting, the Sultan was diligently employed at the Port in forming a Numerous Army, and providing all things for the Support and Maintenance of them. Nor was the like Diligence wanting in preparing and setting forth their Fleet, and putting them into a posture capable to Fight and Engage the *Venetians*; but as to the Land-Forces, the Campaign of this Year began early in the Month of *May*, when the *Heddukes* in divers places of *Slavonia*, assembled themselves in a Body to the Number of 400 Men, with which they passed the *Sava*, and made an Inroad so far as *Nissa*, about eight or nine Days to the Eastward of *Belgrade*, and in that March, they drove away great Numbers of small and great Cattle; after which they contrived in what manner to make their Retreat; but as they thought thereupon, the Garrisons of *Belgrade*, and other Neighbouring Places, made a Sally out upon them with a Party of about 2000 Men, Horse and Foot, who being informed of the Enemies Design, they drew up so advantageously in a Wood; and received them with so great Bravery, that after several Repulses given them, in which great Numbers were Killed and Wounded, were at length forced to fly and quit the Field, whilst the *Slavonians* made good their Retreat, and proceeded happily in their Design, which is all the Prologue that was made to the succeeding Actions of the following Campaign; only every thing began then to dipole it self towards a Bloody War, and for Action of the follow-

ing Year: When the Duke of *Lorain* made his first Campaign in *Hungary* in Quality of Major-General of the Imperial-Army, Commanding in particular the Regiments of *St. Croix*, *de Commerci*, and *Balfonpierre*, in which Commands this Young Prince evinced to the World, a clear Inclination, and Disposition to the War, agreeable to the Mind of his Illustrious Ancestors.

Whilst things were thus preparing in *Hungary*, News came to the Port from *Diarbekir*, giving the Relation of a Fight between the Rebels in those Parts, and the *Turks*, in which the *Turks* had been Defeated, and their General, the Pasha of *Di. The Pasha* *arbekir*, put to Flight, at a Place not far from *Sivas*: The Particulars of which succeeded in this manner.

When the Pasha heard where the Rebels were Encamped, he presently marched against them with a Body of 3600 Horse, Commanding two other Pashas with a force of 2000 Horse more to fall upon the Rebels, and getting between them began to Kill and Destroy them without giving Quarter to any of them: The Rebels having had timely notice of this Motion of the Pasha's, they mounted their Horses with much Courage and Activity, towards the Evening, and taking a Round about the Mountain, by favour of the Moon; they marched all that Night, and in the Morning early they fell in with the *Turkish* Seraskier, or General, with their Swords, and Scimitars, and with their Pikes and Lances, whence arose a very Bloody Fight, which held for the space of two Hours, to the great loss and diminution of the Army of the *Turks*, and danger of the Pasha's Life, who being put into great fear quitted the Field and fled, leaving the Spoil to the Enemy; with which they being encouraged, they marched towards *Slippo*, and from thence exacted what Money and Provisions that rich Province could afford them, upon pain of Military Execution; at which the Sultan was so enraged, that he gave out present Orders to raise the *Nefran*, which is the Militia of the Eastern Countries; and like one Man to rise and join themselves against the Enemy. Besides which, many other things were to be done, both by Sea and Land, and that with all Expedition, in regard that the force of the Rebels growing daily greater, their Power would with much more difficulty be subdued.

And in regard there was a necessity of putting the Fleet to Sea with all expedition, all other Affairs were laid aside, until that was dispatched, which was performed

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1696. after the *Biram*, and then about the beginning of *May* the Sultan began his March towards *Hungary* at the Head of his Army, when several were of Opinion that due care should be taken to suppress the Rebels in *Asia*; but the Sultan would hear of nothing more than to raise the *Nefrum* of the Country upon them, which are a sort of Soldiers like our Trained-Bands, and not better exercised in the Wars.

The Sultan who intended to have brought this Year 80 or 100000 Men into the Field against the Emperor, was contented to fall short at least 10000 Men of that Number which he had the last Year: And in regard the *Asiatick* Soldiers could not, or would not leave their own Country to attend the Armies in *Hungary*; the whole Army of the *Turks* did not amount to more than 50000 Men; and scarcely to that neither considering the Diversions made on one side by the *Persians*, and by the *Muscovites* on the other; wherefore considering these Difficulties and Distresses, all the *Ottomans* were called to the Wars, being in the Nature of *Milites immeriti*, who after their long Services in the War, have liberty given them to withdraw to their own Homes, with two Pence or three Pence a Day, which is called a dead Pay; and of these there may be about 40000 Men, which may be some Addition to the Number of the *Turkish* Army, and with these the *Turks* were now obliged to help themselves.

But to understand more distinctly the Transactions and Progress of all the *Turkish* Affairs both by Sea and Land for this Year following,

In the first place we are to take notice, That in the Month of *March* of this Year, 30 Frigates were dispatched for *Asia*, which soon afterwards were followed by eight Gallies.

As to the Land Matters, *March* the 28th the Grand Seignior and Grand Vizier made their Alloy to their Tents, which were pitched as usual at *Daut Pasha*; but that being very early in the Morning, the Show was but indifferent. The Grand Seignior was dressed in the manner, as when he made his Entrance. The Valide followed about two Hours after, with great Attendance.

Mezzo Morto the Admiral, having left the *Bistarda* Gally behind him, failed out of Port the 6th of *April*; and the Grand Seignior and Grand Vizier marched for *Adrianople*, where they arrived the 17th of this Month.

The 23d of this *April* being the Day of the Great *Biram*, News was brought of

the Birth of a Daughter Born to the Sultan 1696. in the Seraglio, whereupon the Chinacani, to show his Respect and Duty to the Grand Seignior, caused four Days of Rejoicing to be proclaimed; but on the 24th Day a little after Midnight, there happening a very great Fire, the Rejoicings were forbidden and recalled.

The Fire began without the Gate of *Tophana*, the Wind at N. E. which being very fierce and strong, soon reduced all that Quarter into Ashes, where it continued burning till Five in the Afternoon of the 25th; during which time 3000 Houses were computed to have been Burnt, and amongst them all our Merchant's Houses, excepting one who had the good Fortune to be saved: But God be praised not much of our English Goods were burnt.

About the beginning of *June* of this Year, June. the Marquis de Lore arrived at *Constantinople*, in Quality of Ambassador Extraordinary from the French King: He was brought as far as *Tenedos* by a French Man of War of 60 Guns, and from thence by a *Tartan* he was Transported to *Constantinople*, from whence, on the 12th of this Month he was carried to *Adrianople*, and thence without loss of time he followed the Camp, which had marched thence the eighth of *June*.

The 23d of this Month, *Tekely* was Commanded by the Grand Seignior, to follow the Camp, but his Princes remained at *Constantinople*, both of them being in great Necessity to live, being only allowed five Dollars a Day, besides some small matter arising from the Imposts of Wine, which the Grand Seignior permitted them to bring in. The Beauty of this Lady could prevail little either for her self or Prince; for I have heard, That she was a Lady of a very hard Countenance, and her Air, and Carriage, in no wise engaging.

The *Turkish* Army being arrived at *Bel-July*. grade, they began to move on the 30th of *July*, and that Day to pass the *Danube*, when publick Prayers were begun at *Constantinople* and *Adrianople* for their Successes and Blessings of their Army, which was this Year esteemed very powerful, and designed (as the common Report was) against *Transylvania*: But whilst the *Turks* marched full of hopes of Success, with a great Army supposed to consist of 100000 Men; their Boldness was much tempered by the News of the Surrender of *Asia* to the *Muscovites* after 57 Days Siege, and the Advices wanting 16 Days, it was said, That the *Tartar Han* arrived two Days after the Surrender, tho' had he come sooner, he

1696. he could have done nothing; for it was so closely Befieged, that the *Turks* themselves were of Opinion, That all the Succours sent thence, namely, from all parts of the *Turkish* Dominions, would not have been able to effect any thing: Neither were the Gallies, which were with five more than the 13 sent the last Month, able to approach the Place by some Leagues: Hereupon the Corn at *Constantinople*, was risen 50 per Cent. and the People were so apprehensive of a Famine in all the Dominions of the *Turks*, that in case the *Muscovites* should make any Progress, they should not know which way to proceed.

At that time *Mezzo Morto* with the *Turkish* Fleet was still at *Scio*, intending about the middle of this Month to Sail from thence; he had with him about 40 Sail of Ships besides Gallies, the *Venerians* were not very strong, nor did either side endeavour to engage.

But the most important Design of this Summers Campaign, was laid in *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, where the Sultan fixed his greatest hopes, and both Sides intended to do their best, and to bring things to a decisive Action; to perform which, His Electoral Highness of *Saxony* having fixed the Imperial Camp at a Place called *Olafch*, on the 30th of *August* N. S. giving out, as if the Design was to Besiege *Temeswar*, and thereby to draw the Enemy into a Necessity of Sallying out, and coming to a Battle, that they might be better able to relieve the Place; to which end the *Turks* having passed the *Danube*, the nearer to approach their Enemies, made two Days March, one after the other; by which being four Leagues distant from each other.

On the 20th of this Month they held a Council of War, at which it was resolved to advance one Day nearer to observe the Countenance of the Enemy.

So that very early in the Morning on the 21st, they marched in good Order of Battle, and by nine a Clock they discovered some of the Enemies Cavalry, whom they Attacked and Repulsed several times with considerable loss to the *Turks*.

And on the 22d some Parties of the *Christians* brought several Prisoners into the Camp, amongst which was a *Chiaus*, who reported, That the Janissaries were very advantageously posted on the right side of a Morais, confined, and reaching to the Banks of the River *Temes*, and another Body of them Encamped to the Left along the Banks of the Brook *Begl*, their Cannon being pointed upon that Place, where was the only Avenue, or Access wherethe

Enemy could come upon them; and their 1696. Camp on all sides so fortified, that the *Christians* could not Attack them without much Difficulty and Danger; wherefore, to give the Enemy room to advance, and invite them to a Battle, the *Turks* on the 24th Sallied out from their Retrenchments, which was done only with Design to make other Lines, which were finished in two Hours time, or less; and having there placed their Cannon, they began to play one upon the other on both sides, and as the Prisoners who had been made in several Skirmishes, assured the *Christian* Army their Artillery was well served, and had killed many of their Soldiers, and several of their best Gunners, tho' the loss on the *Christian* side had been but very indifferent.

On the 25th nothing very considerable was acted: But

On the 26th the *Christians* advanced Guards acquainted the Generals, That the Body of the Enemies Army was in motion, and marched in posture of Battle, under Cover of Bushes, Shrubs, and some Trees, and that they had already posted themselves between *Temeswar* and the *Christian* Army, the Generals of which sending to take a view of the Countenance of the Enemy; they were of Opinion, and saw evidently, that the Body which they discovered, consisted of the whole *Turkish* Army, and not a Detachment; upon which the *Christian* Army marched directly upon them to Attack and Engage them; but before they could come so near as to Engage them, they had covered and fortified themselves under the Bushes and Ditches, that it was difficult to come at them; and having also a Bog behind them, and a Marsh on their left Hand, with three Ranks of Waggon fastned to each other with Chains of Iron in the Front, made the Attack almost impossible to be made. Howsoever the Generals resolved, whatsoever Difficulties might offer, to Attack the Enemy 1696. and accordingly about five a Clock in the Evening, six Battalions of Foot, sustained by two Regiments of Dragoons, Charged the Enemy in the Flank under the Command of General *Hensler*, and commanded them to march into the Wood, which they performed with great Bravery, and much galled the *Turks* with their Fire. The Enemies Horse hereupon advanced, and finding that the *Christians* had formed their Line, charged them with great Fury, when 1200 of their best Horse broke through the two *Saxon* Battalions, notwithstanding the latter made a very brave Resistance; but Lieutenant-General *Zu-*

1696. *zendur*, with some Regiments of Horse of the same Line, beat back the Enemy, and again closed the Line with some *Saxon* Battalions, and Attacked the Janifaries in their Intrenchments, and beat them from their Post; but the Enemies Foot being reinforced, and their Horse taking our Men in the Flank, they were obliged to retire; only two Regiments of our Dragoons, Commanded by the Young Prince of *Vaudemont*, advanced to sustain them, and repulsed the *Turkish* Horse; but the Janifaries returning, and Charging them again, the Dragoons suffered very much by their Fire, and many Soldiers and Officers were killed and wounded; but General *Hessler* bringing up another Regiment to their Assistance, beat back the Enemy to their Intrenchments, but was himself dangerously wounded.

Whilst this was doing, another Body of the Enemies Horse Charged another Body on the second Line, where the *Christian* Troops received them in such a manner, as gave a Check to their Fury, and then General *Roses* advancing with the Horse of the same Line, drove them back, and pursued them about two *Hungarian* Miles, when the Victory began to declare it self in favour of the *Christians*, and the *Turks* to put themselves into Flight, when Orders came to General *Roses* to stop the Pursuit, and to march back with the Troops; howsoever some other Squadrons of Horse followed the Enemies unto their Intrenchments; from whence the *Turks* made so great a Fire both with their Cannon and Small-shot, that those Squadrons were forced to retire; and being pursued by the Enemies Horse, they encountered another of the *Christian* Regiments, which they also put into Disorder; which General *Roses* observing, advanced with the Regiment of *Caprara*, and Charging the Enemy in the Flank, cut off above 1000 of them: Then the whole *Christian* Line advanced, and pushed the Enemy into their Trenches, where they were in such a Confusion, that the Sultan himself with much difficulty prevailed upon them to keep their Ground, and defend their Intrenchments, killing several with his own Hand, that would have fled; and at length Night coming on, it put an end to the Battle.

Thus the *Christians* remaining Masters of the Field, or Place of Battle, intended to Attack again the Enemies Camp by Break of Day in the Morning; but they laboured to hard all that Night, that they fortified their Camp, and made it almost impregnable; which hindered the *Germans* from making another Attempt in the Morning.

The *Christians* lost a great many Men in this Fight, amongst which were divers Officers of Fame and Renown, as *Hessler*, General of the Horse, and Major-General *Pollard*, besides others who died of their Wounds.

The *Turks* lost above 8000 Men, as was reported by a *Pasha*, who was taken Prisoner in the Battle.

The Troops on both sides often mingled, and gave no Quarter on either side. A great Booty was taken from the *Turks*, amongst which were many fine Hories, with several Standards.

In the heat of this Action the *Germans* lost some Pieces of Cannon, by reason that their Carriages were shot in pieces and the Hories which drew them were killed.

The 27th of this Month of *September*, the whole *Christian* Army remained that whole Day in Posture of Battle before their Camp; but the Enemy not appearing, His Electoral Highness resolved to pass the *Beque*, and to march towards the River *Thessy*, to supply the Army with Provisions, of which they began to be in want, which was done the 28th when the *Turks* passed the River in like manner.

And on the 29th the *Christian* Army Encamped at *Olafch*, near the *Thessy*, where General *Staremburg* joyned the rest of the Army with six Regiments of Horse from *Titul*; and Orders were sent to the *Brandenburgers*, and other Troops, that were not in the Battle, having been posted in several Flying Camps, to joyn the Army, which being refreshed, were ordered to march again to observe the Enemy in their Motion.

This is the Account which the *Turks* themselves give of this Battle, which being finished, as here described, both Armies thought it now to be the Time and Season to withdraw out of the Field; and so the Elector withdrew out of the Field, and came to *Vienna*; by which it was judged, that no farther Action would happen for that Year; and in confirmation thereof, the *Turkish* Fleet retired into *Salankement*, without having done any thing of moment for this whole Year: It is not to be doubted, but that the Issue of this Battle turned to the Advantage of the Imperialists, unless it be that they left 26 Pieces of Cannon in the Bulhes.

The Season of the Year declining now towards the Winter, and the Elector of *Saxony* withdrawn from the Field to *Vienna*, the Sultan also following the like Example, (which displeased not the *Turkish* Army) returned from *Belgrade* to *Adrianople*, on the

1696. *zendur*, with some Regiments of Horse of the same Line, beat back the Enemy, and again closed the Line with some *Saxon* Battalions, and Attacked the Janifaries in their Intrenchments, and beat them from their Post; but the Enemies Foot being reinforced, and their Horse taking our Men in the Flank, they were obliged to retire; only two Regiments of our Dragoons, Commanded by the Young Prince of *Vaudemont*, advanced to sustain them, and repulsed the *Turkish* Horse; but the Janifaries returning, and Charging them again, the Dragoons suffered very much by their Fire, and many Soldiers and Officers were killed and wounded; but General *Hessler* bringing up another Regiment to their Assistance, beat back the Enemy to their Intrenchments, but was himself dangerously wounded.

75. *Turks*
as did.

1696. the 17th of the last Month of *October*, where being arrived, they did not much brag or boast of their Success, tho' to speak truly, they had this Year withstood a greater Force of the *Christians*, than they had for several Years before, which they attribute in a great measure, to the Personal Valour and Bravery of the Sultan himself, whose Preference ever gives Courage to his Army: And it is said, That he kept all the time of the Battle in the Rear, with 3000 Choice Men, to kill all Persons whom he should find or meet turning their Backs, upon whom he did some Execution.

In all these Actions, both in this and several other Years, the *French* did great Services to the *Turks*, both by their Councils, and Management of their Affairs, and especially the Marquis de *Lore* was very Eminent, and Signal in all his Behaviour; tho' there was never any good Understanding between him and the Ambassador Monsieur *Chateau*.

This Year was not very signal on either side for any considerable Exploits at Sea, or on the Watry Element: Only that the *Turks* destroyed three of the Emperor's Vessels, or Gallies on the *Danube*, and took one of very good force.

After which all things remained quiet as to the Camp in *Hungary* and elsewhere, except the great Preparations which were making for the re-taking of *Alac* from the *Moscovites*; from whence five Gallies were about this time returned, having left eight others with the Brigantines at *Ozal*.

On the first Day of *November* an Ambassador from *Persia* made his Entrance into *Constantinople*, where a great Ship four Days after was Launched, carrying 100 Guns, four whereof would shoot a Shot of 24 Okes, every Oke weighing two Pounds and a half, with design to be fitted for the Service of the following Year, with three others, which were built in the *Black-Sea*, much of the same bigness and fitted with that which was built at *Constantinople*, and now Launched for Entertainment of the *Persian* Ambassador, who staid not long in that City before he proceeded to *Adrianople*, where he arrived about the 20th of *November* with a Retinue of about 150 Attendants, besides those which were appointed to serve him by the *Turks*, whose Entrance was in this manner.

75. *French*
de *Lore*
Services.

November.

The Manner of the *Persian* Ambassador's Entrance.

About an Hours distance from the City, at a Place called *Selak Chifme*, the Ambassador was met by the Chiaus-Basha, with about 60 of his Chiaus, as also by the Lieutenant-General of the Spahices, who with a great Retinue, conducted him to his Lodgings in the Palace of the Treasurer *Achmet Pasha*, who had Orders to assign him 250 or 300 Dollars a Day for his Entertainment, for the Subsistence of him and his Retinue: Besides which allowance was given for the Food of an Elephant, and for Fodder for Camels and Hories; and also a 100 weight of *Sugara* Day for Sweetmeats for the *Persians*, who are great lovers of that kind of Diet, with Amber and Perfumes.

The Ambassador having remained about 12 Days at *Adrianople*, and there well entertained, he demanded Audience of the Grand Vizier, to whom he delivered the Credentials from the King his Master; and having been entertained in Discourse for about the space of three Quarters of an Hour, he departed from the Grand Vizier, having only received one single Vest, which seemed very strange, in regard it had been the Custom for other Ambassadors from *Persia* to receive 60, at least disposed between them and their Retinue.

Upon the 16th of *December*, the Ambassador received his Audience from the Grand Seigneur, on a *Tuesday*, which is the usual Day of the *Divan*, when it was formerly the Custom to give out the Pay to the Janifaries and Soldiers; at which time also there being an Appearance of the Chief Officers both Civil and Military, renders all things the more stately, and magnificent: But it seems at this time contrary to all former Customs, the Pay was not given out to the Janifaries and Soldiers, because perhaps that the principal Officers of the Army were at *Belgrade*, and upon the Frontiers of *Hungary*: Howsoever as great an Appearance there was of the Chiaus, as had been the Custom at the Audiences given to other Ambassadors.

And then the Presents were sent unto the Grand Seigneur, which consisted of

1696.

1696.

The Presents from Persia.

A Female Elephant covered with a Furniture of Cloth of Gold, which came down to the Foot; and on the place of the Saddle, there was a Chair of State erected, lined within with thin Silver Plates.

Besides which, were six Camels, each of which carried two Saps, or Hampers used in the Wars, in which were contained the Royal Presents made up in little Bales with Coverings of Silk.

Moreover there were Ten Camels laden with Persian Hangings, six of which were of fine Silks, and four ordinary ones, but very large, and of a more than usual size: As also three Camels laden also with Cloth of Gold.

Upon the Ambassador's Arrival at the Grand Signior's Seraglio, the Janifaries were presented as running for their Porridge, and *Pilao*, or Rice, being about Noon, which was their Dinner time, as was their Daily Practice, as was shown to all Ambassadors.

The Place reserved for the Ambassador, was the same as was prepared for others, just over against the Grand Vizier, that the manner how that Great Minister distributes Justice to the People, might more plainly appear.

The Supreme Vizier sat at the same Table with the Ambassador; six of whose Gentlemen were placed at the Table with the *Chimacac Chaffan Pasha*, and six others at the Table with the *Aga*, or General of the Janifaries: And in regard the Companions of the Ambassador consisted of more than 40 Noble Men, the Turks were obliged to place them at three other Tables; leaving out the *Pasha's* of the Bench, and other Officers; so that it happened out that Day, that no Place was left for the Kadiethers, or Lords Chief Justices, all being taken up for the Persians.

At this time the Royal Presents contained in the 12 Chests which had been carried upon the six Camels, were taken out, and carried by the Hands of 150 Men, as the Custom of the Turks was: The which consisted of Cloth of Gold, Damasks, Sables, Boxes of Musk and Amber, Silks, and Sattins of various Colours, Turbans, Hangings of Silk, ordinary Damasks, Bezoar-stones, Persian and Indian Sattins, Bridles of Gold, a Topus or Mace of Gold,

with a Sword of the like Metal: After all which Ceremonies, according to the Ancient Custom; the Persian Ambassador being upon his Return from the Presence of the Sultan, he introduced 20 of his Persian Nobles, and then he delivered the Royal Letter. The which Ceremony being over, he proceeded out from the Royal Presence clothed in a Rich Vest, like unto that which he had received at his Audience with the Great Vizier, which was like to that which they had usually given in former times to Christian Ambassadors; besides which, the Grand Signior presented him with the same Horse which was sent him to carry him to his Audience with the Sultan, and Vested 90 Gentlemen of his Retinue. After which he returned to his Lodgings which had been provided for him and with the same Attendance as had accompanied him to his Audience.

After some Days continuance at the Ottoman Court, it was made known by some of the Principal Ministers of State, that one part of the Substance of the Letter was, after the Salutes and kind Wishes, and Congratulations at his Ascension to the Sublime Throne of his Ancestors, The King of Persia made the following Request to the Grand Signior:

The King of Persia's Requests and Demands.

The First Article demanded.

THAT he would be pleased, if it were possible, to Remove Bebek Sulman Bei from the Government of Caramania, and to put another Prince into his place, who might prove of a more Quiet and Placid Disposition than this Bebek, who was of a Turbulent Spirit, and gave much Molestation to the Persians; the which the King of Persia, or Soltan, did not doubt but to obtain from that Friendship which intervenes between their great Powers and Dominions. And whereas yearly many Persian Pilgrims travel to Mecca, where having no Place to Pray in, and make their Devotions separately and apart from other Nations, they found themselves much hindered, and incommoded in the Exercise of their Mahometan Devotions; wherefore their Desire was, That they might have a Place assigned them for the Use of the Persians.

The

1696.

The Second Article demanded.

Farther it was desired, That the prebeminence of Place and Superiority in the Holy Land, might be given to the Armenian Patriarch, before others of the Christian Rite, who were Subjects to the King of Persia; the which ought not to be refused them, in regard that they profess the same Faith with other Christians; namely, Greeks, and Franks.

But in regard that it hath never been the Custom of the Turks to return a speedy Answer to fair Promises, or Flattering Insinuations, a term of 25 Days passed before an Answer was returned to the preceding Demands; and that was done when the Ambassador received Audience with the *Chimacac*: And then he was invited with all his Court and Attendance, to an Entertainment with the Grand Vizier, where they met about two a Clock in the Afternoon, the Feast held until five a Clock, and concluded without other Presents than good Musick, unless it were of a stately Horse, with an agreeable Furniture.

Some Days afterwards, he was invited to Dinner by the *Chimacac Hassan Pasha*, and in a Week afterwards, he was in like manner treated by the *Aga*, or General of the Janifaries, who also presented the Ambassador with a very fine Horse.

After all which Feasts, and Bankets, and Presents, the Ambassador thought it time to send his Presents to the Grand Vizier, by his *Kahya*, and other Principal Officers of his Court, in number about 40.

The Persian Presents to the Turks.

There were six Camels, two of which were laden with Presents, and the other four with fine Tents and Furniture for the same, with rich Garments: The Presents were all carried by the Hands of 28 Persians; that is to say, with Cloth of Gold, Damasks, Indian Sattins, Persian Turbans, with a rich Sword.

Moreover two small Bails to the Vizier's *Kahya*, which contained about 25 Pieces of Sattins, Damasks, and Cloth of Gold.

In like manner the Presents to the *Chimacac Chavan Pasha*, contained about 40 Pieces. And that which was for the Janifar-Aga, was not much inferior to it.

After some Days stay, a Messenger was sent from the Grand Signior, with the Answer to the Letter of Business which the Persian Ambassador had brought: Which was in this manner.

The Grand Signior's Answer, to the Persian Ambassador.

THAT Solyman Bebek being an Inhereditary Prince, could not be removed from his Government; it being against the Mahometan Law to be removed from thence; nor was it possible for them to Allow, or Assign any separate Place to the Persians to Pray, and Exercise their Devotions in, because that Mecca is a Holy Place, and free, and common to all Mahometans.

The Holy Land hath also been Assigned to the Standard-Bearer Omer, as also to the Franks; the which having not been much Esteemed, or set by in the Time of Mustapha Pasha Vizier, the Prebeminence of that Place was given as a Law to the Franks, which was so solemnly given, that it could not be taken away, Corrupted, or Violated.

Five or six Days afterwards the Ambassador went to the Vizier to take his Letter, which being delivered to him, about three or four Days afterwards the Vizier sent him, by Order of the Grand Signior, 50 Bags, or Purfes of Money, by the *Chiaus-Basha*; ten Days after which, he departed from Adrianople, and went to Constantinople, taking 60 Days Journey within the Dominion of the Ottomans, accounting *Tocat* in Mesopotamia, and other Parts; the which was so divided, that a Persian Merchant coming to die within that Dominion, his Goods may be challenged by his Relations, and conveyed away to their Inheritance.

The Persian Ambassador had still another Request to make, in respect to his Nation.

That the Persian Subjects who Inhabit at Balata in Constantinople, wanting a Place for their Devotions, may have that Place restored to them for their Prayers, which was formerly belonging to the Armenians.

The which Request was granted to them before the Departure of the Ambassador, with

1696. with Power to rebuild the same again in what should be wanting; the which was taken away soon after the Departure of the Persian Ambassador from Constantinople. And tho' the Armenian Commissary endeavoured to proceed, and made his Complaints at Adrianople, against the Impediments he had found; yet no Remedy was found, but an end was put to all the Work, and the Workmen desisted from all other Proceedings in that Building.

And here it may be enquired, How it came to pass that so many Embassies were sent from Persia to the Turks successively, one after the other? The Cause of which is evident from the Succession of the Three Sultans one after the other; namely, *Solyman, Achmet, and Muftapha*, who now Reigns; to every one of which, as it is the constant Custom for the Persians to send an Ambassador; so on the other side, on the same Occasion, it is for the Turks to send unto the Persians.

September. Towards the end of this Month, the Elector of Saxony returned to Vienna, which was an evident Demonstration, that there would be no farther Action in Hungary for this Year; and at the same time the Turkish Fleet retired to a Bay near Salanekment, without having done any great Damage.

The Persians, as we have said, being departed, and on their way homewards; the Sultan considered in what manner he might most conveniently and readily pay his Army both of Horse and Foot; for which important Service Money did not readily offer; wherefore to supply that Want, the Grand Seignior sent for the Tefterdar, or Treasurer, to come to his Presence, but he not being able to appear with ready Money in Hand, the Tefterdar could scarce make a shift to save his Head; tho' with great labour and difficulty he satisfied the Spahes, charging them to return timely at the beginning of the next Year, to follow him to the Wars: And in the mean time Commissaries were sent from all Parts to collect and gather all the Taxes which had been laid on the People in all parts, whether in Europe or Asia, within the Ottoman Empire, as likewise what Revenue was arising to the Grand Seignior from Offices, Customs, Taxes, &c. which are usually fold every Month, especially in the Month of March over all the Empire, which commonly brings in several Millions: So that the Tefterdar, or Treasurer, was forced to employ Spies to advise him where the Money was, and in whose Coffers, which yielded great Sums for supply of the Grand Seignior's Occasions.

These things being over, great Preparations were making for the following Campaign, both by Sea and Land; several half Gallies were already built for the Black-Sea, Commanded by *Dervish Oglu Bei of Smyrna*. The Fleet under the Command of *Mezzo Morto*, who was Captain-Pasha, consisted of 25 Sail of Men of War, all of them being the Grand Seignior's own Ships, and such as being joined with those of *Barbary*, would be too strong a Match for the Venetians.

This whole Winter the Grand Seignior passed at Adrianople, where after the Example of his Father, he delighted much in Hunting. Howsoever as the Year came on, he neglected not the thoughts of War, nor the Preparations for the ensuing Year; but as yet the Scheme for the War was not designed nor laid.

Anno 1697.

THE Embroils in Asia with the beginning of this Year seemed to be a little quieted, gave hopes to the Turks, that *Bajora* would shortly be restored to them.

'Twas thought at this time, that the Marquis de Lore making little or no show at Adrianople, being then in Quality of Envoy Extraordinary, would follow the Camp for the ensuing Campaign; but as to the Ambassador *Castelneuf*, he resolved to remain at Adrianople, acting for the Affairs of their King and Nation, between whom and the Marquis appeared no good understanding.

The Friendship still continued, and seemed to increase between the French and the Turks, till the latter began to be something doubtful of them, upon the Reports and Rumours which flew about, That the French were busied in making a General Peace with all the Allies; tho' they at first confidently denied it to the Turks, who notwithstanding grew Jealous of them; and from that time their Mutual Friendship began much to abate.

The Tumults in Asia still continued; to quiet which, and to carry on the War in Hungary, the Turks prepared to enter into Transylvania, to which end they daily Lifted and Enrolled New Spahes and Janisaries in all the Provinces of Asia, issuing forth very rigorous Orders, That the Militia in all those Parts should this Year appear early in the Field; and greater Preparations were making for this Year, than for a long time before, by reason that the Sultan

1697. Sultan out of his Glory and Pride, resolved to make his utmost Effort this Year on Hungary, and Transylvania, and accordingly to win all back again, and if not to put an end to the War, to come to an Honourable Accommodation of Peace, which the Turks were sensible could not be avoided, in case they should receive any Blow, or sudden Foyl the next Year from the Christians.

This the Ambassadors of England and Holland so plainly forefaw, that they lay upon the watch to observe all the Inclinations and Motions of the Turks; and both sides now esteeming themselves upon the Crisis, laboured all that was possible to bring things to their desired Issue; when daily Spahes and Commissaries were employed to gather and collect Sums of Money in all the Asiatick Provinces, were observed to pass the Bosphorus, and other Seas, for Service of the War; of which the Tartars being informed, wrote to the Sultan to send them Money to supply their Occasions against the Moscovites, of whom they were more afraid than of the Poles. Howsoever the Turks being Headed by so Brave a Sultan as this present Grand Seignior, as they thought, did not seem to fear any thing, but to carry all before them, which so elevated them to such a height of Pride and Insolence, that the Mediators were of an Opinion, That until a considerable Blow were given to the Turks, it would be impossible to reduce them to any Terms of Reason and Moderation.

In which Humour they made Preparations for the following Year both by Sea and Land: That for the Sea designed for the *Euxine*, was chiefly provided at a Port called *Sinap*, in the Country of *Trabesonda*, where they also were casting many great and heavy Cannon: And into the Arsenal of Constantinople, were in this Month of January 120 Cannon more brought in and lodged there.

But what other Sultans have not done, this hath had the Ambition to perform; that is, under his own Name all the Pieces of Gold and Silver should pass, within his Empire; the like of which was never known in any other Country, unless in England under the Reign of King William III, and the Great. I cannot say that all the Gold and Silver within the Turkish Dominions was brought into the Mint to be new Coined, but it is certainly reported, that a great part thereof was; to which the five Sol Pieces made by the French, Italians, and other Nations, greatly helped and contributed, of which there had been many Millions Imported in 15 Years, from

65 to 80, which were very beneficial to the Coyneage of those Countries.

It was also further commanded, That all those who had any Venetian Zechins, should bring them to the Mint, there to be new stamped with the Letters of this Sultan's Name, and there to be changed with the old ones of Venice, or otherwise changed for Silver, at the rate of two Dollars and a half per Zechin: Likewise all the Lion Dollars, commonly imported by the Dutch with the Figure of a Lion thereupon, were order'd to be brought into the Exchequer, where the Figure of the Lion being beaten out with the Hammer, the Turkish Impression with the Name of the Sultan, was to be fixed in the place thereof: To bear the Charges of this new Coyning, a quarter of a Dram of Silver was taken from every Lion-Dollar, and then it was put into the Fire, where it was Hammered again, and some Christian Letters on the side thereof were permitted to remain, that thereby it might appear, that the same were reformed Dollars, and such as came from the Christians; and that for the Alterations thereof, the Turkish Workmen were not to be blamed, for which Work the Turks, Grecians, Armenians, and Jewish Workmen, had to much allowed them by the Day, according to their Agreement.

About this time, being the Month of February, Advices were brought frequently to the Sultan then at Adrianople, from the Tartars, That the Moscovites were fully resolved this Year to fall down by Sea upon Caffa; which being believed, and so expected, very strict and severe Orders were given by the Turks, to provide and equip 80 Frigates, with 15 Gallies, and many other Transport-Ships, to carry the Militia into the Black-Sea, to hinder the Descent, or Landing of the Moscovites; which Report gave great Fears and Apprehensions to the Turks, who thereupon took different Resolutions and Measures in their Affairs.

Besides the Preparations for the Black-Sea, there were others made for the *Euxine*, or *White-Sea*, where *Mezzo Morto* was appointed Captain-Pasha, or General against the Venetians, being accounted a Man of great Courage, and Conduct, at which time there was building a Ship of an immense bigness, which had been already many Months upon the Stocks, being built by French and Greek Masters, the like of which, that is so large, had never been built in that Arsenal; for it could carry more than 600 Soldiers, besides Seamen, and Levants; the which being put into some tolerable condition of readiness to

A a a a Sail,

Preparation for the Turkish War.

Alteration of the Cap in Turkey.

Maritime Preparation for the Year 1697.

1697. Sail, the Sultan to show his Greatness at Sea, as well as at Land, to the *Persian* Ambassador, (who remained behind, after the great Embassy) issued out his Commands to three Pashas, whom he had made Generals, to equip and fit themselves bravely.

The first was *Mezzo Morto*, who was to Engage the *Venetian* Fleet at Sea, and to return Victorious; and in case they did, he assured them, that they should gain his singular Grace and Favour; and as an evidence thereof, he bestowed upon each of them a very rich Coat, or Vest, richly lined with Sables.

The Second was also a Pasha Vice-Admiral, designed against the *Moscovites*.

The third was also a Pasha, in Quality of a Rear-Admiral, who was to mount the *Danube*, and engage against the Imperial Fleet, wheresoever they should encounter them, either about *Belgrade*, or *Buda*, or any other Parts of the *Danube*.

After the Sultan had passed this Ceremony, he gave leave to his Generals to depart, and speaking very kindly and graciously to them, he encouraged them to put themselves in order for their Respective Voyages: So that now it was very apparent, that tho' the *Turks* would be much weaker this Year by Land, than they were the last, yet they would be far stronger by Sea, having *Mezzo Morto* for their Admiral, and every thing in their several Fleets disposed for Maritime and Naval Engagements; the Success of which, we may shortly hear in the course of those Months which are proper for Actions of the Sea.

But before we proceed so far, it may be pertinent to our Business to recount how the *French* Ambassador at the *Turkish* Court lost a Law-Suit which he had with a certain Jew at *Gran Cairo*, to his great Mortification; for supposing that he was able to avail in all Points, where his Master's Interest was concerned; he was highly troubled to find himself disappointed in a Business at *Gran Cairo*, relating to so inconsiderable a Person as a Jew. The Matter was in this manner.

We must know, that the Jews in Egypt have commonly very great Power, by reason that every Pasha of *Gran Cairo*, who is the greatest Beglerbey in all the Empire, when he enters upon that Office, he commonly takes with him from *Constantinople*, some Subtle Jew, who is a Man of great Riches, to manage the vast Revenue of that Province; which sets him up so high, that he is above the reach of all the Grandees of the Empire, and is Honoured and

Reverenced as the *Dominus Fac totum*, or as *Joseph* in the Land of Egypt.

The *French* Nation had at that time a Consul in *Cairo*, who thought himself a Match for the Jew; who on the other side esteemed himself higher than all the *Christians*, or *Beyes*, or *Agaws* of Egypt; and consequently comported himself with Neglect and Disesteem towards the *French* Consul, which he not being able to support, made his Complaints to the *French* Ambassador at *Adrianople*, against the Insolence of a Jew, of which the Consul gave a most Passionate Report to Monsieur de *Chateaufort*, then Ambassador for the *French* King at the Port; where he managed the Business, that a Chaus was sent for to fetch the Jew from *Cairo*, to the Divan at *Adrianople*; who accordingly taking this long Journey, appeared in Judgment before the Grand Vizier.

This Jew had the Report amongst all People, of being a Person very Judicious, Prudent, and of a patient Temper; and since it was the Office of the Ambassador to appear against this Jew in Judgment before the Grand Vizier, the Jew behaved himself with so much Modesty, and Prudence, that he gave unto all the Standers by, some deep Impressions of his Understanding and Innocence, and that he had been injured by the *French* Consul at *Cairo*, of whose Honesty and Wisdom, the World in those Parts, had not conceived any high Opinion, nor yet of the *French* Nation: But that depending too much on their great Friendship with the *Turks*, they presumed to insult over a People, which had not for some Ages been accustomed to hard Usages from *Christian* Nations. Notwithstanding all which, and that the Grand Vizier had patiently understood the Pleadings on both sides, and was as well possessed with the Cabals of the *French* Nation, yet he gave Orders to the *Chiaus* to take the Jew into Arrest; the which was said to have been done out of Policy by the Vizier, to cool, and moderate the Anger of the Ambassador, who plainly declared, That unless his Master, the King, had satisfaction in this particular, he was commanded to retire back into France, and to bring with him all the *French* Merchants, and all others of that Nation, into their own Country.

It not being now a time for the *Turks* to Quarrel with the *French*, or to create more Enemies than they have already, they took these Menaces with an unaccustomed Patience, tho' the Great Officers being offended hereat, vented an abundance of Reproaches against the *French* Nation;

1697. Nation; only the Grand Vizier using his accustomed Patience, said, That Justice could never do Injury to any, for that their Law, and the *Alchoran*, commanded it so to be done.

And in this manner this Difference passed over, with some Advantage to the *French*, who had obliged to great a Person as the Jew, who is the Negotiator of all the Affairs of Egypt, to leave his Employment to attend the Summons of the *French* Ambassador at such a distance as it is from *Gran Cairo* to *Adrianople*: Howsoever after all this, the *French* Nation did not seem to be fully satisfied, because that the Vizier after all shewed some Respect to the Jew, bestowing upon him a Coat, or Vest of Favour and Honour, declaring himself in favour of the Jew, that he had been falsely accused, and injuriously drawn away from the Grand Seigneur's Service. To repair which Affront and Neglect to the King of France, a Demand was made by the Ambassador, That License might be given to Repair and Rebuild the Cathedral Church in *Galata*, which had for above 500 Years remained in the *Christian* Hands, and lastly had been Repaired and Rebuilt at the Charges of the Most Serene Republick of Venice, soon after the last War which they had with the *Turks* in *Candia*; but now the *French* depending on the great Services they had done the *Turks*, seized on the Church, which had been the Cathedral of that Diocese, and affixed the Arms of France upon the Gates thereof; at which the *Venetians* being greatly offended, who were the Patrons thereof, and had many Years past purchased the Advowson from the *Turks*, made their Complaints to the Grand Vizier of the Injustice which had been done them: Upon which, the Vizier resolving to end the Controversie between the *Christians*, seized the Church of Saint Francis or Francisco, in *Galata*, and converted it into a *Turkish* Mosque; and in such like manner commonly end all the Controversies which *Christians* have between themselves, that are referred to, or to be terminated by, the *Turks*.

The Ceremony which the *Turks* used in turning the *Christian* Church into a Mosque, was by a Command from the Sultan to the *Chimacem*, to enter the Church with 200 Men of his Followers, together with a good Number of their Imaams, who began at their first Entry into the Church to sing with a loud Voice, the Tune and Song called *Sela*, which is a Hymn extracted out of the *Alchoran*, to the Praise and Glory of God; the which caused great Sadness in the Hearts and Eyes

of many good *Christians* in *Galata*; which had not been done, as many *Turks* confessed, had not the *French* pretended a Right to that Church; with which they in a short time were forced to swallow two very bitter Pills, to the Dishonour of France, and Prejudice to the *Christian* Cause.

Towards the end of the Month of March, the Sultan equipped out seven great Men of War of 50 and 60 Pieces of Cannon each, and all armed with 500 Levents, or so many Sea-Soldiers apiece; besides which there were 14 light Gallies, with 25 Frigates, and all accompanied with divers Saiches laden with Provisions, every one of which will carry as much as 200 Carts, which are laden with Biskets, Meal, and all sorts of other Ammunition.

Whilst these things were in Action, the *French* Ambassador, Monsieur de *Chateaufort*, offered this Summer to make his Campaign with the Grand Seigneur in Hungary against the Emperor, with which the *Turks* were well enough pleased, in regard they esteemed this Ambassador to be a Man of great Witdom and Experience.

Tekely likewise about this time was preparing himself to accompany the Vizier to the War in Hungary, the which some were of an Opinion, That it would be of good consequence to the Sultan; upon which account the Vizier conceived a great esteem for him; and was desirous to see the good Effects of all those Promises, which Tekely's Princes had made to him.

This Lady of Tekely went unto, and returned from *Adrianople*, and was observed to be of an Humour very Assiduous, Diligent, and Malitious against the Imperialists, but very kind and obliging towards the *French*, but most especially to Monsieur de *Laurent*, who the last Year was with the Sultan in the Campaign of Hungary, and was often invited by Tekely's Lady, and by Count Tekely himself, to take a Dinner, or a Supper, or some other Repast with them, at which Monsieur de *Laurent* was often welcomed, and highly Treated.

A Friend of mine once acquainted me, That having a Curiosity to see the Wife, or Princess of Tekely, he had the Fortune to hear Mass with her at the *Capucin's* Church at *Galata*, where well observing her Physiognomy, it appeared very ill-favoured, Old, and Ugly: She professes to be a *Roman Catholic*, of which the boasts to many People, and that her Husband hath divers Correspondents almost in every Regiment belonging to the Imperial Army, from whom he hath all the Correspondencies imaginable with the Princi-

1697. pal Commanders both of Horse and Foot, by means of which nothing passes, but what he hath a good and perfect Account of, from all parts of the Imperial Army.

The Army which was formed and drawn up against the *Moscovites*, consisted for the most part of Spahces from *Anatolia*, and of a sort of a Militia of *Pasicalagio*, belonging to *Silistra*, of which they reckoned about 35000 Men, besides *Tartars*.

The Reputation of this present Sultan was so great, that in all Parts both of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, he was esteemed the most Fortunate of all the Sultans; for that in the space of two Years only appearing in the Wars, he had showed so much Courage and good Conduct, that he had always beaten the *Germans*; that is to say, when he went himself in Person to the Wars; for which cause he was highly Esteemed, Honoured, and Obeyed.

But as to the Rebels in *Asia*, they drew themselves up very formidably in the Field, expecting to encounter the Army of the Port, and to give them Battel.

The great Power and Nerve of the Ottoman Force is at present in *Asia*, that of the *Turk-men*, who are a sort of People well mounted on very strong and Warlike Horses, Brave, and Valiant, and well Exercised in the Lance, and Bow; so that there was great expectation when some Feats of Arms would begin: And on the other side of *Anatolia*, they began to Transport over their Militia, being designed early this Year against the *Moscovites*, after which the Actions in *Hungary* were to begin.

But before that something may be discovered in relation to the present State of the Greek Church, the Patriarch of which was very Froward and Passionate, ready to act any thing which came into his Head, without consideration of the Prejudice which might result thereby: And accordingly having a Quarrel with the Metropolitan, or Bishop of *Salonica*, he deprived him of his Title and Office, on occasion of some Disobedience to certain Commands, to which the Patriarch would oblige him; but the Bishop not being able to support the fame, out of a Madness, and Fury, and transport of Rage, he made a Voyage from *Salonica* to the Grand Vizier, to whom he offered 15 Purles, on condition, That in Despight of the Patriarch he might be re-established again in his Diocese of *Salonica*, or *Thessalonica*: And to incline the Vizier the better herunto, he demonstrated that hereby the Grand Scignior in this time of War might gain great Advantages;

For that in case the Vizier would accept of these 15 Purles, it might be an Example to other Metropolitans, to offer some 20, some 15, and others 10, according to the Value, and Riches of the Diocese; the which Proposition much pleased the Sultan, having a good pretence thereby to charge all the Metropolitans, or Bishops; the which being many in the Greek Church, brought a considerable Sum to the Grand Scignior.

The Greek Patriarch hearing hereof, made his Journey to *Adrianople*, there to make his Complaints against this hard Usage offered to the Greek Church and Nation; the which irritated very much the Anger of the *Moscovites* against the *Turks*: And tho' the *Moscovites* did greatly at this time threaten *Cassa*, and give Terror and Affrightment so far as to *Constantinople* it self, yet the Sultan did not neglect the Thoughts and Contrivances of carrying forward his War in *Hungary*, with as little Expence as was possible, all Charges being retrenched; a ^{Tekely's} ^{Pur State} ^{and Candi} ^{im.} amongst which one particular, was that of *Tekely*, to whom no more than five Dollars ^{im.} were allowed a Day, that was for the Maintenance of his Lady, Servants, Horses, and other Parts of his Equipage; only to help them they gave a Liberty, or License to sell Wine, which was at that time prohibited: And here it was that he set up his Wine-Sellar within the Greek Liberties, near to the Privileges of the Patriarchate, where he continued to exercise the Trade of selling Wine with very good Benefit and Advantage; without which, the five Dollars ^{per} Day could not have yielded to him and Family half his Subsilence.

And being now entered into the Month April, of April, four of the Men of War belonging to *Barbary*, arrived before the Arsenal of *Galata*, where other Men of War remained also at an Anchor, and frequently fired their Cannon, with a *Chi viva* at every Shot, or to the Fortune of the Fortunate Sultan.

On this occasion, the *Barbarosses* brought their usual Presents, as accustomary to the Sultan, and designed to remain in the Port until the Departure of the Fleet prepared against the *Venetians*, consisting of 23 Men of War, should be in a readiness to Sail: And thus the Sultan being resolved to carry on the War both by Sea and Land, did neither rest Day nor Night, but busied himself in the proving of his Cannon, and making his Warlike Preparations with diligence, was so pleasing to the People, that never was any Sultan so acceptable to the Soldiery, as was this *Muftapha*, and the more

1697. more highly was he esteemed, in regard he was a great Lover of Justice, which is the Prime Ornament of Emperors, and of the highest Monarchs: But notwithstanding all the Care of this Grand Scignior, and the Preparations he made for the War of the following Year, yet his Force neither by Sea nor Land, did amount unto the Strength of that of the preceding Year; by reason the Rebels in *Asia* becoming more powerful, a Proclamation was issued forth, That none should Transport themselves out of *Asia* into *Europe*, on Penalty of having their Houses demolished, and their Possessions of *Timar* and *Zamet* to be all Ruined and Destroyed, with all the Lands they held of the Sultan. With which Menaces the Rebels, who were Soldiers, were so incited, that such as they took for Prisoners, they did not Kill, but what was worse, they cut off their Noses and Ears, and in that Condition they sent them to the Port, that therewith they might make a report of their Strength and Power.

Farther, there was a Report, That these Rebels (as formerly it had been done) demanded the Life of the Valide Solтана, which is the Queen Mother, and whereof there have been two Examples in former Times, and of one *Mulchi Kadun*, a great Favourite, whom they cut in Pieces, by reason that they would not endure the Government nor Counsel of Women; suffering howsoever the Queen Mother to live, because she did not make Intrigues in the Affairs of State: Of which the *Asian* Soldiers being put in mind, and also the *Europeans* of their Tumults, let us expect to see the Issue of these Tragedies.

The Tumults in *Asia* gave great Disquiet to the Affairs of the *Turks* in *Europe*, and retarded all things, or put them backward, and all in expectation of Succours from the *Levant*, but none coming, the Sultan resolved howsoever to begin his March, and to that end appointed the Days thereof, the several Camps, and the Days of their Movements, it being determined to remain nine Days under the City of *Philippopolis*, and on the 4th of July to pass *Sepbia*, and to make seven Days March thereof, where having fixed their Tents for some Days, then to proceed for *Nissa*, and there also to halt for some Days; all which was done with such slowness, as might give time to the *Asian* Troops to overtake the main Body of the Army; the which not appearing, the Sultan received divers Letters from the *Pasha* of *Bosnia*, begging with great Instances that he might have Relief and Succours sent to him, whereby to raise the Siege of *Bihatz*;

1697. which the *Imperialists* had closely begun on all sides: Whereupon the Sultan dispatched away those few *Pasha's* which he had with him, and all the Forces near *Belgrade*, and also all the *Arnavats*, and all for the Succours and Relief of *Bihatz*.

The *Turks* found themselves much more Weak than they had been the Year before, and no appearance of Recruits from *Asia*, nor any hopes of quiering the Troubles in those Countries, whereupon the Grand Scignior, finding himself greatly Distressed, he very urgently sent his Imperial Commands from his Camp before *Philippopolis*, to those *Pasha's* who were appointed to attend and watch the Motion of those Rebels, commanding them, that (laying aside all Excuses, they should in the *Livell's* Name, leave those Rebels to their own Imaginations, and send him five of those *Pasha's* with 300 Horse a piece, in the lieu of those which he formerly dispatched for those Parts; namely, the *Pasha* of *Dumajcus*, call'd *Muftapha Pasha*, who had been the late Vizier; the *Pasha* of *Alleppe*, *Osman*; the *Pasha* of *Sebastie*, *Ufuf Pasha*; the *Pasha* of *Diabekir*, *Muftapha Pasha*; and the *Pasha* of *Adana*, call'd *Fosli Pasha*; but when there might be expected from so long a Journey, was very uncertain; so that the *Turks* themselves were very doubtful of the Event and Successes of this Year; for that all the Power which the *Turks* could make up, could not amount unto above 40000 Men, with Horse and Foot.

Things remaining in this posture, it was the Opinion of most People, That the Sultan would not go this Year to the War, but only in appearance, and that he would only be upon the Defensive, avoiding all Fights and Encounters in the Field: And as to the *Moscovites*, the Reports were various, and full of uncertainty.

All this time the Sultan remained at *Sepbia*, cheerful, and much pleased to understand that the *Polanders* had declared the Prince of *Conti* for their King, which could not but produce a Peace with that Kingdom, and an Union with that Crown; which tho' not true, yet it gave the *Turks* hopes of an Addition of 30000 *Cossaks* unto their Forces against the *Germans*; who as they did assault *Tekely* the last Year with good Success, so they were full of hopes to do the like for this also, with the Possession of several other Castles and Fortresses: But then it was thought necessary that *Tekely* should be sent to them with Title of King of *Hungary*; which when the Sultan understood, with the good Tidings, That *Bihatz* did bravely defend it self,

1697. self, with Assurances of conferring the same against all Enemies, it was esteemed News of such Importance, that the Grand Seignior gave Commands to the Grand Vizier, to Write the News into all Parts, and particularly unto Tekely, That the Grand Seignior had declared him King of Hungary, for which the Sultan had sent him a Commission, with a Letter, the Super-
 scription of which was, *Orla Moggiar Croll*, which signifies in the Hungarian Language, *To the King of Hungary*: To which were added also some Purfes of Money for defraying the Charges of his Journey, and adorning his Equipage.

Tekely's Affliction. This Command came very unfortunately at this time for Tekely, who was then grievously afflicted with the Gout, and preparing, for Recovery of his Health, to pass over to the Baths, and Medicinal Waters of *Prusfa*, or *Bruscia*, which fall from that Mountain, which was anciently called, *Mount Olympus*: But what was worse, the Chiaufes came furiously upon him at *Prusfa*, and without Compassion, Complement, or good Manners, threw him into a Carr like a Log to make him a King, without any Respect, which was most miserable for him; for he had not only the Gout, but had a Paralytical Distemper upon him, so as that he was seized with a Palfie in his Head, Neck and Arms: And in this manner he was carried Day and Night in a Waggon, until he came unto the sight of the Sultan.

All this time the Sultan remained at *Sophia*, whilst the Army, or greatest part thereof, marched towards *Belgrade*, and some into *Bosnia*; and having received some Advices out of *Asia*, That the Rebels of that Country, were inclinable to a Submission, and made some Evidences as if they intended to return to their Duty and Obedience: The Sultan became very much pleased, and put himself that time into an excellent Humour, and thereupon was induced to dispatch several Aga's into *Anatolia*, with Letters written under his own Hand, in an Humble and Careless Style, not usual for any Sultan before that time to Write, Swearing,

In the first place, *To grant Pardon to all, and a general Amnesty to such, as should return to their Duty of Obedience.*

Secondly he swore, *That he would do Justice to all in their just Demands and Petitions.*

Thirdly, *That he would give every Man satisfaction.*

Fourthly, *That he would damnify no Man either in his Goods, or Estate, or Life; but on the contrary reward every Man according to his Deserts, provided that they became Obedient, and Deferted the Party of the Male-contented Beys, or Pashas, against whom are so many Examples of God's Vengeance and Justice: Of which he advised them well to consider before they entered into a March, which would conduct them to his Terrible and Affrighting Presence; which if they did not accept and do, he Swore, That he would make up a Peace with the Christians, and March in Person into Anatolia, there to take Vengeance upon them for their Offences, and extirpate the whole Race of those who have taken up Arms against the Mussulman Cause; for which, by the Laws of the Alcoran, they are to Die, and without Mercy to suffer Death.*

This News being carried to the hearing of the Male-contents, about 10000 of them Deferted the Cause, and proceeded to pass over from *Anatolia* into *Europe*, and without any delay took the nearest way to reach and overtake the Army of the Sultan; to hasten which, the Grand Seignior wrote Commands to the Chimacem, and Bostangibashi, to prepare Quarters for them in the Imperial Gardens and Houses as they passed, and that they should in all their Marches, want nothing of Refreshments, nor those who are unprovided want Arms, or any other thing necessary for the War; amongst which there were 3000 Bostangees fitted out for the War, from the Grand Seignior's Seraglio: And such Rigorous Courses were spread over all the Countries of the *Lesser Asia*, that those Laws and Commands of the Sultan being put into execution, it was believed impossible for any Embroils, or Seditions, for ever after to arise in the *Lesser Asia*, tho' they could not but be some times apprehensive of Troubles from *Persia*; for since the time that this King was Crowned, he was always esteemed a Troublesome and a Dangerous Enemy to the *Turks*; for tho' he was not wanting in his Courtships, and Embassies to the Ottoman Court, as we have seen, yet he was still encouraging the Georgians, and the *Persians* in the Parts of *Bajora*, to be troublesome to the *Turks*.

The Sultan still remained at *Sophia*, where having Advices from the Frontiers, he dispatched away a Capugibashie to his Mother the Valide Soltana, giving her to understand, That his Forces had fallen upon a Body of *Germans*, which he had routed;

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1697. ed; and taken the strong Fortrefs of *Titul*, in which he had put all the Garrison to the Sword; and did not doubt, but speedily to enter into *Transylvania*; from whence he promised to send his Mother a Present of some fine Young Ladies to attend, and wait upon her, and to be conducted by some of those Black Eunuchs, which were attending at that time upon his Person.

After such Vapours and Boastings as these, which the Sultan expressed to his Mother, it was not judged to be longer Honourable for the Grand Seignior to remain at *Sophia*, a place so far distant from the Ottoman Camp in *Hungary*; whereupon marching with the Main Body of his Army, slowly, and in good Order, Messengers were sent unto *Sarchan Pasha*, then at *Belgrade*, who was then the General, and esteemed an excellent Soldier, and a Courageous Man, and well acquainted with the Countries about those Confines, to hasten his March to meet the *German Army*: And so also the Sultan followed, and arrived in good time to joyn the Main Body of the Front about *Titul*. In the Relation of which Battel, there were two Accounts sent from *Constantinople*; one of the 29th of *October*, and another of the 5th of *November*.

Such as were on this side of the *Tibiscus*, and saw the Battel, report, That the Rout consisted only of such, as with great difficulty passed the *Tibiscus* by their Swimming, and they report, That the *Turks* could never imagine, that it was possible for the *Imperialists* to soon to Attack them, as that Day they did; much less that it was possible for the Grand Vizier to pass his Cannon, Ammunition, Provisions, with all the Militia of Janifaries over that Bridge, and thence to proceed to *Segedin*, and so into *Transylvania*, and into the *Upper Hungary*.

In the mean time the *Imperialists* kept on their March to meet the *Turks*, and having prepared their Trenches, they fortified themselves therein, which caused the Grand Vizier to assemble all his Pasha's, which were to the Number of 15, leaving the Sultan on the other side of the Water, with a Body of Spahes, and Silishars, which are a sort of Spahes belonging to the Court, together with the Solakbashes, who are a sort of Pages also belonging to the Court; but the Taraklee Spahes, who are *Timari's* and *Zaim's*, followed the Pasha of their own Province and Country; of which making an Account of their Numbers, they calculated them to amount unto 25000, all Expert Men, who managed

their Arms to a Miracle, but were in this Battel either Killed, or Drowned.

The *Arnauts* observing the *German Army* to be marching to Attack them, were the first who endeavoured to pass the Bridge, and to put themselves to Flight:

The Janifaries also had the like Intentions to do the same, saying, *That they had been Abandoned and Deferted by the Spahes*: And as they approached near to the Bridge, the Grand Vizier observing a Disposition in the *Arnauts* to pass the Bridge, and fly, he assembled a Body of his own Aga's together, intending therewith to hinder and prevent the Flight, which was done by killing a great Number of them.

The *Arnauts* finding themselves so ill Treated, they put themselves into a Mutiny, or rather into a Rebellion against the Grand Vizier, and killed him: After which some Thousands of the Spahes's placing themselves on the other side of the Bridge, with their Swords drawn in their Hands, they defended the Bridge, and suffered none to pass over it.

By this time the *Imperialists* having put themselves into good Order of Battel, furiously Attacked the *Turks* on all sides: At the first Charge the *Turks* made some Resistance, but at the second they began to give way; and observing the great Destruction, and Slaughter, that the Fire and Sword made, being terrified therewith, they resolved to cast and precipitate themselves into the River, where the greatest part of them perished; all which, as was said, happened in the space of two or three Hours; where could never be greater Confusion, nor greater Effusion of Blood of their own Soldiery, of which the Chief Commanders were Slain without Mercy, or any Quarter, and such a Multitude of *Turks*, and Chief Pasha's are said to have perished upon the Spot, that during the whole War, the like Slaughter never happened as this: For according to the Report of those, who were not far from the Presence of the Sultan, during all the time of the Battel, they agree, That according to an Account and List of the Slain, there never happened so Great, and so Terrible a Destruction as this to the Ottoman Army, which more unhappily fell upon the Principal Commanders, than upon the Common Soldiers, which they esteem to be a just Judgment of God upon them; for that no less than 15 Pasha's were killed in this Engagement; five of which had been Beglerbeys, or Viziers of the Bench, besides the Supreme Vizier.

And such a Slaughter, or Destruction as this, was never known to have happened, for

The Battel
of the *Ti-
biscus*.

August.

1697. for never in the Memory of Man, or any Age, was it ever known, that five Viziers had ever fallen in one Battle; amongst which was the Supream Vizier, *Giafer Pasha*, another *Pasha*, the Aga of the Janifaries, a *Pasha* and Vizier; *Misfir Oglu* a Vizier, *Fasli Pasha* a Vizier, and the rest of them were all *Pasha's* of Provinces and Governments.

There were 74 Captains, with their Officers and Soldiers of their several Chambers, all slain: In every Chamber they account 100 Janifaries, of which there may be in some Chambers, 10 or 20 Supernumeraries; so that it may be the general Opinion, That above 8000 Janifaries were slain, and those of the bravest and best Soldiers of all the *Turkish* Militia, of which the Sultan was so sensible, that he declared, *He was not so much troubled for the Number, as for the Quality of such Brave and Experienced Soldiers, who had so often, and in so many Engagements Worsted and Overthrown the Germans.*

Besides these, were killed in this Battle, the *Kahya-Bey*, or Lieutenant General of the Janifaries, with his 600 Braves, which are always attending upon his Person, having so many in that Company, or Regiment, being the first Oda, or Chamber of the Janifaries; for indeed the *Kahya-Bey* is always more Esteemed, Obeyed, and Feared, than the Janifar-Aga himself.

Amongst the four other Generals of the Militia of the Janifaries, the *Zargagi-bahce*, who was the Major-General of the Janifaries, was slain; of the other three were ordained one against the *Muscovites*, and the other two against the *Venetians* by Sea and by Land: And besides the 74 Captains, as many Beiracters, or Ensigns, were also slain.

And besides these 2500 Segments of *Boghia*, being divided into several Divisions of the Great Vizier, and divers other *Pasha's*, with all the *Gebegees*, who are Armourers, together with their Captains, and General; as also the Gunners and *Topegi-bahcees*, or Masters of the Ordnance, which are divided into two several Orders of Militia.

The gaining of this Battle was of that high Concernment, and the Consequences thereof so considerable, that from thence the Peace following was deived; so that we may believe all the World to be interested therein, and to be the Subject of the Speculation of the greatest Monarchs of this World.

An Instance whereof we have in the following Letter, Written by the Emperor

himself, and with his own Hand, in *Latin*, to King *William of England*, in this Style.

The Emperor of Germany's Letter, to King William of England.

PAUCAS ante horas desiderato ex Hungaria nuntio recreamur, quod exercitus noster sub ductu Principis Eugenii de Sabaudia die decimo currentis Mensis, Ottomanica Castra ad Tibiscum triplici aggrege munita, & tringenta fere hostium Milibus propugnata, non solum fortiter aggressus sit, verum etiam Divino juvante numine feliciter superavit, caesis in loco decem & amplius milibus quos inter Supremus Viscius, & Janifariorum-Aga numerantur, reliquique quos Pontis Angustia capere non posuit in Flumen precipitatis & maximam partem submersi, Tormentis etiam 72, una cum aliquot mille curribus, & commearum in potestatem redactis, nostra vero ex parte tantum 500 occisis, & totidem fauciatis.

Englified thus.

It is within some few Hours, that the Post is arrived from Hungary, bringing News, That our Army under the Command and Conduct of Eugenius Prince of Savoy; did not only on the 10th of this instant Month, Valiantly Attack the Ottoman Camp fortified upon the Banks of Tibiscus, or Theylle, with a treble Ditch, and with a Force of Thirty Thousand Men therein, but assisted by the Gracious Favour of Almighty God, most happily subdued them, killing Ten Thousand of them upon the Place; amongst which, were the Supream Vizier, and Aga of the Janifaries, and the rest, which the narrowness of the Bridge could not contain, threw and precipitated themselves into the River, where the greatest part of them were Drowned; with Seventy two Pieces of their Cannon, with some Thousands of Waggon's laden with Provisions, which all fell into our Hands; and all which was done on our sides with the loss only of 500 Men, and about as many Wounded.

After

1697. After this Battle was ended, all was in great Confusion amongst the *Turks*, and every one shifted as well as he could to escape.

The Grand Seignior himself posted to *Temeswar*, from whence he dispatched a Black Eunuch to his Mother, with the unhappy News of the late ill Success, and the Particulars of it, to avoid false Reports, which upon this Occasion might be apt to be spread abroad of the Death of himself; and other sinister Rumours more fatal to the Empire than ever was known afore times, and might terrifie the Valide Solтана; who by the News of the Life of her Son, might take Heart, and receive Comfort, and prevent the Mutinies amongst the Soldiery and People, who were too ready upon such an Evil Report, to Enthronize the Brother of Sultan *Achmer*, the last Brother of the three lately Deceased: But it being known that Sultan *Mustapha* was certainly Alive, all was pacified; which being of so great Importance, the Grand Seignior sent a Letter, as I said, to his Mother, by a Black Eunuch, by way of *Nicopolis*, who was a *Magriphee*, or an *Abyssine*, or *Ethiopian*, well beloved by the Queen, and greatly Confided in by her. The Relation on the side of the *Turks*, was represented as favourably as the thing would bear; in which he declared, That there had been a very great Battle near a River, in which his Person was not present, and so was safe; but his Vizier being Engaged against an Army of 100000 Men, was Slain, together with the greatest Number of Janifaries, and Foot Soldiers, and those of the Principal Officers; the which Relation he also dispatched by the second Master of the Horse, with a Cofian to *Hussain Pasha*, declaring him to be Grand Vizier, which happened well for the *Christians*; for he was a Man all ways inclined to a Peace, and no great Friend to the *French*; he was a great Lover of Wine, which mollified the Rigorous Temper of a *Turk*, and made him more Joyous and Easie than commonly the Water-Drinkers amongst the *Turks* profess to be; at which News the *Christians* immediately conceived an abundance of Joy, not doubting but that a Peace would immediately ensue, as it did accordingly; for all People were grown weary of so long a War, which had now continued for about twenty Years, with very Unfortunate Successes to the *Turks* both by Sea and Land.

After all which the Grand Seignior returned with what speed he could to his *Seraglio* at *Adrianople*, where all things had put on a Countenance of Melancholy and Sadness.

In the mean time the *Christians* resolving to prosecute and follow their Blow, whilst the *Turks* with Fear and Disorder were flying homeward, the Prince *Eugenius* of Savoy, spent the whole Day on the 12th of October in passing the Imperial Army over the *Savo*; but the River being narrow, and the Weather good and favourable, they arrived early in the Camp on the other side:

And next Morning of the 13th, they began their March towards *Rognis*, which was difficult to pass, by reason of the Mountains, Woods, and Rocks in the way, which was rude, and unbeaten.

Upon the 14th of this Month, the Body of the Army Encamped about *Kottor*, where the March had been worse, and more difficult, and longer by an Hour than the Day before; and tho' Colonel *Kyla* with his Squadron was marched before, howsoever he proceeded not in his March, because he had News on the way, and chiefly from *Bagnaleuca*, That the Enemy had not the least Intelligence of the Advance of the Imperial Army, so that he made a Halt until his Most Serene Highness was come up to join the Body under his Command, that so they might hold a Conference, and Council of War together, which they performed standing not to life time; and then Colonel *Kyla* proceeded with his Forces upon *Castle Doboy*, where was a Garrison of *Turks*, and was situated two or three Hours from the *Christian* Camp: And here it was thought fit not to go farther this Night, because they concluded, that they were not as yet discovered by the Enemy, because they had not heard them shoot the Alarm, as their Custom was to do whenever they discovered any Body of Men approaching towards them; and so to keep all things still without any discovery, they marched with much silence, without Beat of Drum, or Sound of Trumpet: And the very same Day the Prince of Savoy arrived in the Camp; where a Council of War being called, it was concluded, That Colonel *Kyla* should be dispatched away before, to take Possession of some Ground near to the *Turkish* Castle of *Doboy*, as was formerly agreed, and there to form his Camp, where he was reinforced with 600 Men: Upon appearance of which, his Orders were, That in case the Castle did not presently Surrender, he should march immediately forward, and without loss of time march into the Country, leaving the last 600 Men before the Castle to inclose the Enemy, who should soon be reinforced by 200 Men more: And so should proceed to the second Castle, called *Maglay*; where

B b b

where

Inclination of the
Turks towards a
Peace.

1697. where finding Opposition, he should leave that likewise, and so proceed forward.

By this time, or towards the Morning of the 15th of this Month, some Shooting was heard, which was the first Signal of an Alarm: Howsoever they continued to March without beating their Drums, or sounding their Trumpets; but this Days March was more troublesome and difficult than the Day before, by reason that it was through Hilly and rough Places: Howsoever coming at length to *Castle Doboy*, they Summoned the Place to Surrender, the which being denied at first, by the *Turks* in Garrison, the *Christians* laboured all Night, and in that time raised a Battery, on which they planted six Pieces of Cannon, with two Mortar-pieces.

The Day following the Cannon beginning to play, the *Turks* Capitulated, and Surrendered themselves at Discretion and Mercy of the Enemy.

The Garrison consisted of about 80 Men, out of which they made Prisoners of such as appeared to be the most Soldier-like Men; as for others, who were Old, and Infirm, with Women, and Children, they gave them liberty to shift for themselves, and go to what Places they pleased.

In the *Castle* little Provision was found, and few Arms, so that Colonel *Kyba*, according to his Instructions from the General, proceeded in his March: And

On the 17th came to the *Castle Maglay*, which upon the first Summons Surrendered, on condition only to go out with their Wives and Children, leaving all other things behind them.

On the 18th by Break of Day in the Morning, the Garrison of *Maglay* marched out, and Surrendered the Place: About which time nothing more was heard from the Enemy, only that the *Kahya*, the Son of the Deceased *Pasha*, was Encamped near *Orelli Viza*, and that the Imperial Foragers were annoyed much by the Merodars of the Enemy.

On the 18th they appeared before the Palanca or *Pais* called *Sebebe*, wherein were 300 *Turks*: which upon the Summons demanded a time of Consideration until the next Day, which the General of the Imperialists would not grant them; but advanced with 400 Foot Soldiers, and 300 Dragoons, with the Artillery belonging to them, and mounting 12 Pieces of Cannon against the Palanca, in the Night they stormed it in two Places: in which Attack having lost 12 or 15 Men within the Palliades, without any Hop, they still advanced forward, whilst Colonel *Kyba* meeting with 200 Horse of the En-

my, whose Design was to cast themselves into the *Pais Sebebe*, but were prevented, being in part killed, and in part taken Prisoners: And having Intelligence, That the *Kahya* was with a Body of about two or 3000 Men, between *Sebebe* and *Branduck*, he caused Batteries to be raised to hinder their ready Passages.

On the 19th they marched on through the *Orobovizar* Valley, being a very troublesome Passage at the first Entrance thereinto, not only for the Narrowness and Straightness of the Road, but also because the Enemies on both sides had cut and ruined the Ways; so that about three a Clock in the Afternoon, the last Regiments, which were Horse, entered the Field, and joyned the former Troops, but the Infantry came not thither until it was Night; and as to the Artillery and Baggage, they remained full half an Hour March behind, at a distance from the narrow Passage, where it remained all the Night guarded by two Regiments of Dragoons, which in the Morning marched in safe Conduct, and guarded them in safety to the Body of the Army.

The 20th the March was through Narrow and Rocky Passages, worse than the former, or that way which leads to the *Castle Branduck*, which was so difficult, that the Imperial Army would have been in a very ill Condition, had the *Turks* been capable of disputing vigorously the Passage with them: But at length having passed the most rough and difficult Ways of *Branduck*, which were so inconvenient, that the Artillery and Baggage could not be brought after them, but were forced to be lodged under a strong Guard on the *Orobovizar* Valley, where the Places were fairer and more pleasant, but the Inhabitants were fled and gone, but had left behind them all sorts of good Fruits, with small and large Cattle in great Numbers, with sufficient Herbage and Suffenance to maintain them.

The 21st the Imperial Army arrived near the River *Bosna*, over which there was a Bridge, but so Old and Ruinous, that the Army was not willing to adventure a Passage over it, but rather esteemed it more secure for every Dragoon, or Horseman to take a Man behind him, and therewith to Wade through the River; with this Burden and Equipage they marched over a very high Hill for the space of two Hours, which nevertheless was more easy to pass over than the former: So they continued their March again over the *Bosna*, by the help and convenience of a good strong Bridge, not ruined by the Enemy, and so advanced

1697. advanced into the Camp, near the Village *Doboy*, where Colonel *Kyba* joyned again with Prince *Eugenius*, advancing still before the same Night towards *Sarai*, or *Seraglio*, to observe the Place, to which great Numbers of People of that Country were fled for security: But because that City was not capable to receive such Multitudes of People, great Numbers of them were forced to lodge before the City Gates, so as the Prisoners declared, which together with those in the City, would make up a Body of 30000 Men, but they wanted Arms very much: So that tho' the *Kahya* was then personally present in the City; yet his Power and Authority was weak to dispose Matters into any tolerable State and Condition of Defence.

But the Imperialists found this Party very Fair, fruitful, and well Built; and therefore the *Christians* and Inhabitants of that Land went to the Imperial Camp to render themselves up under their Protection.

At the beginning of this March, on the 22d, the Troops found the Ways Narrow, Crooked, and Deep, but afterwards found into a more pleasant Place, called *Vifegna*, and then repassed again the River *Bosna*, over a Bridge; at the end of which, after an Hours time they Encamped; and by this time Colonel *Kyba* was come back with his People, who had done some Execution against the Inhabitants in their March, killing some, and making Prisoners of others, which put the City of *Seraglio* into great Amazement and Confusion, whilst several Parties of the Enemy roved round the adjacent Parts, and took several Prisoners; at which time a Cornet, with a Trumpeter, were sent into *Seraglio*, to Summon the City to submit willingly, or otherwise no Quarter should be given to any of them.

The 23d two Parties sent out the Day before, returned back again very early in the Morning, before the breaking up of the Imperial Army, bringing no News, or Advice from the Enemy: Only the Corner gave a Relation, That as he was going to *Seraglio*, for almost a Quarter of an Hours time he had met with no Body at all; but afterwards falling in amongst the *Turks*, to whom having made a Sign with his Hand, he showed them the Writing he had with him, which were Proposals for the Surrender of the City; but that he happened to see the Trumpeter killed before his own Eyes, and with much difficulty, with drivers Wounds escaped himself: And farther reported, That all the Inhabitants in great haste went out of *Seraglio*.

After this the Army in a Body marched to the City, which the *Turks* had quitted, and abandoned, leaving none remaining but *Christians* and *Jews*, from whom they took all they could find, but nothing of great Value, in regard the *Turks* had not only disposed of the best of their own Goods, but likewise before their Flight had Plundered the Houses of the *Christians*, and committed the Guard of the *Castle* to a Garrison of 150 Men; and the same Day towards Evening a Fire broke out in the City, of which no care being taken to Extinguish it, it was totally burnt and consumed. The *Castle* howsoever was not burnt, for it being built of Stone, required leisure to demolish, which at that time could not be allowed.

Howsoever several Parties on the 24th returned from abroad, bringing some Prisoners with them, and many poor *Christians* came likewise Voluntarily in, with Resolution to pass the *Save*, upon the Return of the Imperial Army; which happened to be on the 25th and 26th, but Colonel *Kyba* staid, (as he usually did) some time behind to burn and destroy every thing that remained, as yet unconsumed.

And on the 27th they marched on, until they came to the Camp, which was before *Seniza*.

And on the 28th they entered into bad Defiles, and at length into the Valley of *Orobovizar*, where the Artillery and Wagons joyned again with the Army.

The 29th they Encamped near *Sebebe*, where Advices were brought to the Generals in what manner the Enemy was gathered into a Body near *Belgrada*, consisting of several Thousands of Men.

Lastly, The Imperialists returned again over the *Save*, carrying with them a great quantity of Turkish Cloth, with many Turkish Women, and Goods belonging to the saved *Christians*, with a great quantity of small and great Cattle.

After the Return of the *Christian* Army under the Command of Prince *Eugenius* of *Savoy*, the Fortunate Successes in *Bosnia*, the Troops were commanded on the 30th of October, to march from *Marga*, towards *Caranebes*; from whence, on the very same Evening, Lieutenant-Colonel Count of *Ferberstein*, was Commanded to March before, with his National Militia of *Rajstians*, joyned with some Germans.

And the 31st was appointed for a Day of Repose, and Rest for the whole Army; and on that Occasion sufficient Provisions were made both for Horse and Man.

1697.

When on the first of November the Body of the Army began to move from *Caran-zelcs*, and in grievous Weather, with Rain and Snow, marched all the way so far as *Soczcin*: And then about two a Clock in the Afternoon they made a Halt near *Gialuk*, in the Valley of *Carassona*.

And on the third they pitched near the deserted Village of *Petroviza*.

From whence on the 4th Days March, a Detachment was sent before to Invest the Fort of *Ypalancha*, where the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of *Rabutin*, Lord of *Grafer*, with a Body of 500 Horse, had taken his Post, or Possession, and seated himself on the side of the *Danube* about 100 Paces from the River, advancing to the Palliades, and there immediately began to fire upon the Place, and to Entrench with so much diligence, that in a short time they had opened the Trenches 200 Paces; and having prepared the small Pieces of Cannon, which they brought with them, and one Mortar-piece, they began therewith to make their Batteries.

The 6th Day in the Morning, they set in order their Batteries, and began also to throw Bombs into the Palanca, which they found to be much more strong than it was believed at first; for that it was encompassed with a double Ditch, and treble Rows of Palliades, and a place of Retreat guarded with 400 Men, and well provided of all things; and for the better Security, they had made some hundreds of Faggots; and in the mean time the *Turks* in a great Body showed themselves upon another Stream of the *Danube* above, and others at the Foot of the Mountain, near to *Rham*, together with Saicks, and Frigats on the River. Likewise on the other side of *Belgrade*, near *Kroska*, *Semandvia*, *Columbas*, *Isbeck*, and *Gradiska*, which were all places so near, that in 24 Hours time, Succours might be brought from them, at least to hinder, if not totally prevent the Designs of the Enemy: For which reason, the General, Count *Rabutin*, resolved to lose no time, but forthwith to make an Assault upon the Place, and if possible, to take it by force, to which end he prepared 500 *Germans*, and 200 *Rascians* to make the Attack upon the Place.

On the 6th with dawning of the Day, appeared on the other side of the River, a great number of the *Turkish* Boats, battering with their Cannon, as they had done all the Day before against the *Christian* Camp: And in the mean time, with the

Break of Day, the Attack began in two 1697. Places at the same time; that is, upon the left Hand of the *Danube*, where the greatest difficulty was, under the Command of Heer *Viart*, Sergeant-Major of the *Hanover* Troops; and then on the right Hand, on the River *Ceraffe*, where the Soldiers to pass the Water, Waded up to the Middle, under the Command of Captain *Beaumont*, of the Regiment of *Rabutin*: And to give the greater Inconvenience to the Enemy, they fired their Cannons continually without Intermission, as also their Bombs, besides Small-shot from 250 Men out of the Trenches; but in regard that in the Night before certain Recruits were sent to reinforce the Place, together with a Boar, on Board of which were 100 Men from *Columbas*, and *Isbeck*, with new Ammunition, so that they met with very much resistance; besides, they Storm'd without making any Breach, and that in the sight of 20 or 30 Saicks and Frigats, which appeared above and below the Place; inasmuch as things looked more doubtful and hazardous, than with any promising Countenance of Success. Howsoever General *de Rabutin* and Sergeant-General Count *de Leiningen* applied all possible care and Industry to hinder and prevent the Enemies Succours from coming upon them, by which the Soldiers at the appearance, and so near an approach of their Enemies, again reassumed new Courage; and tho' they were at first well enough animated, when they observed the *Turks* come upon them, with their Cries of *Allah, Allah*, which they usually make upon their Charge, and that 400 of their Horse remained for a Reserve, the Vigour and Spirit was renewed on all sides, and then with Axes and Hatchets they cutting down the Palliades, gained so much Ground, that all things laid open before them: So that after a doubtful Conflict of about an Hour and a half, the Place was overcome, and taken by the Valour of the *Christians*; so that not only the Commander in Chief *Hay Begh*, but all the Garrison, with the Inhabitants, without any Exception, were Killed, or drowned into the *Danube*. All which was done and acted in a very short time, which was well that it so happened; for had it admitted of any farther delay, the *Christians* would have encountered many more Difficulties, for that the *Turks* were bringing over many Succours, which would have caused very dangerous Diversions. When on the contrary, the *Turks* lost 800 Persons, and the *Christians* only 10, which was almost a Miracle to consider.

General

1697.

General *Rabutin* was always present on the right Hand, during the Assault, and after it, the better to Encourage the Soldiers, he alighted from his Horse, and having Commended and Praised every one publicly in his Place according to his Deserts, and especially the Sergeant-General Count of *Leiningen*, who had the left Wing under his Conduct, and had done and acted as much as could be expected on such an Occasion; and indeed both he and Sergeant-Major *de Viart*, showed as much Bravery, Conduct, and Military Experience as could be desired of the greatest Captains in the World.

But now in regard this Pass of *Ypalancha*

was too far within the Territory of the Enemy, to be any long time maintained; for that should the Garrison be *German*, or *Rascian*, it would be too much exposed, without any possibility of Relief, the General *Rabutin* resolved to Slight and Demolish the Place, and accordingly he gave all up to the Flames.

And on the seventh Day, so soon as the Cannon were carried away, it was put in to execution, which was soon effected by the great Numbers of Country-men and Peasants employed upon that Work; and the same Morning the Camp was removed nearer to the Palanca.

The Particulars of Men Killed and Wounded in the Assault of *Ypalancha*.

G E R M A N S.

| | | | |
|-------------|----|--------------|----|
| Killed, Men | 10 | Wounded, Men | 87 |
| Horses | 26 | Horses | 21 |

Of the ARTILLERY.

| | | | |
|---------|---|----------|---|
| Killed, | 0 | Wounded, | 1 |
|---------|---|----------|---|

R A S C I A N S.

| | | | |
|---------|---|----------|----|
| Killed, | 4 | Wounded, | 18 |
|---------|---|----------|----|

Found in the Place.

16 Ensigns exposed round the Town.

63 *Turkish* Prisoners, and 32 Women.

11 Pieces of Cannon of Copper, carrying from two to eight Pound Ball.

200 Granadoes for the Hand, some Powder, and some few other Warlike Arms.

About 200 Bushels of Grain, with some Flour of Wheat.

Besides which, all other things were given up to the Plunder of the Soldiers.

Besides which, there were above 1000 Pieces of Rock-Salt, which were brought from *Valachia*.

These Successes which the *Christians* had gained over the *Turks* in all Places, through the whole Course of this Year 1697, put them into a kind of Despair of being any more Victorious, but rather to yield to the Hand of God, and to fix a Period to the Limits of their Empire, which they believed, by the Providence of God, was no farther to be extended.

These Thoughts put all the Great Men, and Governors of the *Ottoman* Empire into

such a Melancholy, that contrary to their usual Humour of Pride, and Vain Imaginations of Riches, and Enlargement of Empire, as if the *Ottoman* Arms were never to be weakened, or brought low; all the Powerful and Warlike Men, together with the Sultan, concluded, That after such a Series of Misfortunes; both by Sea and Land, God frowned on their Enterprises, and would no longer favour their Martial Proceedings: And therefore, that until such

1697. such time as God's Anger against them was appeased, there was no safety but in a Happy Peace, to be Negotiated by the only true Allies of the Ottoman Empire; namely, the Great King William of Great Britain, and the Most Potent Lords, the States General of the Low-Countries, or United Provinces; for whom at that time, namely, for the first the Lord Paget was then Ambassador at the Port; and for the latter was the Heer Colyer, both of them Persons qualified by their Offices, and long Experiences in the Turkish Affairs, to become Mediators and Ministers for their Powerful and Puissant Masters, in Treating a Peace of the greatest Importance of any that hath happened in this, or in the preceding Age; unless it be the General Peace, in which all Christendom was so nearly concerned.

What farther moved the Turks to desire and promote this Peace, was their Ill Successes at Bassora, where that Pasha, whom we have formerly mentioned, had carried for some time all before him; and tho' the Persians had often promised their Assistance to the Turks, for Suppression of that Rebellion, yet nothing was acted by them in reality, until the Grand Seigneur, and the whole Government became sensible, that nothing was to be expected of good either by War, or Peace, but by their own Negotiations; in pursuance of which the Mediation so often offered, was at length accepted, and put into execution at the beginning of the Year 1698.

Anno 1698.

1698. **T**HIS Year was happily begun with a Resolution on all sides to make the Peace: Howsoever at the beginning thereof things looked very frowningly, without that gentle Prospect, which is commonly the Forerunner of a Peace: For at the beginning of this Month, three Aga's were dispatched from Adrianople, with Orders to facilitate their Passage into Asia, by the most Expedite Posts that could be formed; howsoever in their Passage they entered into Conferences with the Chief Ministers at Constantinople, giving them to understand, That they had Orders to Summon the Tartar Han, to appear in Conference at Adrianople, with the Sultan, Mufti, and Grand Vizier, whose Opinions and Resolutions were at first to continue the War; which they declared themselves very able to do; for tho' it was true, that they

had lost the best part and the most flourishing of their Janisaries, and Infantry, yet their Cavalry was almost entire, and able to Engage the Enemy with an Advantage; and were able to form a better Army this, than the last Year.

The Tartar Han declared, That he did not fear the *Moscovites* so much as he did the *Cossacks*, and the *Poles*, but of them they are in no great Apprehensions neither; for that the French Ambassador had promised and assured them, That the Prince of Conti should to disturb the Affairs of Poland, that no danger needed to be feared from that People.

And now to strengthen these Proposals, the Sultan decreed, That new Contributions should be required over all Asia, and Men of great Authority were sent with Bands and Troops of Segmen, and other Militia, to raise the Money by force and power.

Orders were also sent to the Chimaac of Constantinople, to put the Forges of Constantinople at work for founding great quantities of Cannon.

And that the Maritime Affairs might not be neglected, *Mezzo Morto* was continued in the Office of Captain-Pasha, or Admiral, with Orders, and Instructions to fight the *Venetians*.

Thus all things looked as if nothing had been intended besides a War. Howsoever the Great God of Hosts, in whose Hands remains the Balance of Peace and War, having designed otherwise, and at length to give repose, and rest after so long Wars, to the Nations of the Earth, was pleased in his Divine Providence to direct a Conference in the Month of May, between the Great Vizier, the Tartar Han, and the Mufti, at Adrianople, who having considered of the many Difficulties under which the *Mahometan* Religion, and the Ottoman Empire laboured, gave it as their Opinions to the Sultan, that there could be no safety to either, but in a Peace, for which they produced many Reasons, but none of greater force than that for this Year, no Assistance could be expected from Asia; nor was it possible to recruit in one Year's time, the lost Body of the Janisaries, which is the Nerve of the Ottoman Militia; in which Opinion the Chimaac of Adrianople, called *Muflapha Pasha*, who had formerly been Grand Vizier, concurred with the others, and all of them joining together in the same Opinion, made their Applications to the Sultan, giving him to understand, That having duly considered of this important matter, nothing seemed to necessary as a Peace, which God had

1698. had now pleased in his Goodness, for the Comfort and Relief of the *Mahometan* Cause, to offer unto them: The which Declaration and Counsel of these Great Men made to the Sultan, took so much amongst the People, that the Report flew like Lightning, and in five Days time was divulged almost over all the Empire.

All the Persons that were present at this private Conference, were the Mufti, Han of Tartary, Aga of the Janisaries, Aga of the Spahes, and Grand Vizier, and the Sultan himself.

To make some little appearance of unwillingness to make a Peace, as if they had been able to continue the War, they sent away towards Belgrade, some Field-pieces of Brass, which had been lately Cast, or Founded; and on that Occasion 15 Chambers of Janisaries, with their Cirurbages, or Captains, of which every Chamber consisted of 100 Men, but were computed in all to make up 2200 Janisaries, 200 Zebegees, or Armourers, 70 Gunners, which were commanded by a certain Person, called *Ali Pasha*, who was Brother in Law to the late Grand Vizier: It was reported, That all the Chambers had their full and complete Numbers, but upon the true Computation, they were found to be much short, and not above 70 in a Chamber; by this kind of Computation, the poor Estate of the other Militias of the Ottoman Army being to be judged, made the Proposition of a Peace to become much more acceptable to all Sorts and Conditions of Men: One Evidence of which, was the readiness and haste the Grand Seigneur and Vizier showed to be upon their March towards *Sophia*.

In order to which, it was appointed, That the Aga of the Janisaries, should on the 6th of June begin their March, and that the Sultan should follow two Days afterwards being the 8th; for that already towards the latter end of May, all the Camels, and Horses, which were provided to carry the Tents and Baggage, were arrived at *Adrianople*.

In pursuance whereof the Grand Scignior, and Grand Vizier, began their March on the 8th of June, when it was supposed, That taking *Sophia* in their way, and making that Place a Quarter of some Days Repose, there to Celebrate the Feast of their little *Biram*, they might arrive at Belgrade by the 15th of July; when all the Army of the Turks could not amount to more than 40000 Men, tho' they should receive an Addition of 10000 Men from Asia, which was the greatest Number of Soldiers that they could expect this Year

1698. from those Parts, and hereof many Hundreds failed of making up that Number. Howsoever in regard that the Peace in Hungary, and other Parts with the *Christians*, was almost secure and certain, it rais'd a Cheerfulness amongst the *Turks*, so that they little regarded any Apprehensions of a War against the *Persians*, or their Conjunction with *Bekak Salyman*, a Bold, Insolent, Daring Person, who lived on the Confines of Persia, whom the *Turks* desired might be suppressed by the *Persians*: But the Persian Ambassador, notwithstanding the great Treatments and Civilities he had received from the *Turks*, made some Difficulties thereof, saying, That it could not be foreseen, or measured, how far such a War as this might go; the *Bekak Salyman* being a most Perverse Fellow, feared as well as beloved, by all the Arabian Princes; so that a War with him might cause much Blood.

Howsoever the *Turks* pressed most earnestly to have this *Sulyman* suppressed, alledging, Both the Honour and Safety of the *Persians* was concerned: And to Encourage them herein, the Grand Vizier promised them the Sultan's Assistance; for that having now made a Peace with the Emperor, and the other *Christians*, (as might be presumed to be) his Hands were at liberty to carry the War into what Parts of the World that he should think fit; which he should not more readily do to any Region, than against those who might be troublesome on the Frontiers of Persia, and bring Disturbance to the Ottoman Port.

Such Friendly Discourses as these passing between the Grand Vizier, and the Persian Ambassador, a Promise was farther made unto him, That the Sultan would not deny any thing to the King of Persia, which might be of Satisfaction to him; being resolved to cultivate a most sincere, and lasting Friendship with him, according to the Capitulations lately made and agreed between those two Great and Mighty Monarchs.

After which they did Eat, and Feasted together, with high Expressions of Love, and a lasting Friendship; in farther Confirmation of which, a Present was made to the Ambassador of another Horse, well Equipped with a Rich and Noble Furniture, and then the *Tesfer Emiri*, who was designed to be Ambassador from the Sultan to the King of Persia, and was preparing for his Journey, was introduced into their Presence, that an Acquaintance might be begun between them; the which was easily effected, considering that the *Tesfer Emiri* was a Person of a good Address, and Skilful,

1698. Skilful, and Practised in the *Persian Language*; he was a Refined Person, and fit, and proper for such an Embassy as this to the *esna* Court, whom the Grand Vizier had Chosen, and Elected for this Employment; for which he was preparing himself with fine Horses of Price, well Equipped with rich Embroidered Saddles, with Arms inlaid with Jewels, and other Gallantries, which might serve for Presents at his Arrival at the Court of *Isphahan*, to the *Persian King*, such as Quivers, Bows, and Arrows.

Besides all which kind Treatment, the Grand Seigneur himself Treated him at his Tents without the City of *Adrianople*; as also did the Chinacam of *Constantinople* at his Palace on the *Bosphorus*, or *Black-Sea*.

Thus we may see how freely and frankly the *Turks* Treated the *Persians* at this time; for now having secured the Peace with the Western Princes in *Hungary*, who were much more formidable at all times than the Eastern Nations: Howsoever, that no Advantages might be taken neither on that side, strict Commands and wise Instructions were sent to the Beilerbey of *Gran Cairo*, a Person of great Courage, Wisdom, and Experience, one of the Sultan's Bed-Chamber, to take the Care and Charge of those Eastern Kingdoms, giving him also the Title of *Scraskier*, or General, and *Beilerbey* of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, with Orders forthwith to form an Army with the People of the Country, and therewith to Attack *Bassora*, and drive out from thence the *Rebellious Pasha*, and settle in his Place another *Pasha* Commissioned by the Port to succeed in his Employment, with a *Hattesseriff* from the Sultan: But principally above all things it was recommended to him, to hinder and prevent all Incursions of *Rebel Salymans* upon the *Persians*, who being good Friends to the Sultan, he could not permit, or suffer, that they should receive any Affront, or Injury, from such as go under the Denomination of Subjects to the Port.

But these Eastern Countries so far distant as *Persia*, were not now the care of the *Turks*, whose Thoughts were wholly taken up in what manner they might finish the War with the *Christians*, which were divers; as with the Emperor, the *Venetians*, the Old and Irreconcilable Enemies to the Port; also with the *Polanders*, and *Siberians*, the latter of which were not much known to the World, either for Friends, or Foes, tho' they began now under the present Czar by the taking of *Asac*, and some other Actions, to make them-

1698. selves known to the *Turks*, and other Nations of the World.

It being now resolved on all sides to make the Peace, the Mediators who were to manage the Treaty, were nominated and appointed, and the most proper Persons esteemed to be the Ambassadors from *England*, and *Holland*, both of which having never been Engaged in the War on any of the sides, but had always been true and ancient Friends to the Port, the *Turks* could have no Objections to alledge against either, nor had the *Christian Princes* any cause to suspect the Faith and Friendship of two such Ambassadors, whose Offices and Persons were acceptable to the *Turks*, and not displeasing to the *Christians*.

The Names of these Ambassadors designed to this so Necessary and Most Honourable Employment, were the Lord *Paget*, Ambassador for *William King of Great-Britain*; and the *Heer Colyer*, Ambassador for the Lords the States of the *United Provinces*.

All Matters being now ripe for Action, and a willing mind for Execution, the *Turks* moved with their Camp on the 11th of *June* 1698. commanded by the Grand Vizier, (the Grand Seigneur still remaining behind in his Tent) and with them also moved the two Ambassadors with their Equipages: And to put every thing into a good posture, and a way of Dispatch, the Lord Ambassador's Secretary was dispatched away a second time, as he had been the first on the 10th of *May* for *Vienna*, from whence he returned on the 5th of *July* to *Sophia*; where on the same Day he there met with the Lord Ambassador *Paget*, to whom he Communicated the good News of the Happy Inclinations of the Emperor and that Court towards the Peace: But that no delay should be made therein, the same Secretary was again dispatched away, to hasten the Emperor's Ambassadors to the Place appointed, and agreed upon for the Treaty, and to procure, and bring with him Passes, and safe Conducts for the *Turkish* Plenipotentiaries, who were the *Reis Effendi*, Chief Chancellor, or Secretary; and *Maucoordato*, who was the principal and first Interpreter to the Grand Seigneur.

These two Persons, together with the Lord *Paget*, and the *Dutch* Ambassador, set out from *Sophia* before the Camp, on the 15th of *July*, and on the 24th they had passed 10 Hours beyond *Nissa*, and on the 31st they arrived happily at *Belgrade*.

The Ambassadors remained at this place for the space of two Months; that is, of *August* and *September*, the which passed

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1698. soon away, in regard that the Expectations of Peace had so filled Mens Hearts, that nothing was heard in all Places but the Voices of Peace and Joy in all their Quarters.

At length the Month of *October* being entered, the Proclamation of Neutrality was first published at *Peter Waradin*, to the great Pleasure and Satisfaction of all People, both *Christians* and *Turks*, and afterwards at *Belgrade*.

On the 15th of *October*, the Lord *Paget*, and the *Dutch* Ambassador left their Camp near the City, raised on an Eminence, where was a good Air, and a good Prospect over the Countries round about; and upon the same Day early in the Morning they passed the *Save*, a River which runs from *Bosnia*, and falls into the *Danube* at *Belgrade*, where it loses its Name.

In passing this River this Order was observed.

First went an *Allai-Bey*, or the Marshal of the Show, with about 50 Horses. Then 60 *Chiauscs* on Horseback.

A Guard of Janissaries, being about 330 Men, all on Foot.

An Aga belonging to the Ambassadors, with his own Servants, and six Domestic Janissaries.

After which followed two Flags, one with the *English* Coat of Arms, and the other was a large Red Cross in a White Field.

Then followed the *English* Ambassador's 6 led Horses covered with very rich Furniture, followed by the Gentleman of the Horse to my Lord Ambassador, attended by a *Giovane di Lingua*, or a young Druggerman, or Interpreter.

Then came up the two Interpreters attending His Excellency the Lord Ambassador, on each side of his Horse, and they attended with two *Heydukes* in their own Country Habit; and on both sides 10 *Chiebadars*, or Servants, who carry the Cloaks, or Vests of the Great Men, in White Vests, with their Carbines on their Shoulders.

The Brother to the Lord Ambassador road afterwards with six *Chiebadars*.

Then followed the Secretary, and Doctor, with two *English* Gentlemen; one from *Aleppo*, and the other from *Tri-poli*.

Also six Pages with the Lord Ambassador's Coach, with a *Turkish* one, which went before the Common Servants, who marched all on Horseback, two and two.

At their Passage over the Bridge of the *Save*, which was lined with Janissaries, three Guns were fired from the Castle; and the Gallies, Saicks, and the Frigats as they passed fired each a Gun.

About half the way to *Scemlin*, the *Chiaus*, and others, whom the Vizier had sent along with them, made a Halt, and having wished a good Journey to those whom they conducted, returned back.

About an Hour after these Matters had passed, the *Dutch* Ambassador followed, and was used with the same Civility as those preceding.

The Emperor's Ambassadors, because they sent Passports to the *Turkish* Ambassadors Signed by the Emperor's Hand, desired to have others Signed by the Sultan: But because it was considered that this exchange of Passports would take up a great deal of time, the Mediators found out, and agreed upon this Expedient, That the Proclamation being made in both the Emperors Names, no Passports should be delivered, either from the *Germans* to the *Turks*, or from the *Turks* to the *Germans*; but that a Pleni-power should be given to the Mediators to grant Passports to People, who were going up and down within the Limits of Neutrality agreed on both sides: So the *German* Ambassadors resolved to go to *Carlowitz* within three Days time, tho' their Wooden Houses were not arrived as yet.

The Mediators also agreed upon the same, and to place themselves so, that their Doors might be over against each other at a good distance, whereby the *Turks* remained wholly on the *Belgrade* side, and the *Germans* towards *Peter Waradin*.

The first the *Venetian* Ambassador arrived at *Futack*, but the *Moscovite* Ambassador, after their unthinking manner, came directly the same Day to *Peter Waradin*, without giving the Governour Notice of his coming; by which Neglect of the *Moscovite*, no Salutes were passed on him, of which he complained to the Governour; but that was easily answered, by saying, That he knew nothing of his coming down the River, and therefore hoped to be excused.

In fine, To Accommodate this Matter, it was agreed, That the Boats of the *Moscovites* should remove from the place where they first Landed, and by a Signal given by the Ambassador's Trumpets, the Guns should be fired, which was done both from the Castle, the Town, and the Fleet.

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On the 14th of this Month of October, the Turkish Ambassadors arrived at two Hours distance from the Tents of the Mediators; but both sides having considered, that the Days being short, and that at such a distance from the Quarters of the Plenipotentiaries, much time would be spent and lost in going to and fro, it was concluded, That the English and Dutch Ambassadors should go to Carlowitz, and the Germans and Allies should take their Quarters about half an Hour above them towards Peter Waradin, and the Turks about a Quarter of an Hour below towards Belgrade.

Upon the Arrival of the Mediators at Carlowitz, they were received by the German Horse and Foot, and a Captain-Lieutenant and a Standard, with 50 Horse, and also with another Captain-Lieutenant, and an Ensign, with 70 Foot, which were appointed to each Ambassador for the Mediators Guards. The Turkish Soldiers were at the Right of the English Ambassador, and at the Left of the Dutch.

On the 15th the Plenipotentiaries were showed to each other; and shortly after the Conferences began; but first the Preparations were making for building the House for Conferences: But in the mean time to supply that Convenience, a great Tent was rais'd in the midst of that void place which was between the Tents of the Mediators; where it was farther ordered, That instead of Chambers for the several Parties, there should be Tents pitched on both sides.

Some Points were here projected to be agreed on, as Preliminaries regulating the Ceremonies of the Congress; about which the Poles gave some trouble at the beginning, who seemed rather to hinder than to forward the Peace; for the Disputes they made upon nothing, took up seven Days time; the which being at length overcome,

Octob. 26. On the 6th of November, N. S. all the Preliminary Points were adjusted, and agreed by all the Allies, which tended chiefly to prevent and avoid all Contentions about Precedence, and the disannulling all useless Ceremonies, during the Congress, as well as those Impediments which might cause Confusion and Disturbance.

Novemb.

The Points were Signed and Sealed by the Ambassadors at Carlowitz, the 26th of October, or the 6th of November, N. S.

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The Articles for Facilitating the Negotiation, were these.

I.

To take away Notifications, and Visits of Ceremony and Precedence.

II.

That every Plenipotentiary shall advance his own Business, without being obliged to stay for one another, which in that case is to be put into the Hands of the Mediators, until the time that the General Subscription is made.

III.

That no Plenipotentiary shall hinder or delay the Progress of the Treaty; but that every one shall endeavour to assist each other in removing the Difficulties which obstruct the way.

IV.

For confirming the District of Neutrality, and covering the several Ambassadors, and their Retinues from Insults and Wrongs, both during their Abode at the place of Treaty, and their Departure thence.

V.

And for keeping the Train and Domesticks of each Ambassador in order, and that no Disturbance, or Quarrel might arise between them, it was Ordered,

VI.

That a Prohibition should be given to every one to stir Abroad at Night; and that whosoever should be caught Abroad after the Sun was Set, should be kept in the Custody of the Guards until Morning, and then to be delivered into the Hands of the Ambassador to whom he belongs, to be punished.

The Points were Signed and Sealed by the Ambassadors at Carlowitz, the 26th of October, or the 6th of November, N. S.

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On the 17th of November, the Ambassador from the Emperor, appeared in the Camp of Carlowitz; as also did those from the Sultan, who placed themselves on both sides, nor far from the House appointed for the Conferences to be held, and not far from the Places where the Mediators had their Lodgings, in which void Places several Magnificent and Stately Tents were erected; at which, about nine of the Clock in the Morning, the Emperor's Ambassador arrived, being attended with four Coaches of State, and a Numerous Retinue.

And in the first place they went to the Tents of the Mediators, where at the same time appeared the Turkish Ambassador, attended with a very stately Retinue of Cavaliers, well mounted on Horses of the finest Shapes that could be found in all Quarters of the Eastern World, and besides their Cloathing which was very rich, they made as beautiful an Appearance, as the Germans had done before them: And both Parties at the same time presented themselves before the Mediators, in the Tent appointed for the Conferences: Where after the Salutations, and Complements on both sides, sufficiently Courteous and Obliging, they took their Seats in the middle of the Tent, purposely set, and laid for them, one directly against the other, in such a manner, that no Person could take Exception against his Place, or Seat appointed for him.

This being agreed and settled, the first Conference began, which was to determine this Great and Solemn Peace, which was the first of this kind, that ever passed between the Christians and the Turks; not but that several Treaties and Conclusions of Articles had passed before, but not on such equal Terms, and with so much Honour, and Deference given to Christian Mediators, which will be recorded in all Ages, to the Glory of William the Third, King of Great-Britain, and of the States-General, His Worthy and Wife Allies.

Nor will it be less Memorable in Honour of that Noble and Ancient Family of the Lord Paget; who with the Heer Colyer, Ambassador from the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, bore so great a share in this Everlasting, and never to be forgotten Treaty.

The Tent appointed for this Congress had four Doors, which fronted each other, at one of which entered the Imperial Ambassador, and at the opposite thereunto entered the Turkish; and at the two others,

which were likewise opposite, entered the Mediators.

The Imperial Ambassador, was Named the Most Excellent Lord the Count of Orlingen: And on the Turkish side was the Reis Effendi, which I take to be principal Secretary of State with us.

Behind the Emperor's Ambassador the Secretary of the Embassy was placed; as also at a small Table behind the English Mediator, was placed the English Secretary: And behind the Ottoman Ambassador the Turkish Secretary, called Mauro Cordatos, by Extraction a Greek, and of that Race, or Religion; he stood a while behind the Turkish Ambassador upon his Legs, but afterwards was ordered to sit on the Ground after the Turkish Fashion; both which Secretaries took the Minutes, or Protocols of what was propounded, or what passed.

The Doors of the Tent was on all sides guarded equally by Germans and Turks, and both filled up the Doors of the Tent, amongst which were many Commanding Officers, who had room sufficient to see every thing that passed: The Conferences began commonly about ten a Clock, or half an Hour past ten in the Morning, and lasted until half an Hour past two in the Afternoon: And then ended the first Day of Conference.

On the 18th the Imperial Ambassador dispatched a Messenger by way of Peter Waradin towards the Places where the Regiment of Corbelli, and the two Battalions of Anhalt, and Turheim, were Quartered, which were sent there for Guards near to the Congress; as also for the same reason had appointed 200 Horse of the first Rank, and 100 Foot of the second: Likewise the Turkish Ministers remanded to Belgrade as many of their People, as they could well spare.

The same Day that this Exchange was made, the Plenipotentiaries from the Sultan not being used to sit upon Stools, or Chairs, but very uneasily, caused a Sarrau to be placed for them, covered with rich Carpets, and Embroidered Cushions, upon which they sat Cross-legg'd after the Turkish Fashion.

After which the Company rising, the Imperial Ambassador went to Dinner with the Mediators, where having remained for the space of about two Hours, they returned to the Conference about three a Clock, which continued until half an Hour past four in the Evening.

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The next Day being the 7th, the Imperial Ambassador appeared at the place of the Conference in most Rich and Pompous Habit in Honour to the Day, which was the Emperor's Birth-Day; and which after the Conference was ended, was honoured with a most splendid and stately Dinner, and Entertainment.

The 7th the Plenipotentiaries again assembled about ten a Clock in the Morning, which continued with much diligence until eight a Clock in the Evening.

The 7th the Venetian Ambassador came for the first time with a most splendid Equipage to the Conference, in which that whole Day was entirely spent.

On the 7th, the *Turks* made a Proposition to have the Principality of *Transylvania* to be restored to its pristine State and Condition, but so as to remain under the Emperor's Protection; but this Point was positively rejected by the Imperialists, the which they not taking.

On the 11th, the *Turks* made another Offer about this Principality, leaving it wholly in the Power and Possession of the Emperor, stipulating howsoever, That an Honorary Tribute should be paid unto the Port for the same, but this was likewise rejected by the Imperialists: For the truth is, the Emperor would hearken to nothing which could give the *Turks* any Footing or Demand upon *Transylvania*, which is the Entrance, and the Lock and Key into the *Upper Hungary*, and into *Germany* it self.

So on the 14th, after long Debates on both sides, the Point of *Transylvania* was agreed in the same manner as proposed by the *Germans*.

The 14th was entirely spent upon the Argument of the Limits, in which things were so prepared, that

On the 15th a good progress was made about the Regulation of the Confines; and before they arose, or separated for that Evening, it was agreed, of the other Alliance should have their Business come next to the Conference, and was agreed, That it should be the *Venetians*, which was the more easily assented unto, because they had agreed with the Imperialists to treat upon the Foot of *Uti Possidetis*.

Accordingly on the 17th, the *Venetian* Ambassadors met the *Turks*, and had a long Conference with them; but the *Turks* making some new Demands, which the Ambassadors not being prepared to answer, or to grafithe them in, it ended for that Day without any Determination.

The 18th, the *Venetians* renewed their former Conference, where the same Difficulties offering and not removed, all ended again without any farther positive Resolution.

The 19th the *Moscovite* Ambassador went to Conference, in which having held a Discourse only in general Terms, without entering upon Particulars, nothing was concluded; or determined for that Day.

The 20th was spent by the Mediators in going between the Plenipotentiaries to dispose them towards the ultimate Agreement.

The 21st of November, or first of December, the Imperialists had a Conference with the *Turks* in the Morning, at which they proceeded yet farther in adjusting and setting the Limits of each Empire: And the same Day in the Afternoon the *Polish* Ambassador went to Conference; at which his Discourse was loose and general, so that nothing was concluded for that time.

The next Day being the 22^d of November, or the 2^d of December, the *Moscovite* Ambassador had another Conference with the *Turks*, who pretended the Cession, or Demolition of the Places Conquered by the Czar, but that Demand was rejected, the Ambassador saying, *That he would neither give unto, nor take any thing from the Turks; but that his Master required the Fortresses of Keres from the Cham of Tartary.*

The 23^d of November, or the 3^d of December, the Ambassador of *Poland* began to abate, and remit something of his high Demands, which gave some hopes of an Accommodation between the *Poles* and the *Turks*, in case an Equivalent could be found for the Town and Fortresses of *Caminieck*.

The 24th in the Afternoon the *Venetian* Ambassador had a Conference which lasted until Night, but could come to no satisfactory Resolution; the *Turks* still adhering to

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to their Demands, that several places should be razed, which are in the Possession of the *Venetians*, which the Ambassador alleged that he had not power to grant.

The 24th the *Polish* Ambassador went again to Conference, after which, it was observed, That the *Turks* dispatched an Express Courier to the Port thereupon.

The 25th in the Afternoon, the Imperialists went again to Conference, but concluded nothing for that time.

The 26th the Imperialists had another Conference with the *Turks*, which held from nine a Clock in the Morning, till five in the Afternoon; during which time the Articles between the Emperor and the Sultan were for the most part agreed.

The 27th the Imperial Ambassador held another Conference with the *Turks*, but that Day was for the most part spent in Debates without any conclusion.

The 28th my Lord *Pager* went to the *Ottoman* Ambassador in the Morning, and to the Imperialists in the Afternoon, endeavouring to dispose both Parties to a Peace.

December 7th the Imperial Ambassador had this Day the tenth Conference with the *Turks*, at which the remaining Articles were debated and agreed, so that little or nothing was wanting to perfect the Emperor's Treaty.

On the 13th the *Moscovite* Ambassador was at Conference from 10 a Clock to 12 at Noon: At which the *Turks* required the Demolition, and Restitution of *Dogan Calist*, and three other Forts which the Czar holds upon the *Boristhenes*, to which the *Moscovites* would give no ear; howsoever they relinquished their Pretensions upon *Keres*; so that it was not doubted but that a Medium might now be easily found to compose Matters remaining.

The 14th was spent by the Mediators in trying to rectifie some Mistakes and Misunderstandings which might remove some Difficulties.

The 15th the *Polish* Ambassador was at Conference, at which four Articles were drawn and agreed unto.

In one of which there was yielded unto the *Turks* the Castles which the *Poles* then had, and possessed in *Moldavia*.

In another, it was agreed, That in Exchange for those Castles, the strong Fortresses of *Caminieck*, and the Provinces of *Podolia*, and *Ukrania*, should be Surrendered into the Hands of the *Poles*.

The 17th was spent in preparing Matters for a farther Progress.

The 18th the Imperialists went to Conference with an Intention to reduce the Articles which were already agreed, into order, but the *Turks* not having fully finished the Translation of them, it was deferred to another Convention.

On the 19th, the *Moscovite* delivered into the Hands of my Lord *Pager*, the Articles which he had promised to consign to the Mediation.

And accordingly on the 20th, he sent a Supplement thereunto, which did not answer expectation, so that Business remained for some time undetermined.

The next Day 21st the *Polish* Ambassador had another Conference with the *Turks*, at which the remaining Points of the Treaty were agreed upon; so that in a manner that whole Peace was agreed, and finished.

The 22nd of December, the *Venetian* Ambassador communicated a new Commission, and Project which he had received from the State of *Venice* to the Mediators.

And in the Afternoon the *Moscovite* Ambassador entertained a Discourse with the Mediators, and *Mauro Cordato*, but at that Meeting they cleared no Business.

With these frequent Conferences on all sides, much time passed away, until *Christmas* approached, and then was the Season that Labours should give place to Devotion and Mirth, and to the Solemnities of that Festival, which continued until the Twelve Days were over; and then all sides began again, after the Plenipotentiary Ambassadors had passed their time very Jovially, to renew again their Treaties: Only the *Turkish* Ambassadors having little to do with the *Christian* Rites, wished heartily that the Feasts were over, and pressed heartily for an end thereof; alledging, That their Presence was required at the Port, and that the Sultan would no longer allow of their Absence.

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The first that betook himself to Business, (which was strange) was the *Moscovite* Ambassador, who on the 14th of January 1699, was the first who Subscribed the Instrument of Amnety, and the Treaties of the Peace of the Emperor, and Poland, with the Port, were Signed on the 14th by their Ambassadors: And the *Venetian* Treaty being very well adjusted and perfected, all Parties appeared to be very well satisfied; and the *Venetian* Ambassador as well as the others, tho' for want of sufficient Power, he could not then Sign his Instrument, but supposed that Orders would come to him for doing the same, before the Imperial Ratifications, which were to be exchanged on the Line of Limits between *Peter Waradin*, and *Belgrade*, could be dispatched, in which case the Mediators had Power to receive it. Monday the 14th of January was appointed for the Solemn Day of Signature.

Monday the 14th of January, was the Solemn Day of Signature, the which having been passed in the Morning, all the Ambassadors, *Turks* as well as *Christians*, with all their Attendants, Guards, &c. with many Persons of Quality out of the Country, making about 5000 Persons, Dined at my Lord *Paget's* Quarters, at whose Table, the King of *England's* Health was the first that was drank, then the Emperor's, and the lasting Continuance of the Peace, which was Signed that very Day: And then we may believe, and fancy, that most People there present were all heartily Merry, with as much Solemnity as that Place could afford: And amongst other things of Mirth it was observed, That my Lord *Paget* had an Ox Roasted whole for the Soldiers, a thing never known before in those Parts.

On the 14th, the Mediators Dined with the Emperor's Ambassadors, where they were entertained with the like Rejoycings, and in the Evening with Fire-Works, Fountains of Wine, Drums, Trumpets, Music, and with the Discharge of Great and Small Guns.

The 14th, the *Moscovite* Ambassador took his leave of my Lord *Paget*, with many Lofly Expressions of Civility and Acknowledgments.

The 14th, my Lord *Paget* Visited the Imperial Ambassadors, as he did the *Turks* on the 14th, and 15th, which was in return of that Compliment which the *Turks* had made to him some time after the first Conferences.

The 21st of January, or the first of February, the *Turks* were to visit the Imperial Ambassadors, and to take their leaves of them.

On the 14th, the Imperialists were to take their Leaves of the *Turks*, and return their Visit.

And on the 14th or 15th in the Morning, the Mediators, and *Turks*, designed to take their Journey towards *Belgrade*, where the Mediators were to continue until the Exchange of the Ratifications.

The 26th at Night, O. S. the *Polish* Ambassador departed by the Post, after having passed many high Compliments on my Lord *Paget*, expressing the Transport he was in, for the Successful Assurances he had received from His Excellency in the Management and Conclusion of his Business.

The *Moscovite* Ambassador also declared, That he would leave *Peter Waradin* on the 14th of February; and in three or four Days after which, the Mediators declared, That the Place of Congress was likely to be quite cleared.

The House of Conference was bestowed by Count *Oettingen* on the *Franciscan* Fryars, who at the same time declared, That their Intentions were to make a Church thereof, in memory of that Peace which had been there transacted.

For which God be praised; which being of a High Concernment to all *Christendoms*, and to which the knowledge of the particular Articles may be useful to all Nations, we have thought fit to add them hereunto in *Latin* and *English*, as here followeth.

1698.

1699.

INSTRUMENTUM PACIS Cæsareo-Ottomanicum,

Subscriptum Januarii 26. 1699.

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1699.

AD perpetuam rei memoriam, Notum sit omnibus & singulis, quorum interest, posteaquam per sedecim lucisque annos fœvum, exitiale, & multâ humani Sanguinis effusione cruentum adeo bellum, cum plurimarum Provinciarum desolatione gestum esset inter Serenissimum, & Potentissimum Principem & Dominum Leopoldum, Electum Romanorum Imperatorem semper Augustum, Germaniæ, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatia, Slavoniæ Regem, Archiducem Austriæ, Ducem Burgundiæ, Brabantia, Styriæ, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ, Marchionem Moraviæ, Ducem Luxemburgiæ, Superioris & Inferioris Silesiæ, Wirtembergæ, & Teckæ, Principem Sueviæ, Comitum Habsburgi, Tyrolis, Kyburgi & Goritiæ, Marchionem Sacri Romani Imperii, Burgoviæ, ac Superioris & Inferioris Lusatiæ, Dominum Marchiæ Slavonicæ, Portus Naonis & Salinarum, &c. ab una: Et Serenissimum, atque Potentissimum Principem & Dominum Sultanum Mustapha Han Ottomanorum Imperatorem, ac Asiæ & Græciæ ejusque gloriosos Prædecessores ab altera parte, misericordie tandem afflictæ Subditorum Sortis summæ dicti ambo Potentissimi Imperatorum finem tantis in perniciem Generis Humani indices augetibus malis ponere, serib in animum induxissent, factum Divinâ bonitate esse, ut antientibus, & Conciliantibus Serenissimo, & Potentissimo Principe, & Domino Guilielmo Tertio, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rege, uti & Cælis ac Præpotentibus Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus Unitarum Belgii Provinciarum Solennes ea de causa Tractatus Carlovizii in Sirmio propè Confinita utriusque Imperii instituti atque ad finem perducti fuerint. Comparescentes quippe dicto loco utrinque legitime constituti Plenipotentiarii nomine quidem Sacræ Cæsareæ, & Romanorum Imperatoris Majestatis, Illustrissimi & Excellentissimi Domini, Dominus Wolffgangus Sacri Romani Imperii Comes ab Oettingen Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis Cubicularius, Confiliarius intimus; & Consilii Imperialis Aulici Præfex: Et Dominus Leopoldus Schlik Sacri Romani Imperii Comes in Passau, & Weiskirchen, ejusdem Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis Cubicularius Generalis, Vigiliarum Præfectus, & Legionis Desultoriorum Equitum Tribunus: ambo ad Tractatus hujus Pacis cum Porta Ottomanica deputati legati Extraordinarii, & Plenipotentiarii: nomine vero imperialis Ottomanicæ Majestatis, Illustrissimi & Excellentissimi Domini, Dominus Mehemet Eifendi, Supremus Imperii Ottomanici Cancellarius & Dominus Alexander Mauro Cordato ex nobili Stirpe de Scarlati intimus jam dicti Imperii Confiliarius, & Secretarius, intervenit & operâ Illustrissimorum, & Excellentissimorum Dominorum, Domini Guilielmi Paget, Baronis de Beaudesert, Serenissimi Magnæ Britannia Regis, & Domini Jacobi Colyer, Cælorum & Præpotentium Generalium Fœderati Belgii Ordinum, amborum apud Excellam Portam Ottomanicam oratorum & ad restabendam pacem universalem legatorum Plenipotentiarii, qui munere Mediatoris integre, sedulo & prudenter perfuncti sunt: post invocatum æterni Numinis opem, & commutatas ritè mandatorum tabulas ad Divini Nominis gloriam, & utriusque Imperii Salutem, in loquentes viginti mutuas Pacis, & concordia leges conveniunt.

I N-

I. Regio

1699.

I.

REGIO Transylvania, quemadmodum, de presenti est in possessione, & potestate Cæs. Majestatis, ita maneat in ejusdem Domino: Et à Podolia confinio, usque ad extremum Vallachia Confinium, suis Montibus, qui antiqui fuerunt limites ante præsens bellum inter Transylvaniam ex una parte, & Moldaviam atque Vallachiam ex alia parte, atque à Confinio Vallachia usque ad Flumen Marusium, pariter suis Montibus, qui antiqui fuerunt limites, circumcinctur, & sic utrinque observatis antiquis Limitibus, nec ultra nec citrà ab utroque Imperio fieri possit extensio.

II.

Provincia Subjecta Arci Temeswarinensi cum omnibus suis districtibus, & interfluentibus Fluvius maneat in possessione, & potestate Excelli Imperii Ottomanici, atque à parte Transylvanica fines ejus sint ab extremo confinio Vallachia usque ad Fluvium Marusium in Superiori Articulo constituti Transylvanica antiqui Limites. Tum a parte Marusii usque ad Fluvium Tibiscum ceterioribus ripis ejusdem Marusii, & à parte Tibisci usque ad Danubium ceterioribus ripis Fluvii Tibisci fines ejus limitentur: Quæ vero intra prædictos limites sita sunt loca, nempe Caransebes, Lugos, Lipa, Csanad, Kiscanisa, Betsche, Betskerech, & Sablia ceterius & intra præconstitutis ante præsens bellum prædeklarata rationem intra ripas Fluminum Marusii & Tibisci in Temeswarinensibus Territoriis, qualicumque alius similis locus repenatur, ea conditione destruantur per Cæsares, ut vi Pactorum amplius reedificari non possint: Et prædicta Regio Temeswarinensis omnino libera relinquatur, & impossuerit neque in dictis hisce locis, neque prope ripas Fluviorum Marusii atque Tibisci alia vel majora vel minor loca, quæ possint Speciem Fortificationis exhibere, extruantur.

Fluviorum Marusii ac Tibisci inter Provinciam Temeswarinensem, & Provincias Cæsareæ potestati, & possessioni subjectas usus fit communis Subditis utriusque Imperii, tam ad potum pecorum omnis generis, tum ad piscationem, & alias commoditates subditis perquam necessarias.

Cum vero onerariæ Naves à partibus Superioribus Subjectis Cæsareo Domino, tum per Marusium Fluvium in Tibiscum, tum per Tibiscum in Danubium, sive ascendendo sive descendendo ultrò citroque

meantes nullo obice præpediri debeant, 1699. navigatio Navium Germanicarum, aut aliorum Subditorum Cæsareorum, nullo modo possit in cursu suo ultrò citroque incommodari, sed liberè atque commodissimè fiat ubique in prædictis duobus Fluvii: Et si quidem reciproce amicitia & mutua benevolentia convenientia id etiam requiratur, ut Subditi imperiali Ottomanica potestati subiecti possint usus prædictorum Fluviorum esse participes, sine impedimento Navibus piscatoriis etiam ac Cymbis utantur.

Molendinaria autem Naves in locis tantum, quibus Navigationi alterius, nempe Cæsarei Domini, nullatenus impedimento esse possint, communicatione Gubernatorum utriusque Domini, & consensu ponantur: quinimò ne diversione aquarum in Marusio cursui Cæsarearum Navium incommodum aliquod pariat, nullatenus permittitur, ut sine Molendinorum, sive alia occasione ex Marusio aquæ aliò direvantur seu diducantur.

Insulæ quæcumque in prædictis Fluvii, cum actû sint in potestate Cæsareæ, maneat ut possidentur: & subditi utriusque Domini omnino pacificè atque tranquillè vivant, Severissimèque Edictis ab insolentis, & contraventione Pactorum contineantur.

III.

Cum Regio inter Fluvios Tibiscum, & Danubium vulgò dicta Barska sit in sola possessione & potestate Cæsareæ Majestatis, sic maneat deinceps etiam in præfata potestate, & Dominio Cæsareo, neque Titulum magis quam in præfati est, fortificetur.

IV.

Ab extrema ripa citiore Tibisci, opposita Titeliana ripæ & angulo terræ ibidem per conjunctionem Tibisci, & Danubii terminato deducatur linea recta usque in ripam Danubii: Item è regione ceterioris ripæ Tibiscana sitam, & ulterius protrahatur pariter recta ad Moravizii ripam citiorem annis Bossut, & inde ad locum usque ubi prædictus annis Bossut principali alveo in Savum illabatur: & Moravizii sine ulla Fortificatione relicto, extruendisque tantum in opposita utrinque ripa, apertis pagis, fereantur per prædictam lineam firmatam atque distinctam sive fossis, sive lapidibus, sive palis, sive aliâ ratione Imperia sequenti modo: Regio Versus Belgradinum intra modò dictos limites permaneat sub sola potestate Potentissimi

1699. tissimi Ottomanorum Imperatoris: Regio vero extra prædictam lineam sita, maneat sub sola potestate & possessione Potentissimi Romanorum Imperatoris: & secundum prædictos limites pariter possideantur Fluvii qui sunt Territoriis permanentibus in possessione utriusque partis.

V.

Ab ostio annis Bossut in Savum effluentis usque item in Savum elabentis Unnæ Fluvii ostium Savi altera quidem pars pertinet ad Ditionem Cæsaream possideatur ab ejus Majestate, altera vero pars possideatur ab Imperatore Ottomanorum.

Interfluentis Fluvius Savus, & Insulæ in hoc communi tractu sitæ, sint communes, & usus tum ad Navigationem ultrò citroque, tum ad alias commoditates utriusque partis Subditis pariter communis sit, utriusque religiose observantibus, pacificum, & imperurbatum ultrò citroque commercium: Usque ad Unnam Fluvium Regio pertinet ad Dominium Imperialis Ottomanica Majestatis, quâ Bosniam spectat, ceterioribus ripis Unnæ Fluvii designatur atque terminetur evacuatis Novi, Dubizze, Jessenovizza, Doboy, & Brod ex parte Bosnien: & quicumque alio simili loco in hoc Tractu existente, & deductis inde Prædictis Cæsareis, ista pars omni modo libera relinquatur: Castanoviz autem, & insulæ infra Terram Novi versus Savum cum ulterioribus ripis ejusdem Unnæ, cum sint & maneat in potestate Romanorum Imperatoris, prædictis limitibus hinc distinguantur.

Loca demum ultra Unnam longè à Savo sita, & ab utraque parte Prædictis conservata atque possessa cum Terris ante præsens bellum ad eadem spectantibus, maneat iterum in potestate utriusque possidentis partis, ea Conditione, ut Commissarii utrinque mox deputandi Districtus atque Territoria singulatim deductis particularibus lineis separantes, per fossas, lapides, palos, aut aliâ quacunque ratione, ad evitandam confusionem posita Signa, segregent atque disjungant, in partibus Croatiae usque ad ultimum Confinium, & terminum locorum in utriusque Domini possessione permanfuorum.

Et ex utraque parte, si quis ausus fuerit alterare, mutare, evellere, tollere, aut quovis modo violare aliquid ex prædictis Signis, ille per omnimodam inquisitionem deprehensus ad exemplum aliorum severissimè puniatur.

Commissariis verò ad distinctionem, & positionem limitum in isto confinio quoad

fieri poterit, quam celerimè deputandis 1699. Regiis Edictis mandetur, ut ad Tranquillitatem, & Securitatem Subditorum utriusque Domini sedulo animum adhibentes sine controversia, & sine quacunque particulari complacencia Terras optime separent, atque manifestè distinguant.

Cum sit in altera Savi parte, qua Dominium Imperiale Ottomanicum recipit, munimentum Brod Fortificationes utpote recenter à Militibus Cæsareis factæ, tempore educendi Prædicti Cæsarei, everti debeant, locus autem ille sit commodissimus ad Mercaturam, poterit ibidem erigi cum honesto & commodo reinctu civitas, ita tamen ut in Arcis aut Munimenti formam non redigatur.

VI.

Definita tandem per hosce Tractatus, & subsecuta, ubi opus fuerit, locali Deputatorum Commissariorum separatione stabilita, sive deinceps idoneo tempore per operam Commissariorum utrinque stabilendi Confiniorum limites sanctè utrinque, & religiose observentur, ita ut sub nulla ratione aut pretextu liceat, transferri, aut mutuari possint: neque liceat alicui paciscentium parti in alterius partis Territorium ultra statutos semel terminos, aut lineas quidquam Juris aut potestatis prætereunde aut exercere, aut alterius partis Subditos sive ad dedicationem, sive ad pendendum tributum qualemque, sive prateritum, sive futurum, sive ad quamvis aliam humano ingenio excogitabilem exactiōis aut vexationis speciem adigere aut molestare, sed omnis altercatio julte amoveatur.

VII.

Licium & liberum esse utrique partium pro confinium suorum securitate quocunque meliori visum fuerit modo, arces, munimenta, & loca per præfatos Tractatus pacifice possessa, quæcumque de facto extant, reparare, munire, & fortificare, exceptis illis, de quibus utrinque nominatim cautum est: ad Incolarum verò commodas habitationes in extremis Confiniis apertos pagos ædificare ubique sine impedimento & sine exceptione utrique parti liceat, dummodo sub hoc prætextu Fortilitia non erigantur.

VIII.

Incuriones hostiles, & occupationes, omnesque insultus clam aut ex improvisi facti devastationes, & depopulationes Territorii utriusque Domini omnino, & severissimis Mandatis prohibita sint ac illicite:

1699. licitæ: transgressores verò articuli hujus ubicunque deprehensi statim incarcerationentur, & per Jurisdictionem loci, ubi captivati fuerint, pro merito puniantur absque ulla remissione, & rapta quæcunque sint diligentissime perquisita, & adinventâ, cum omni æquitate Dominis suis restituantur: Capitanei quoque ipsimet, Commandantes, & Præfecti utriusque partis ad justitiam nullâ admittâ injuriâ integerrimè administrandam sub amissione officii non solum, sed etiam vitæ, & honoris addicti sint, atque obligati.

IX.

Maneat porro etiam illicitum futuris quoque temporibus, receptaculum vel fomentum dare malis Hominibus, rebellibus Subditis, aut malè contentis, sed ejusmodi Homines, & omnes prædones, raptores, etiam si alterius partis Subditi sint, quos in ditione sua deprehenderint, merito supplicio afficere, utraque pars addicta sit: qui si deprehendi nequeant, Capitanei aut Præfecti eorum, si ubi eos latitare compertum fuerit, indicentur, iique illos puniendi Mandatum habeant: quod si nec hi officio suo in punitione talium sceleratorum satisfecerint, indignationem Imperatoris sui incurrant, aut officii exuantur, ut ipsimet pœnas pro reis hanc: Quoque magis nefariorum hujusmodi pecculantis cautum sit, neutri partium liceat intertenere, & alere Haydones, quos liberos runcupant, Plagiariorum Pribeck dictos, atque id genus facinorosorum Hominum, qui non sunt alterius Principis stipendio conducti sed rapto vivunt, tamque ii quam qui eos alucunt, pro demerito puniantur; talesque nefarii, etiam si consuetæ vitæ emendationem præ se ferant, nullam fidem mercantur nec prope confinia tolerantur, sed ad alia remotiora loca transferrantur.

X.

Cum tempore præsentis hujus belli plures ex Hungaris & Transylvanis à Subjectione suæ Cæsareæ Majestatis secedentes ad Confina Excelli Imperii sese receperint, atque hac in parte etiam conclusæ per inducias inter utrumque imperium almæ huic Paci debitis modis in futuram securitatem providendum sit, de prædictis ita pactum est, ut in ditionibus antè nominati Excelli Imperii ad habitum possint locari & accommodari: Ne tamen aliquo modo Confiniorum

tranquillitas, & Subditorum quies perturbari queat, loca ubi prædicti collocabuntur, remota sint ab omnibus limitaneis, & confinariis partibus, & uxoriibus illorum dabitur facultas sequendi maritos suos, iisque in Imperatorio assignato ad hoc districtum cohabitandi. Cumque impossitum in reliquos Subditos Potentissimi Ottomannorum Imperatoris numerandi veniant, non liceat illis à subjectione ejusdem amplius recedere, & si qui recesserint, atque ad Patriam iterum reverti voluerint, in numero & conditione malevolorum recenscantur, neque illis à Cæsareis fomentum aut receptaculum præbeatur, quinimo deprehensi Ottomannis Confiniorum Gubernatoribus extradantur, quo magis utrinque securitati Pacis prospiciatur.

XI.

Ad tollendas penitus quascunque in Confiniis super aliquo articulo Armistitii hujus aut quavis de re impossitum enascentes controversias, differentias, aut discordias, ubi prompto & maturo remedio opus sit ordinentur utrinque in Confiniis primo quoque tempore electi pari numero Commissarii viri neutriusque avari, sed graves, probi, prudentes, experti, atque pacifici: Hicque loco opportuno convenientes sine exercitu cum æquali pacificorum personarum comitiva, omnes & singulas hujusmodi controversias emergentes, audiant, cognoscant, decendant, & amicaliter componant, talem denique ordinem, & modum constituent, quo utraque pars suos Homines, & Subditos citra omnem Irgiverfationem vel prætextum gravissimis pœnis ad sinceram ac firmam pacis observantiam compellat. Quod si verò negotia tanti momenti occurrerent, quæ per Commissarios utriusque partis componi & expediti non possent, tunc ad ambos Potentissimos Imperatores remittantur, ut ipsi complandis iisdem, sedandis, & extinguendis modum & rationem invenire & adhibere valeant, ita, ut tales controversiæ quàm fieri poterit intra brevissimum temporis spatium componantur, nec earum resolutio ullâ ratione negligatur, aut protrahatur.

Cumque præterea in antecedentibus Sacris Capitulationibus duella, & mutuxæ ad certamen provocaciones fuerint vetitæ, impossitum etiam sint illicitæ; & si qui ad singulare certamen venire ausi fuerint, in illos ut transgressores gravissimè animadvertatur.

XII. Cap.

1699.

XIII.

Captivi tempore præsentis belli ex utraque parte in captivitatem abacti, & in publicis carceribus adhuc superstitēs, cum occasione istius almæ Pacis liberationem tandem aliquando meritò sperent, nec possint sine læsione Majestatis Imperatoris, & laudatæ consuetudinis in eadem Captivitatis miseria, & calamitate relinqui: usitatis ab antiquo, vel honestioribus adhuc rationibus, per commutationem in libertatem afferantur, & si plures, aut melioris conditionis in una quam in altera parte inveniantur, pro reliquorum etiam liberatione, quando Solennes legati instantias afferent, gratiosa, & huic almæ Paci conveniens utriusque Imperatoris pietas nequaquam denegetur: Cæteris verò, qui in privatorum potestate sunt, vel apud ipsos Tartaros, licitum sit liberationem suam honestè, & quam fieri poterit, mediocri lytro procurare; quòd si cum Captivi Domino honesta accommodatio fieri non poterit, Judices locorum licet omnem per compositionem dirimant: Sin autem prædictis viis id etiam confici haud possit, Captivi pretiis eorum sive per testimoniam, sive per juramenta probatis atque solutis liberentur. Nec possint Domini aviditate majoris lucri sese redemptioni eorundem opponere, & quandoquidem ex parte Excelli Imperii Ottomanni Homines non emitterentur, qui taliter liberandis Captivis operam adhibeant, spectabit ad probitatem Cæsareorum Præfectorum, ut ad dimittendum Ottomannis Captivos, quo empti sunt pretio sincere liquidato, Dominos illorum additrant, atque ita Sanctum hoc opus pari utrinque pietate promoveatur: quousque demum Captivi utrinque prædictæ ratione liberentur, legati Plenipotentiarii ex utraque parte officia sua adhibebunt, ut interea miseri Captivi benignè tractentur.

XIII.

Pro Religiosis, ac Religionis Christianæ exercitio juxta ritum Romanum Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, quæcunque præcedentes gloriosissimi Ottomannorum Imperatores in Regnis suis sive per antecessores Sacras Capitulationes, sive per signa Imperialia, sive per Edicta, & Mandata Specialia favorabiliter concesserunt, ea omnia Serenissimus, & Potentissimus Ottomannorum Imperator impossitum etiam observanda confirmabit,

ita ut Ecclesiæ suas præfati Religiosi 1699. reparare atque reficere possint, functiones suas ab antiquo conductas exerceant, & nemini permiffum sit, contra Sacras Capitulationes, & contra leges Divinas aliquo genere molestari, aut pecuniaria petitionis eisdem Religiosis cujuscunque ordinis, & conditionis afficere, sed consuetæ Imperatoris pietate gaudeant, & fruantur. Præterea Serenissimi, & Potentissimi Romanorum Imperatoris solenni ad fulgidam Portam legato licitum fit, commissis sibi circa Religionem, & loca Christianæ Visitationis in Sancta Civitate Jerusalem existentia exponere, atque instantias suas ad Imperiale solum afferre.

XIV.

Commercia juxta antecedentes etiam Sacras Capitulationes libera sint utriusque partis subditis, in omnibus Imperiorum Regnis, & Ditionibus; ut autem utrique parti utili ratione, & sine fraude, & dolo peragantur, inter Deputatos Commiffarios rem mercatoriam bene intelligentes tempore solennium utrinque Legationum contractabitur, & sicuti cum aliis Excelli Imperii amicis Nationibus observatum est, ita etiam subditi cujuscunque Nationis Cæsareæ Majestatis securitate, & utilitate Commercio in Regnis Excelli Imperii idoneis modis, & usitatis Privilegiis gaudebunt, & perfruentur.

XV.

Quæcunque conditiones in antiquis Sacris Capitulationibus expressæ sunt, nec prædictis Punctis hoc Tractatu stipulatis, aut liberrimo cujuscunque possidentium Dominio, & usui ejusdem adversentur, aut præjudicant, posthac etiam colantur sanctè, & observentur, cassatis & annullatis iis, quæ supradictis quocunque modo repugnant.

XVI.

Ut quoque tantò magis Armistitium hoc bonæque inter ambos Potentissimos Imperatores amicitia firmetur, ac consolidetur, mittentur Solennes utrinque legati ex quo usitatis ceremonialibus ab introitu in Confina usque ad reditum in locum secundæ permutationis expectandi, honorandi, tractandi atque profecturandi, qui in signum amicitie Spontaneum munus, conveniens tamen, & utriusque Imperatoris dignitati consentaneum attulerint.

1699. rent; Et primâ æstate in mense Junio iter, præviâ mutuâ correspondentiâ, uno eodemque tempore suscipientes in Sirmicensi confinio, more jam pridem inter utrumque imperium observato, permutabuntur. Solennibus porro legatis in Imperatoris Aulis, quidquid libuerit, petere liceat, ac permittatur.

XVII.

Regula, & norma Curialium in recipiendis receptisque pariter honorandis, & tractandis Ministris ultrò citroque commeantibus, & commorantibus juxta usitatum, prioribus etiam temporibus modalitatem deinceps ab utringue cum æquali decore, & secundum distinctam characteris missorum prærogativam observetur. Legatis Cæsareis, & Residentibus, & quibuscvis eorumdem Hominibus pro suo arbitrio quibuscunque placuerit Vestibus uti licitum sit, nève quisquam impedimento esse possit. Ministri porro Cæsarei, sive oratores, sive legati, sive Residentes, sive Agentis munere fungantur, quibus reliquorum Principum Fulgidæ Portæ amicorum legari, & Agentes immunitatibus, & Privilegiis perfruuntur eadem libertate, imò ad distinguendam Cæsareæ dignitatis prærogativam usitatis melioribus modis fruuntur, habeantque liberam potestatem conducendi interpretes: Cursatores etiam, & alii eorum Homines Viennâ ad Fulgidam Portam, atque iterum redeuntes, & ultrò citroque venientes Salvo passu tutò, & securè permeant, atque ut commodè iter suum perficiant, omni favore coadjuvantur.

XVIII.

Pax ista quamvis secundum propositas conditiones conclusa, tum demum integrum ex omni parte robur obligationis, & debite observantiæ vinculum accipiet & inducet, cum omnia, & singula, quæ de Confiniis suprâ recensito modo ultrò citroque promissa, & acceptata sunt, tam de distinctionibus limitum, quàm de evacuationibus, & demolitionibus plenarie in effectum, & executionem deducta fuerint, ita ut absoluta designatione limitum in unoquoque Confinio statim subsequatur demolitio, aut evacuatio, quod ut quam celerim succedat, designentur ad limites, & terminos Confiniorum ponendos, & distinguendos, ex utraque parte Commissarii, qui die Æquinoctii, scilicet 22. mensis Martii, aut 12 secundum veterem Stylum, Anni Millesimi Sexcentessimi Nongessimis nonis locis inter Con-

milarios consensu Gubernatorum utriusque Confinii determinandis, mediocri, & pacifico Comitatu conveniant, atque intra spatium duorum Mensium, si possibile sit, aut etiam citius, ubi fieri poterit, Confinia limitibus, & terminis manifestis per superiores articulos constitutis distinguant, separent, determinent, & Statuta inter legatos Plenipotentiarios utriusque imperii accuratissime, & citissime exequantur.

XIX.

Has vero conditiones, & articulos ad formam hic mutuò placitam à Majestati-bus utriusque Imperatoris ratihabitu iri, atque ut solennia ratificationis Diplomata intra spatium triginta dierum à die Subscriptionis vel citius in Confiniis per Illustrissimos & Excellentissimos legatos Plenipotentiarios Mediatores reciproce recteque commutentur, legati Plenipotentiarii utriusque imperii sese infallibiliter obligant, atque præstuturos compromittunt.

XX.

Duret Armistitium hocce, & extendatur, (favente Deo) ad viginti quinque Annos continuè sequentes à die, qua ejusdem subscriptio facta fuerit; quo Annorum numero elapsò, vel etiam medio tempore priusquam elaborat, liberum esto utrique partium, si ita placuerit, Pacem hanc ad plures adhuc Annos progrogare.

Itaque mutuo, & libero consensu quæcunque stabilita sunt Pacta inter Majestatem Serenissimi, & Potentissimi Ramanorum Imperatoris, & Majestatem Serenissimi & Potentissimi Ottomannorum Imperatoris & Hæredes eorumdem imperia quoque & Regna ipsorum: Terrâ item marique sitas, Regiones, civitates, urbes, subditos, & clientes observentur sanctè, religiose, ac inviolabiliter, & demandetur seriò omnibus utriusque partis Gubernatoribus, Præfectis, Ducibus Exercituum, atque Militiis, & quibuscvis in eorumdem clientela, obedientiâ & subjectioni existentibus, ut illi quoque præclaratis conditionibus, clausulis, pactis, & articulis sese adæquatè conformantes omnibus modis caveant; ne contra Pacem, & amicitiam hanc sub quocunque nomine, aut prætextu, se invicem offendant, aut damnificent, sed quolibet prorsus inimicitia genere abstinendo bonam colant viciniam, certò scientes, quod si eatenus admoniti morem non gesserint, se-

verissimis

1699. verissimis in se penis animadvertendum fore.

Ipsè quoque Crimenfis Chanus, & omnes Tartarorum Gentes quovis nomine vocitatz ad Pacis hujus, & bonæ vicinitatis, & reconciliacionis Jura ritè observanda adstricti sint, nec isdem contraveniendo, hostilitates qualescunque exerceant erga quasvis Cæsareas Provincias, earumque Subditos aut Clientes: Porro five ex aliis Exercituum generibus, five ex Nationibus Tartarorum, si quis contra Sacras Imperatorias hæc Capitulationes, & contra Pacta, & Articulos eorum quidpiam ausus fuerit, is penis rigorosissimis coercetur.

Incipiat verò modo dicta Pax, Quies, & Securitas subditorum utriusque Imperii à supradata die Subscriptionis, & cessent exinde, atque sustollantur omnes utrinque inimicitia, & Subditi utriusque partis securitate, & tranquillitate fruantur; Eoque fine, & quò magis per summam curam, ac sedulitatem hostilitates inhiberi possint, transmittantur quam celerimè

Mandata, & Edicta publicande Pacis ad 1699. omnes confinium Præfectos, cumque spatio aliquod temporis requiratur, intra quod officiales in remotioribus præsertim Confiniis istam conclusæ Pacis notitiam obtinere valeant, statuatur viginti dies pro termino, post quem si quis hostes quidpiam alterutra ex parte admittere præsumperit, penis superius declaratis irremissibiliter subiacet.

Ut demum Pacis Conditiones Viginti hæc articulis conclusæ utrinque acceptæ, & debito summoque cum respectu inviolatz observentur: Si quidem Domini Plenipotentiarii Ottomanni vi concessæ isdem facultatis Imperatoris instrumentum Turcico sermone exaratum, & subscriptum, legitimum, & validum nobis exhibuerint: Nos quoque vi Mandati, & Plenipotencia nostra, propriis manibus, & propriis Sigillis Subscriptas, & Signatas hæc Pactorum literas in Latino Idiomate tanquam legitimum, & validum vicissim Instrumentum extradidimus.

THE INSTRUMENT OF THE Treaty of Peace, BETWIXT THE GERMAN and OTTOMAN Empires,

Subscrib'd, January 26. 1699.

FOR the perpetual Memory of the Thing, Be it known to all whom it may Concern, That after a cruel and pernicious War had for 17 years been carried on with the Effusion of much Blood and Defolation of many Provinces, between the most Serene and most Potent Prince and Lord Leopold, Eldest of the Romans, and Emperor of Germany, always August, King of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Arch-Duke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Marquis of Moravia, Duke of Luxembourg, of the Upper and Lower Silesia, of Wirtemberg and Teck, Prince of Sweden, Count of Habsburgh, of Tyrol, Kyburgh and Gorizia, of the Sacred Roman Empire, of Burgavia, of the Upper and Lower Lusatia, Lord of the Marquissate of Slavania, of the Port of Naon, and the Salt Mines, on one part: And between the most Serene and most Potent Prince and Lord, Sultan Mustapha Han, Emperor of the OTTOMANS, and of Asia and Greece, and his Glorious Predecessors, on the other Part. These two most Potent Emperors, out of a just Sense of Compassion towards their afflicted Subjects, at length, resolving to put an End to these Mischiefs every Day encreasing with Destruction to Mankind, the Divine Goodness brought it to pass, that by the Endeavours and Mediation of the most Serene and most Potent Prince and Lord, William III. King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the High and Mighty

Lords, the States General of the United Belgic Provinces, that Solemn Treaties of Peace were set on foot at Carlowitz in Sirmion upon the Confines of both Empires, and there brought to a Conclusion; There Meeting at the said place, on the part of his Sacred Cæsarean and Imperial Majesty of the Romans, as his Plenipotentiaries, the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lords, Wolfgang, Count d'Ottingen, of the Sacred Roman Empire, Chamberlain of his Sacred Cæsarean Majesty, and Privy-Counsellor and President of the Imperial Aulic Council; and the Lord Leopold Schlik, Count in Passau and Weiskirchen, of the Sacred Roman Empire, Chamberlain of his said Cæsarean Majesty, Captain General of the Guards, and Colonel of the Regiment of Desveterii: Both these, at these Treaties of Peace, with the Ottoman Port, Deputed Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries; But on the part of his Imperial Ottomannick Majesty, the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lords, Mehemet Effendi, Supreme Chancellor of the Ottoman Empire, and the Lord Alexander Mauro Cordato, of the Noble Family of Scarlatti, Privy Counsellor and Secretary of the said Empire; By the Intervention and Care of the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lords, the Lord William Paget, Baron Beaufort, and the Lord Jacob Colyer, Ambassadors from the most Serene King of Great Britain, and the High and Mighty States General, to the Ottoman Port, and both

1699. both of 'em Ambassadors Extraordinary for the Establishment of this Peace, and both of 'em perform'd the Office of Mediator with Integrity, Industry and Prudence, after having Invok'd the Name of GOD, and Exchanged the Powers, receiv'd the Twenty following Articles of Peace, which were Agreed upon to the Glory of GOD, and the Safety of both Empires.

I.

THE Region of Transylvania, as it is at present in the Possession, and in the Power of his Cæsarean Majesty, so it shall remain under his Dominion, Bounded by the Confines of Podolia, and with the Mountains on the side of Walachia, which were its Antient Limits before the present War, between Transylvania on one part, and Moldavia and Walachia on the other; and on the side of Walachia, it is to extend to the River Merisch, to be Circumscrib'd by the Mountains, that were its Antient Boundaries, and so the Antient Limits are to be observ'd by both Empires, without extending or diminishing them on either side.

II.

The Province subject to the Fortres of Temeswar, with all its Districts and Rivers, shall remain in the Possession and under the Power of the Sublime Ottoman Empire; and it shall remain Bounded by Transylvania on one side, and by Walachia on the other, to the River Merisch, the Antient Boundaries of Transylvania, mention'd in the former Article: Then from the River Merisch to the nearer Banks of the Tibisch; and from the Tibisch to the Danube, to be Limited by the hither Banks of the Tibisch; and as for Caransebes, Lugos, Lippa, Clanaad, Kificanisa, Betsche, Betskerecke, and Sablia, which are comprehended within these prescrib'd Limits between the Merisch and the Tibisch, and were before the present War belonging to the Territories of Temeswar, both these and any other place of the like Nature, shall be slighted by the Imperialists, so that by Virtue of this present Treaty they may not be Rebuilt, and this foresaid Region of Temeswar is to be left Free and Entire; so that for the time to come, neither in these Places, nor on the Banks of Merisch or Tibisch, shall it be lawful to Build any Places that shall carry the Appearance of Fortifications.

The use of the Rivers Tibisch and Merisch between the Province of Temeswar,

and those subject to the Imperialists, shall be left Free and Common to those Subjects of both Empires, as well in relation to the Watering of their Cattle, as to the Filling, and any other Conveniences to both Subjects.

Ships of any Burden, coming from Parts subject to the Imperialists, whether it be from the Merisch into the Tibisch, and from the Tibisch into the Danube, are by no means to be hindered or stop'd, whether they are going up or down the Streams; so that the Navigation of German Ships, or other Subjects of the Empire, are neither going nor coming to be Incommoded, but their Passage, both going and coming, is to be Free in both the said Rivers; and because the common Convenience of mutual Friendship and Kindness requires, that the Ottoman Subjects should likewise partake of the Benefits of these Rivers, therefore they may freely make use of Fishermens Ships, or other Boats.

But Mills built on Bottoms of Ships can be only planted there, where they do not Obstruct the Navigation of the Imperialists, and that to be done by Communicating with, and Consent of the Governours on both sides; and the Intent of this is, That the Navigation of the Merisch be not rendred worse to the Imperialists, whether it be by lessening the Stream for the sake of Mills, or any other pretence whatsoever.

The Islands in both the said Rivers, that are in the possession of the Imperialists, are to remain so; and that the Subjects on both sides may live Quietly and Peaceably, is to be provided by severe Edicts, forbidding all sort of Insolencies and Contraventions to the present Articles.

III.

Considering the Region commonly call'd Barska, betwixt the Tibisch and the Danube, is in the sole Possession, and under the Power of his Imperial Majesty, it is agreed, it shall for the future continue so, and Titul is not to be more Fortify'd than it is at present.

IV.

A right Line to be drawn from the Extreme Bank of the Tibisch opposite to that of Titul, and to that Angle of Land made by the Conjunction of the Tibisch and Danube to the Bank on the other side the Danube, and thence to be stretch'd straight to Moravitz on the hither Bank of the River Boffut, and from thence to the place where the Grand Stream of the River Boffut falls into the Save, and Moravitz is to remain without

1699. without any Fortification, and only open Villages to be built on both sides the River, and the Empires shall remain separated by the foresaid Line, to be mark'd out either by Ditches, Stones, or Pales, or any other way, after the following manner, viz. That part of the Country within the foresaid Limits towards Bolgrade, shall remain Subject to the Ottoman Emperor; but the Country on the other side the said Line shall continue under the Dominion and in the Possession of the most Potent Roman Emperor, and according to the foresaid Boundaries, the adjacent Rivers are to remain in the Possession of each Party.

V.

Reckoning from the River Bosnut flowing into the Save, and likewise the Entrance of the River Unna into the same River, that part of the Save adjoining to the Imperial Country, is to remain to his Imperial Majesty, and the other part to the Turkish Emperor.

The River Save, flowing betwixt both Dominions, and the Islands situated in it, shall be common to the Subjects of both Empires, as well for the Use of Navigation up and down the River, as any other sort of Conveniences, who are to enjoy a peaceable and undisturb'd Commerce: That Country on the side the River Unna towards Bolinea, belonging to the Turkish Empire, shall be terminated by the Banks of that River Novi, Dubizza, Jelenovitz, Doboy, and Brod, on the side of Bolinea, are to be evacuated, and every other such like place in this Tract of Land, and the Imperial Garrisons to be all withdrawn, and the Country to be left free: But Caltanovitz, and the Islands on this side Novi, towards the Save, and the further Banks, shall be left distinct from these Limits, considering it is agreed, they should remain in the Possession of the Roman Emperor.

As to the Places beyond the Unna, of great distance from the Save, which are Garrison'd and Possess'd some of 'em by one Party to this Treaty, and some by the other, with the Lands that were Appendages, belonging to the said Places before the present War, it is agreed, they should remain to the Possessor, with this Condition, That Commissaries on both sides suddenly to be appointed shall separate each District or Territory by particular Lines to be distinguish'd by Ditches, Stones, Posts, or any other evident Marks to avoid Confusion; particularly the Confines of Croatia are thus to be distinguish'd, and the Bounds of all other Places now in the Possession and under the Power of each Party to this Treaty.

And on both sides, it is Agreed, That if

any one dare presume to alter, change, remove, pull up, destroy, or violate any thing that is thus set for distinguishing Land-Marks, be it found out, or convicted by any manner of Enquiry, shall for an Example to others, be most severely punish'd.

It shall likewise be an Instruction to the Commissaries to be as soon as possible Deputed on each side by the Sovereign Authority, that as the end of their Deputation is the fixing the Limits and Boundaries of each Empire, so their principal Intention shall be the Security and Quiet of the Subjects of both Empires, and this to be so manag'd, that without Personal Heats on either side, or without any particular Regards, they plainly distinguish the Limits of each Empire.

The Fortifications of Brod on the other side the Save, (lately made by the Imperialists) at the time the Place is Evacuated by the Garrison, it is Agreed, should be Slighted, yet considering that Place is very convenient for a Staple for Merchants, it shall be lawful to Enclose that Place with convenient Walls, but still not such as shall arise to the Nature of a Fortification.

VI.

The Limits thus fix'd by this Treaty, and afterwards, as Occasions require, to be more distinctly settled by the personal view of Commissaries on both sides, shall for times to come be with so much Exactness and Religion observ'd, that they shall not be extended, alter'd, transfer'd, or chang'd upon what pretence soever.

Nor shall any of these Parties, the Limits thus set forth and establish'd, pretend to Exercise any sort of Jurisdiction beyond the Lines and Bounds thus describ'd, whether it be upon pretence of Collecting of Tribute or Contributions for times past, or for the present, or for times to come, or upon pretence that these Subjects deliver'd themselves over to the other side, or upon any other Colour or Account whatsoever, be permitted, allow'd, or convinc'd at to make Collections out of each others Districts, or in the least to molest each other, that all Occasion of Quarrel and Dispute may be for ever remov'd.

VII.

It shall be lawful for each Party, for the Security of their Confines on the Lands thus peaceably set out and possess'd by this present Treaty, in the best manner they can, to repair and strengthen all Castles, Fortifications, and other Places now in being, except it be those against which there are particular Provisions made: But in the Extreme Confines of both Empires, it is Agreed, That open

Vil-

1699. Villages may be without any Lett or Hindrance, rais'd, yet so that there be not any Fortifications erected.

VIII.

All sudden or private Insults, all hostile Incursions or Devastations, or Executions from the Subjects of one Empire upon the other, are forbid upon the severest Penalties; The Contravenors or Transgressors of this Article, wheresoever they are found, shall immediately be Imprison'd, and by the Justice of the Place where they are taken, shall be punish'd without Pardon or Reprieve; Diligent Search shall be made after what they have thus Rob'd or Unjustly Acquir'd; and when it is found, it shall be wholly restor'd to its proper Owner. The Captains, Commanders, and Governors, in both the Empires, shall Administer equal Justice, under the Penalty not only of their Office, but of their Life and Honour.

IX.

It shall not be Lawful for either of the Emperors to Receive or Comfort in his Dominions, the Rebels or Malecontents of the Others; But such Fugitives as these, as likewise all Robbers, Thieves, altho' they are the Subjects of the Other Empire, yet shall they be punish'd in the Country they are found in: If they lie Conceal'd, then all Endeavours may be us'd to discover 'em to the Governors of those Places, and they upon such Discovery are oblig'd to punish 'em; If these Governors be Remiss in Punishing of these wicked Men, then shall they incur the utmost Displeasure of their Emperor, and shall be put out of their Employment, or lose their own Lives. And that a Scurvy Restraint may be made to the Extravagancies of these Wretches, it is provided, That neither of the Parties shall Entertain or Nourish the Haydones, whom they call Freebooters, and those Partymen nam'd from Pribecke, or any other sort of Men, who not being in the Pay of either Empire, live upon Robbery and Rapine, and both these and those that nourish and assist 'em, shall be punish'd according to their Demerits; And so intolerable are such Wretches, that tho' they promise Amendment of their Customary Life, yet is not Credit in this case to be Indulg'd to 'em, but they are to be remov'd from the Confines to some more remote Parts of the Empires.

X.

In the time of the War, several of the Hungarians and Transilvanians withdrew

themselves from the Subjection of his Caesarian Majesty into the Confines of the Sublime Port, and by the present Truce it is Agreed, these shall be Indemnify'd in the manner following, viz. They shall have convenient Habitations allotted them in the Ottoman Empire; But lest the Peace and Tranquillity of the Bordering Subjects should be endanger'd to be disturb'd, the Places appointed for their Abode shall be remote from the Boundaries of the Empires: The Wives likewise of these shall be permitted to follow 'em, and to Cohabit with 'em in the Places thus assign'd. But considering these Men are always hereafter to be taken as Subjects of the Ottoman Empire, it shall never hereafter be Lawful for 'em to Forsake or Renounce to that Subjection; And in case they pretend to Recede from it, and to return into their Native Countries, they shall be deem'd Rebels or Malecontents, nor shall they receive Entertainment or Succour from the Imperialists, but being taken they shall be deliver'd to the Ottoman Governors on the Borders, that by this means the present Peace may on both sides be better secur'd.

XI.

In Order to remove all Differences, Contraverses, or Discords, which might arise concerning the Interpretation of any of these Articles or any other matter during this Truce, it is Agreed, That where there shall be occasion for a ready and effectual Remedy, an equal number of Commissaries shall on both sides be immediately chose on the Confines: These shall be Sober, Prudent, Experienced, and Peaceable Men, who without Troops meeting with an arm'd Retinue of equal number on both sides, shall hear, consider, decide, and amicably Agree all such Contraverses as can arise, and shall propound and appoint such Order and Methods, by which either Party shall without delay or fraud, reduce or compel their Servants and Subjects to a sincere Observance of this Peace; But if Matters of such great Moment should arise, that such Commissaries are not able to Agree or Determine 'em, then shall Affairs be refer'd to the two most Potent Emperors themselves, that they themselves may find out and apply so proper Means or Expedients for the settling such Differences, that they may in as short a time as possible be finally determin'd, nor shall such Resolutions be neglected or long Protracted.

Whereas in the Sacred Articles of former Treaties between the two Empires, Duels, and all sort of Challenges in order to 'em, have been forbid; it is now likewise Agreed, that in like manner for the time to come they shall remain unlawful, and if any dare

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presume

1699. presume to enter into single Combates, they shall be proceeded against with the utmost rigour.

XII.

The Captives, that during this present War have on each side been carry'd away, and are at present remaining in the publick Prisons, considering from this happy Peace, they may reasonably expect Release, nor can they be retain'd in this Misery without Indignity to the Imperial Majesty, and Offence of laudable Custom, shall be restor'd by way of Exchange upon the usual or more easy Conditions; and in case there are more on one side than on the other, or some of greater Quality on one side than on the other; yet the Solemn Demands of the Ambassador on each side shall so far prevail upon the Clemency of each Emperor, that these Supernumeraries shall with the rest find a Release: But as for the Prisoners that are in private Hands, or amongst the Tartars, they shall be Redem'd upon Equitable and as moderate Terms as possible: But if such fair Agreement cannot be made with the Patrons of these Slaves, the particular Judges of the Places where they lie shall settle this Matter of what is to be paid for their Redemption; but if those ways should fail, then the Captives themselves making it appear by Testimonies or Oaths, what their Masters paid for 'em, upon the Repayment of that Money shall be Released; Nor shall it be permitted to their Masters to oppose themselves to this Release upon the pretence of a greater Price; and considering that on the part of the Ottoman Empire there may be no particular Society of Men employ'd to look after this Redemption of Captives; yet it is agreed, That the Cæsarean Magistrates stand in Honour oblig'd to see the Turkish Slaves Released upon the Payment of what they cost their Masters, so that this work may be carry'd on with equal Sincerity on both sides: And that such Captives may at length gain their Liberty, the Ambassadors of each Empire shall in the mean time use all good Offices, that they may in the mean time be treated with Mildness and Humanity.

XIII.

As concerning the Religious Orders, or Exercise of the Christian Religion, according to the Rites of the Roman Catholick Church, it is agreed, by the most Serene and most Potent Ottoman Emperor, That whatsoever Indulgences have been made by the precedent most Glorious Ottoman Emperors in their Dominions, whether it were by Antecedent Sacred Capitulations, by Imperial Signets, by Edicts

or Special Mandates, that all these shall stand good and confirm'd; so that the foresaid Religious may repair and rebuild their Churches, may Exercise their usual and accustomed Functions; so that it shall not be lawful from any one, contrary to these Sacred Capitulations and Divine Laws, to impose upon 'em any sort of trouble or pecuniary Exaction, let these Religious be of what Order or Condition soever, they shall enjoy the usual Protection and Goodness of the Imperial Ottoman Empire.

Besides, it shall be allow'd the Ambassador of the most Serene and most Potent Roman Emperor to the Fulgid Port, to enter into Treaty there according to his Instructions about the Religion and Places of Christian Pilgrimage or Visitation in the Holy City of Jerusalem, and be shall there lay before the Imperial Throne his Demands about these Matters.

XIV.

The Commerce according to the former Sacred Capitulations, shall be free to the Subjects on both sides, through all the Kingdoms and Dominions of both Empires, but this intercourse of mutual Trade may be perform'd without Fraud, and with just Profit, at the times of the Solemn Embassies on both sides, there shall be appointed Commissioners well vers'd in Mercantile Affairs, who shall Debate this Matter; and the same Privileges the High Empire allows to other Nations in Friendship with it, shall with the same Security and Advantages to the Subjects of his Cæsarean Majesty of what Nation soever they may be.

XV.

Whatsoever Conditions are express'd in the Ancient Sacred Capitulations, shall stand good and be religiously Observ'd, provided they do not contradict the Articles of this present Treaty, or are no ways prejudicial or obstrusive to that free Exercise of Power, which each Empire is intended to have in its own Dominions; and in case any former Articles come under this Discription, then they are declar'd by these Presents null and void.

XVI.

And that this present Truce may the better grow and be confirm'd into a mutual Friendship and Confidence betwixt the two most potent Emperors, Extraordinary Ambassadors shall be sent on both sides, who are to be Receiv'd, Treated, and Attended from their Entrance into the Confinnes, and during their stay, and to the time of their Return till

1699. till they are again Exchang'd with the usual Ceremonies, and for a more manifest Declaration of the Friendship between the two Emperors, these Ambassadors shall bring and make voluntary Presents, yet such as shall correspond to, and be agreeable to the High Dignity of each Emperor. And the said Ambassadors, by Concert in June in the ensuing Summer, at the same time beginning their Journey, shall be Exchang'd in the Confinnes of Sittium, after the manner that has been us'd upon such Occasions.

And it shall be permitted to each of the Ambassadors at the Imperial Courts, to make what Requests they shall think convenient.

XVII.

The Rule for Receiving, Entertaining, or Treating the Ministers by the Courtiers of each Empire, shall be taken from the practice of former times, to be executed with all imaginable Candor and Decency, according to that distinct Prerogative which the Characters of those that are sent shall Demand. The Cæsarean Ambassadors, Envoys, or Residents, and their Attendants, shall without the hindrance of any one, enjoy a full liberty of using what sort of Garments they please. Besides, the Cæsarean Minister, whether he be Vested with the Character of Ambassador, Envoy, Resident, or Agent, shall at the Fulgid Port enjoy the same Privileges and Immunities, which the Ambassadors or Agents of any other Princes there enjoy, and to make a Distinction of the Prerogative of the Cæsarean Dignity, with the usual Marks of Preference: They shall have liberty of Hiring their own Interpreters, and their Messengers that come to the Fulgid Port, or return from it to Vienna, shall have free Passage going and coming, with all convenient Favour and Assistance in their Journey.

XVIII.

This peace tho' it now stands concluded upon the present Conditions, yet it shall then only be esteem'd to have and to receive its full force of Obligation and Effect, when all and singular Conditions, stipulated and accepted on both sides, as well concerning the Distinctions of the Borders, as the Evacuations and Demolishments shall be fully executed in this manner, after the Limits are settled, then shall the Evacuations and Demolishments of Places follow, and that all this may as soon as possible be put in practice, Commissioners to settle these Distinctions, shall on both sides be appointed, who at the Equinoctial, S. N. 22. S. P. 12 of March, A. D. 1699. shall with a moderate and peaceable Attendance, meet at Places to be

determin'd by the Governors of the Confinnes, and these Commissioners shall within two months or less, if possible, by manifest marks describ'd in the former Articles (separate and set apart these Confinnes, and shall with all exactness and expedition, execute all other things that shall be Agreed by the Plenipotentiaries of both Empires.

XIX.

The Plenipotentiaries of both Empires do mutually Oblige themselves, and Promise, that these Conditions and Articles thus reduc'd into Form, shall be mutually Ratify'd by the Majesty of each of the Emperors, and that within 30 days or sooner from the time of Subscription, the Ratifications shall in Solemn manner mutually Exchang'd in the Confinnes by the most Illustrations and most Excellent Lords the Plenipotentiary Mediators.

XX.

This Truce shall continue, and God willing, extend to full 25 years, to be reckon'd from the day of the Subscription, after the Expiration of which Term, or in the middle of it, it shall be in the Power of either of the Parties, that so shall think fit, to prolong it to a greater number of Years.

Therefore what things soever are here establish'd by the mutual and free Consent of the Majesty of the most Serene and most Potent Emperor of the Romans on the one part, and the Majesty of the most Serene and most Potent Ottoman Emperor on the other, and their Heirs, shall be Religiously and Inviolably observ'd thro' all their Empires and Kingdoms, by Land and Sea, through all their Cities and Towns, and by all their Subjects and Dependents; and it is likewise agreed, that it shall on both sides be strictly enjoy'd to all Governours, Commanders, Captains, Generals, to all the Soldery, to all under their Protection, to all in Subjection and Obedience under them, that they take diligent Care to Conform themselves to all the above-mention'd Conditions, Lawes, Compacts and Articles, that under what pretence or colour soever, contrary to the Peace and Friendship thus establish'd, the Subjects on either side do not offend or injure one another; but abstaining from all sort of Enmity, they are commanded to become good Neighbours to each other, under the severest Penalties, if after they are thus admonish'd, they do not yield a ready Obedience.

The Tartar Cham likewise, and all the Nations of the Tartars, by whatsoever Names they are call'd, stand engag'd to the Observance of this Peace, Good Neighbourhood, and Reconciliation; nor shall it be permitted 'em in prejudice of these Agreements to commit any Hostilities in the Provinces; or upon

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1699. any of the Subjects, or upon any under the Protection of his Cæsarean Majesty. Moreover, if any one shall presume to Act contrary to these Sacred Imperial Capitulations, Agreements or Articles, whether he belongs to the Tartar Nations, or to any other Forces by whatsoever Name call'd, he shall be most rigorously punish'd.

This Peace, Cessation, and Security of the Subjects on both sides, shall commence from the Date of this Subscription, and thence all Enmities on both sides shall cease and be extinguish'd, and the Subjects on both sides shall enjoy full Security and Tranquillity, and for that end, and in order all Hostilities may be carefully prevented, Mandates and Edicts for publishing the Peace shall as soon as possible be sent to all Governours of the Confinnes; but considering some time will be requisite, that the Officers in the remoter Confinnes may have notice of this Peace, 20 days are for this purpose appointed, after which, if any one on either side presume to commit any sort of Hostility, he shall without Mercy, suffer the Punishments before declar'd.

In the last place, that these Conditions of Peace, contain'd in 20 Articles, and accepted of on both sides, may with great and due respect be inviolably observ'd; The Lords the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries, by Virtue of an Imperial Faculty granted to 'em for that pur-

pose, have deliver'd to us an Authentick and 1699.

Instrument, writ and subscrib'd in the Turkish Language, are likewise by Virtue of a Special Order, and by our Plenipotentiary Power have on our part deliver'd these Writings of the Articles Sign'd and Subscrib'd by our proper Hands and Seals in the Latin Tongue, as a True and Authentick Instrument.

This Treaty between the Emperor, being thus finish'd and agreed, the next thing was to appoint Commissaries to regulate the Limits between Croatia, and Bosnia, as was concluded by the Treaty of Peace at Carlowitz, to appear upon the said Limits on the 14th of March following, in order to which Affair his Imperial Majesty appointed Count Marsili for his Commissary, giving him Orders to depart from Vienna in a Weeks time. But the Ratifications relating to the Articles of Peace concluded on both sides were sooner dispatch'd, for the Grand Seignior's Ratification of the Treaty arriv'd at Belgrade, the 9th of March N. S. 1699. of which Advice was given the same day to the Secretary of the Imperial Embassy, who waited at Peter-Waradin with that of the Emperors, that the Exchange might be made on the same Day, the which was accordingly done.

COPIA

1699.

C O P I A I N S T R U M E N T I T U R C I C I C U M M O S C O V I T A.

Hic est Deus, maxime aperiens omnia, Potentissimus, Firmissimus.

In Nomine Dei misericordis, semper miserentis.

Causa exarationis hujus veritate præcellentis Scripti, & necessitas descriptionis hujus realitate insigniti Instrumenti hæc est: In- corruptibilis Domini Creatoris, & immortalis Opificis liberrimi arbitrii, Domini Dei, cujus Gloria extollatur extra omnem similitudinem, & paritatem, æternarum confirmationum ubertatis concessione, & gratiæ honoratissimæ Meccæ, & lucidissimæ Medinæ Servi, & Sanctæ Hierusalem, & aliorum Locorum benedictorum Defensoris, & Rectoris, binarum Terrarum Sultan, & Regis binorum Marium, Dominatoris potentis Ægypti, & Abyssinarum Provinciarum, ac Felicis Arabiæ, & Adenensis Terræ, & Cæsaræ Africanæ, & Tripolis, & Tuneti, & Insulæ Cypri, & Rhodi, & Cretæ, & aliarum Albi Maris Insularum, atque Imperatoris Babylonis, & Babilæ, & Laxæ, & Revani, & Cæsariæ, & Erzurum, & Schersul, & Mussul, & Diarbekiri, & Ricæ, & Damasci, & Aleppi, & Sultani Persiæ & Arabiæ Irachienfis Regionis, & Regis Ghiurdistanæ, & Turchistanæ, & Giuristanæ, & Daghistaniæ, & Trapezuntis, & Imperatoris Provinciarum Rum, & Zul-chadriæ, & Maras, Imperatoris Regionum Tartariæ, Circassiæ, & Abasorum, atque Crimeæ, ac Desti-Capzac, Imperatoris Orientis, & Occidentis, & Anadolæ, & Rumeliæ, Possessoris Sedis Regiæ Constantinopolis, & protectæ Prussiæ, ac defensæ Adrianopolis, & præterea Imperatoris latissimarum tot

Provinciarum, totque Climatū & Urbium ac celeberrimi Dominatoris, Sultani Sultanicorum, Regis Regum, Serenissimi, Potentissimi, Augustissimi Domini nostri Imperatoris, Refugii Musulmannici, Sultani Filii Sultanicorum, Sultani Mustafa Regis, Filii Sultani Mehmet Regis, cujus Imperium Deus perenne faciat, ac Principatum stabilitat usque in diem judicii, Majestatis, Excellens Imperium inter, & Gloriosissimum inter eximios Principes Christianos, & Præcellens inter magnos Dominatores Christianos, Directorem magnorum negotiorum Christianarum Rerum publicarum, Chlamyde Amplitudinis & Majestatis exornatissimum, Argumentis magnitudinis & gloriæ condecoratissimum Czarum Moscovitarum Regionum, & omnium Ruthenicarum Provinciarum Dominatorem, & Possessorem subiectarum illis Terrarum, & Urbium, sublimem Czarum Moscoviarum Petrum Alexoviciū (cujus fines Deus salute & rectitudine coronet) cum intercedens aliquibus annis dissidium fuerit in causa calamitatis Subditorum, & Subiectorum utriusque partis, cā intentione, ut iterum in amicitiam, & benevolentiam commutetur, ad bonam constitutionem rerum Civitatenis, & ad reducendum in meliorem conditionem Statum Servorum Dei, in Sirio in Confinis Carlovicii factō Congressu, cum Illustrissimo, & Excellentissimo inter Christianos Magnates, Domino Procopio Begdanouiz Volnizin, altē memoratū Czari Ple-

1699. Plenipotentiario Commissario, & Extraordinario Legato, & intimo Confiliario, & Locumtenente Bolchiae, ab eodem Czaro ad Tractatus, & Conclusionem Pacis negotii perfecta auctoritate destinato, & deputato: atque explentibus Mediationis manus bonis officiis, ac diligenti opera, deputatis à Gloriosissimis inter eximios Christianos Principes, & Refugiis Magnorum Dominorum ejusdem Gentis, Angliae, Scotiae, & Hiberniae Rege, Wilhelmo Tertio, & Generalibus Statibus Nederlandensibus (quorum fines Deus salute & rectitudine coronet) ad exequendam Mediationis suae functionem ad Tractatus Pacis, Illustrissimis & Excellentissimis inter Magnates Christianos, Wilhelmo Lord Pagett, Barone de Beaufort, &c. & Domino Jacobo Colyer, etiam ab utraque parte adhibita sit ad Pacem, & Conciliationem propensio, & inclinatio, cum tamen non esset facile, brevi tempore, ut ablatis difficultatibus omnes res, convenientes Amicitiae, & Vicinitati, perfectae, & debite ad bonum ordinem redigerentur, ne interromperetur continuatio illorum aliorum Tractatum, sed ut pertractentur, & ad finem perducantur, hac utrinque intentione per mutuum consensum à Die vigesimo quinto Decembris, Anni millesimi, centesimi, decimi, nempe Natalitio Domini Jesu Christi, usque ad integros duos annos terminus constitutus est, intra quem scilicet alius iste Tractatus ad bonum ordinem reducat, & inter Excellsum Imperium, & Moscoviticum Czareatum, favente Deo Altissimo, Pax, sive per inducias, sive perpetua coalescat, & vetus amicitia renovetur. Itaque intra statutum unanimi consensu terminum cesset omne praelium, & bellum, & pugna, atque conflictus, & utrinque amoveantur, & tollantur

hostilitates, Moscorum Czaro subiectis à Moscovitis & Cofacis, & aliis in subiecta Excelso Imperio Musulmannica Confinia, sive alia, sive Crimenfia & Loca, & Subditos, nulla fiat excursio, & hostilitas nullumque damnum inferatur, neque clam, neque palam. Pariterque à parte Excelsi Imperii nullius conditionis Exercitus, praefertim Crimenfis Chanus, & omnia genera Tartarorum & Horde, nullam penitus excursionem faciant, nullumque damnum inferant, neque clam, neque palam, in Civitates, & Oppida, & Subditos & Subiectos Nostro Czaro. Atque si qui sive clam, sive palam, motum aliquem, sive dispositionem, & hostilitatem, & incurSIONem fecerint contra hoc Pactum, & hanc conditionem, quae inter nos contracta est, & sese contumaces, & minus obediens reddiderint, ex quacunque parte sint, deprehendantur, incarceration, & sine remissione punitur. Proinde praefata ratione colendi, & observandi hujus Amicitiae tempore, conflictatio & hostilitas penitus amoveantur atque tollantur, & ab utraque parte perfecta propensio, & plena inclinatio adhibeatur ad conclusionem Pacis, & Crimenfis Chanus propter suam obedientiam, & subjectionem ad Excellsum Imperium, adjungatur huic Paci. Utque ab utraque parte acceptatum, & observatum sit, & alte memorati Czari Plenipotentiarius Legatus & Commissarius vigore suae Facultatis, & Auctoritatis Moscovitico Sermones descriptum, legitimum, & validum Instrumentum tradiderit. Nos quoque Facultatis & Vicariae nostrae Deputati-onis vigore, nostris Manibus subscriptum, & nostris Sigillis firmatum hoc Scriptum, tamquam validum & legitimum Instrumentum tradidimus.

Deus favens est aequitatis.

COPIA

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COPIA INSTRUMENTI MOSCOVITÆ CUM TURCIS.

IN Nomine Domini Dei Omnipotentis in Trinitate Sancta unius; Ejusdem Gratiæ Serenissimum, & Potentissimum Magnum Dominum Czarum, & Magnum Ducem Petrum Alexovicum, totius magnæ, & parvæ, & albæ Russiæ Autocratorem, Moscoviæ, Kioviæ, Woldemiriae, Novogardiæ, Czarum Caranæ, Czarum Astrachani, Czarum Siberiæ, Dominum Plefcoviæ, & magnum Ducem Smolensci, Trevia, Ingoriæ, Permæ, Viatkæ, Bolgaræ, & aliorum Dominum, & magnum Ducem Novogardiæ, inferioris Terræ, Cernihoviæ, Refaniæ, Rostoviæ, Jaroslaviæ, Belovroviæ, Valoriæ, Obdoriæ, Condinæ, & totius Plagæ Septentrionalis Imperatorem, & Dominum Iverienfis Terræ, Cartalinensium & Gruzinenfium Czarum, & Kabardienfis Terræ, Csercasorum, & Montanorum Ducem, ac aliorum totorum Dominiorum, & Terrarum Orientalium, Occidentalium, Septentrionaliumque Paternum Avitumque Hæredem, Successorem, & Dominum, ac Dominatorem, suam inter Majestatem, atque inter Serenissimum, & Potentissimum Magnum Dominum Sultanum Mustafam, Chanum, Filium Sultani Mehmet Chani, Dominum Constantinopoleos, Albi Maris, Nigri Maris, Anatoliæ, Vrumiæ, Romanæ, honoratissimæ Meccæ, & Medinæ Sanctæ, Hierusalæ, Ægypti, & Abyssinarum, Babylonis, & Ricæ, & Damasci Dominatorem, Tartaricarum & Crimenfium Hordarum, nec non aliorum multorum Dominiorum, Regnorum, & Urbium, Insularum, & Provinciarum Imperatorem, ab aliquot annis intercedens dissidium causa fuit calamitatis Subditorum, & Subiectorum utriusque parti, ex intentione, ut rursus in Amicitiam, & Benevolentiam, ad bonam rerum

Civilium constitutionem, reducendumque in meliorem conditionem statum transiret, in Sirmio ad Confinia Carlovizii facto Congressu cum Illustrissimis & Excellentissimis, Selectissimo Domino Magno Cancellario Reis Mehmet Effendi, & cum Selectissimo Domino ab Intimis Secretis Alexandro ex Propapia Scarlati Maaro Cordato, alte memorate suæ Sultanicæ Majestatis Plenipotentiariis Commissariis, & Extraordinariis Legatis ad Tractatum, & Constitutionem Negotii Pacis perfectæ Auctoritate destinatis ac deputatis, Mediationem inter Serenissimi & Potentissimi suæ Regiæ Majestatis Magnæ Britannicæ, & Præpotentum Generalium Statuum Nederlandensium Hollandiorum, Illustrissimorum, & Excellentissimorum Plenipotentiariorum Eorundem Extraordinariorum Legatorum, Domini Wilhelmi Lord Pagett, Baronis de Beaufort, &c. & Domini Jacobi Colyer, &c. ab utraque autem parte ad Pacem, & Inducias propensio, & inclinatio adhibita fuit; attamen non facile fuit, intra breve tempus, sublatis difficultatibus res universas, convenientes amicitiae, & vicinitati, perfectæ, & debite in bonum ordinem redigere; sed ne interromperetur continuatio horum aliorum Tractatum, quinimo deinceps perficeretur, & ad finem deducatur, hac intentione utrinque per mutuum consensum, id est, à Die 25 Decembris anno 1698. à Nativitate Domini Dei Jesu Christi, in futuros duos integros annos, inter alte fatos ambos Magnos Dominos fiant Induciae, in quibus alius hinc Tractatus in bonum ordinem reducat, atque inter suam Czarcam Majestatem Moscoviticam, & Sultanicam Majestatem Turcicam, Deo Altissimo

1699. Altissimo secundante, Pax perpetua, aut in sufficientes annos Inducit concludantur, & vetus Amicitia restauretur. Proinde in hoc constituto determinato unanimi consensu definit omne praelium, bellum, pugna, & conflictus, & utrobique amoveantur, & tollantur hostilitates, & à Subditis suae Czaræ Majestatis, Moscovitis, & Colacis, ac aliis, Confinis Musulmanicis, & Crimenibus, atque reliquis suae Sultanae Majestati subjectis Terris, & Subditis, nulla incurio & hostilitas fiat, neque clam, neque palam ullum damnum inferatur. Pariter ex parte suae Majestatis Sultanae adversus partem suae Czaræ Majestatis verò Crimenis Chanus, & omne genus Tartarorum, & Hordarum penitus ullas incuriones faciant, nec ullum damnum palam aut clam in Civitatibus, & Oppidis, & subditis Territoriis suae Czaræ Majestatis perpetrent. Et si qui clam vel aperte motum aliquem, & dispositionem, hostilitatem, ac incurionem contra hanc constitutionem, & conditionem, quæ nos inter conclusa est, fecerint, & ex quacum-

que demum parte tales contumaces repariantur, apprehendantur, incarceration, & sine remissione indefensè puniantur. Hæc itaque præfata ratione, tempore colendi, & observandi hujus Armistitii, conficiat, & hostilitas absolute amoveatur, & tollatur, ac ab utraque parte ad concludendam Pacem perfecta propensio, & plena inclinatio adhibeatur, & Crimenis Chanus ex munere suæ erga Imperialem suam Majestatem Turcicam obedientiæ, & subjectionis, huic Paci adjungatur; Quæ omnia ut ab utraque parte acceptentur, & observentur, quoniam altè memoratæ suæ Sultanae Majestatis Plenipotentiarum Legati, & Commissarii, vigore suæ facultatis, & Autoritatis Turcico Sermone scriptum legitimum, & firmum Instrumentum, ex eoque Latino Serione propriis manibus, & Sigillis firmatam Copiam dederunt, pariter & ego facultatis, & Plenipotentia mihi datæ vigore, manu propria subscriptum, & Sigillo firmatum hoc Scriptum Ruthenico & Latino Sermone copiatum, tanquam firmum, & legitimum Instrumentum tradidi. Scriptum in Carolowiz, Ann. 1698. Mens Decem. Die 25.

THE

1699.

1699.

A
C O P Y
OF THE
Turkish Treaty
WITH THE
MUSCOVITE,

It is God the most Powerful, the most Just, who brings all Things to pass.

In the Name of God the Merciful, always Compassionate.

THE Reason of the making this Writing Resplendent in Truth, and the necessity of the Description of this Instrument stamp'd with Reality, is this; The War betwixt the Sublime Empire of Mustapha, by the Concessions of the Plenitude of the Eternal Confirmations of the Incomprehensible Lord Creator, and the Immortal Maker of most Freewill, the Lord God, whose Glory be extoll'd beyond Similitude or Equality, and by the Grace of the most Honour'd Mecca, and the Servant of the most Illustrious Medina, Defender and Restor of the Holy Jerusalem, and other Blessed Places, Sultan of the two Earths, and King of the two Seas, Lord of Potent Egypt, and the Abyssine Provinces, and Arabia the Happy, and the Land of Aden and Caffarean Africa, and Tripoly and Tunis, and the Island of Cyprus and Rhodes, and Crete, and other Islands of the White Sea, and Emperor of Babylon, and Bosnia, and Laxa, and Revanum, and Cassia, and Erzirum, and Sehresul, and Musul, and Diarbekir, and Rica, and Damascus, and Aleppo, and Sultan of the Persic and Arabic Irachian Region, and King of Ghirudistania and Turchistania, and Daghistania, and Trapezuncum, and Emperor of the Provinces of Rumi, and Zulchadria, and Ma-

ras, Emperor of the Regions of Tartary, of Circassia, and the Abassians, and the Crimea and Delli-Capzac, Emperor of the East and West, and Anatolia and Rumelia, Possessor of the Royal-Seat of Constantinople, and Protected Prussia, and Defended Adrianople, and besides of so many the most large Provinces, and of so many Climates and Cities, and most Celebrated Governour, Sultan of Sultans, King of Kings, most Serene, most Potent, most August Lord our Emperors, the Refuge of Musulmen, Sultan Son of Sultans, Son of Sultan King Mehmet, (whose Empire God perpetuate, and establish his Government to the Day of Judgment;) And the most glorious amongst the principal Christians, Director of the great Affairs of the Christian Commonwealths, Adorn'd with the Robes of Greatness and Majesty, Conspicuous with the Power of Greatness and Glory, the Czar of the Muscovite Regions, and Lord of all the Ruthenic Provinces and Possessor of the Lands and Cities Subject to them, the Sublime Czar of Muscovy, Peter Alexovitch, (whose End let God crown with Salvation and Righteousness,) considering this War for some Years has been the Occasion of Calamity to the Subjects on both sides, with an Intent, that it might be chang'd into Friendship and Kindness, that Affairs might be put into better

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1699. ter Order, and the State of the Servants of God might be reduc'd into a better Condition, in the Congress of Sirmium in the Confinnes of Carlovitz, upon Treaty with the most Illustrious and most Excellent amongst the Christian Grandees, Lord Procopius Begdanoviz Volnizari, Plenipotentiary Commissionated by the Czar, and Ambassador Extraordinary, and Privy-Counsellor, and Lieutenant of Bolchia, Design'd and Deputed by the said Czar with full Powers to Treat and Conclude a Peace, and the most Illustrious and most Excellent amongst the Christian Grandees, William Lord Pagett, Baron of Beaudesert, &c. and Lord Jacob Colyer, performing the part of Mediators, with great good Offices and Diligence, Deputed so to do by the most Glorious amongst the most Illustrious Christian Princes, and the Rest of the Rulers of the Nations, William III. of England, Scotland, and Ireland, King, and the States General, (whose Ends God crown with Salvation and Righteousness,) altho' both Parties shew'd a Propensity and Inclination to Peace and Reconciliation; but considering in so short a time it was not easie to remove all Difficulties, and to settle all things Agreeable to Friendship and good Neighbourhood; Therefore, lest the Continuance of these good Treaties should be interrupted, but that they should proceed and be brought to an End, with this Intent on both sides, by mutual Consent, the Term of Two Years is Agreed on to begin from the 25th of December, Christmas-day, A.Heg. 1110. within which time this good Treaty may be reduced into Order, and by the Grace of the most High God, a Peace or Truce may be concluded betwixt the Sublime Empire, and the Muscovite Czarate, by which perpetual and ancient Friendship may be Renew'd. Therefore within the Term thus prefix'd, by unanimous Consent, all War, Battles, and Skirmishes shall cease, and all Hostilities shall

be remov'd and forbid to the Subjects of the 1699. Czar of Muscovy, both Muscovites and Cossacks, and all others, there shall be no Excursion, Hostility, Damage, whether privately or publicly done or committed, upon the Musulman Confinnes, Subject to the Sublime Empire, whether in the Crimea, or any other Places, or upon the Subjects of this Empire: In like manner on the part of the High Empire, no Army of what Condition soever, especially belonging to the Crimean Cham, and all sorts of Tartars, or Hords, shall make any sort of Excursion, nor commit Damage privately or publicly, upon the Cities and Towns, and Subjects or Dependants upon the Czar: And if contrary to this Compact and Agreement, which is made betwixt us, any, either privately or publicly, shall raise any Commotion, or make Preparation for it, or shall commit Hostility, or make Incursion, or shall be Obdurate, or not Obedient, yet ~~em be of what side they will~~ they shall be apprehended, Imprison'd, and Punish'd without Mercy; Therefore after this method shall this Truce be cultivated and observ'd during the time of it, all Conflicts and Hostilities shall be remov'd and extinguish'd, and both Parties with full Inclination shall apply themselves to the Conclusion of a Peace, and the Crimean Cham shall be included in this Place, by reason of the Obedience and Subjection he owes to the Sublime Empire: That it may be receiv'd and observ'd on both sides, the Plenipotentiary Ambassador and Commissary of the highly forementioned Czar, by Virtue of his Powers and Authority, has deliver'd an Authentick Instrument in due Form, written in the Muscovite Language: We likewise by Virtue of our Powers and Deputation, have deliver'd this Authentick Instrument in due Form, Subscrib'd with our Hands and Seal'd with our Seals.

God is favourable to Justice.

A

1699. A
C O P Y
OF THE
Muscovite Treaty
WITH THE
T U R K S.

IN the Name of the Omnipotent Lord God, One in Holy Trinity: By whose Grace the most Serene and Potent Lord Czar, and Great Duke, Peter Alexovitch, Emperor of the Whole Great and Little Russia, of Muscovy, Kiovia, Wolodimiria, Novogardia, Czar of Carania, Czar of Astrachan, Czar of Siberia, Lord of Plescovia, Great Duke of Smolenscum, Lord of Treria, Ingoria, Permia, Viatka, Bolgaria, and of other Dominions; Great Duke of Novogardia, of the Lower Country, of Csernivovia, Refania, Rostovia, Jaroslavia, Belovroria, Valoria, Obdoria, Condinia, and Emperor of all the Northern Country, and Lord of the Land of Iveria, Czar of the Cartalinensians and Grunizensians, and Duke of Karbardia, of the Csercaffians and Mountaneers, and many other Dominions and Lands to the East, West and North, from Father and Ancestors, Heir, Successor, Lord and Commander, between his Majesty and the most Mighty Great Lord Sultan Muftapha Han, Son of Sultan Mehmet Han, Lord of Constantinople, of the White Sea, the Black Sea, of Anatolia, Rumia, Romania, of the most Honour'd Mecca and Medina, and Holy Jerusalem, of Egypt, of the Abyssines, of Babylon and Rica, and Commander of Damascus, Emperor of the Tartarian and Crimean Hords, as also of many other Dominions, Kingdoms and Cities, Islands and Provinces.

Whereas the War for many years has been the Cause of the Misery of the Subjects, and Dependants on both Parties, that Friendship

and Kindness might be restor'd, and by that means the Civil Affairs might become better settled, and all things chang'd into a more flourishing Condition; with this intent a Congress was had in Sirmium on the Confinnes of Carlovitz, with the most Illustrious and most Excellent the most Select Lord Great Chancellor Reis Mehmet Effendi, and the most Select Lord of the Privy Council, Mauro Cordato, of the Family of Scarlati, Plenipotentiary Commissioners, and Ambassadors Extraordinary of the highly mention'd Sultan Majesty, Deputed with full Powers to Treat of and Settle the Business of a Peace, through the Mediation of his most Serene and most Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and of the States General of the Netherlands, by their most Excellent Plenipotentiaries, Ambassadors Extraordinary, the Lord William Lord Pagett, Baron de Beaudesert, &c. and Lord Jacob Colyer, &c. both sides shew'd an Inclination to a Peace and Truce, but in so short a time it was not easie to remove all Difficulties, and put all things into an Order agreeable to Friendship and Good Neighbourhood; yet lest the Continuance of these Treaties should be interrupted, and that they might be perfected and brought to an end, with this Intent, by mutual Consent on both sides, a Truce, betwixt the two great highly mention'd Lords, is Agreed on for Two Years, to Commence from Christmas-day, the 25th day of December, Anno Domini 1698. within which Term, this Treaty may be reduc'd into good Order, and by the Blessing of God, a perpetual Peace

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of

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IN the Name of the Omnipotent Lord God, One in Holy Trinity: By whose Grace the most Serene and Potent Lord Czar, and Great Duke, Peter Alexovic, Emperor of the Whole Great and Little Russia, of Muscovy, Kiovia, Wolodimiria, Novogardia, Czar of Carania, Czar of Astrachan, Czar of Siberia, Lord of Plefcovia, Great Duke of Smolencum, Lord of Tretia, Ingoria, Permia, Viatka, Bulgaria, and of other Dominions; Great Duke of Novogardia, of the Lower Country, of Cernihovia, Refania, Rostovia, Jaroslavia, Belovrovia, Valoria, Obdoria, Conidia, and Emperor of all the Northern Country, and Lord of the Land of Iveria, Czar of the Cartalinensians and Grunizensians, and Duke of Karbardia, of the Csercaffians and Mountancers, and many other Dominions and Lands to the East, West and North, from Father and Ancestors, Heir, Successor, Lord and Commander, between his Majesty and the most Mighty Great Lord Sultan Mustapha Han, Son of Sultan Mehmet Han, Lord of Constantinople, of the White Sea, the Black Sea, of Anatolia, Rumia, Romania, of the most Honour'd Mecca and Medina, and Holy Jerusalem, of Egypt, of the Abyssines, of Babylon and Rica, and Commander of Damascus, Emperor of the Tartarian and Crimean Hords, as also of many other Dominions, Kingdoms and Cities, Islands and Provinces.

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of

1699. or a Truce for a sufficient Number of years may be Concluded, and Antient Friendship restor'd betwixt his Czarish Muscovite Majesty, and Turkish Sultan Majesty; Therefore within this prefix'd time, all War, Battles, Fights, and Skirmishes, shall Cease, and on both sides all Hostilities shall be remov'd and extinguish'd; nor shall any Incursion or Hostility be done, or any Damage committed, either privately or publicly by the Subjects of his Czarish Majesty, whether Muscovites or Cossacks, or others, within the Mussulman or Crimean Confines, or within any other of his Sultan Majesty's Dominions, or on any of his Subjects. In like manner on the part of his Sultan Majesty no sort of Troops of what Condition soever shall be brought against his Czarish Majesty, especially the Crimean Cham, and the Tartars of what Nation or Hord soever shall be oblig'd not to make any Incursions, or do any Damage publicly or privately, either in the Cities, Towns, or Territories, Subject to his Czarish Majesty: And if contrary to this Constitution and Agreement made betwixt us, any privately or publicly should raise any Commotion, or make Preparation for it, or

make Incursion, or Commit Hostility, such obstinate and disobedient Persons of what side soever they are, shall be Apprehended, Imprison'd, and Inevitably punish'd without Mercy: By this Method for the time appointed for this Cessation of Arms, all Conflicts and Hostilities shall be absolutely taken away and abolish'd, and both Parties shall apply to conclude a Peace, with sincere Endeavours and full Inclination, and the Crimean Cham, according to his Duty and Dependence upon his Imperial Turkish Majesty shall be concluded by this Peace. That all these Things may be accepted of, and observ'd by both Parties, because the highly mention'd Plenipotentiary Ambassadors and Commissaries of his Sultan Majesty, by Virtue of their Powers and Authorities, have deliver'd in due Form an Authentick Instrument written in the Turkish Language, and from that a Copy in Latin, Sign'd with their Hands and Seals; in like manner, I by Virtue of the Authority and full Power granted me, have deliver'd in due Form, an Authentick Instrument Subscrib'd with my own Hand, and Confirm'd with my Seal, Written in the Ruthenic and Copy'd in the Latin.

IN-

1699.

1699.

INSTRUMENTUM P A C I S

INTER

Serenissimum, & Potentissimum Regem;

ET

Rempubicam Poloniarum,

ET

Excelsum Imperium Ottomannicum,

Ad Carlowiz in Sirmio, in Congressu Generali Confœderatorum Plenipotentiariorum confectæ:

In Nomine Sanctissimæ & Individuæ Trinitatis.

AD perpetuam Rei memoriam. Omnibus & singulis, quorum interest notum sit. Quandoquidem inter Regnum Polonicum, & Excelsum Imperium intercedens diuturnum dissidium, Serenissimo & Potentissimo Magnæ Britannia, Franciæ & Hybernici Rege, Gulielmo III. & Præpotentibus Generalibus Fœderati Belgii Statibus, sistendi humani Sanguinis, & reducendæ reciprociæ Quietis desiderio, ad procurandos hujus almæ Pacis Tractatus, Mediationem suam interponentibus, atque officia omnia, & omnes condiciones Mediationis, diligenti operâ & studio explentibus, Excellentissimis Dominis ad Fulgidam Portam Legatis Plenipotentariis, Gulielmo Domino Pagetti, Barone de Beaufort, in Comitatu Staffordensi, ejusdem Comitatus Regis Locumtenente, ex parte Majestatis Britannicæ: & Domino Jacobo Colyer, ex parte Præpotentium Generalium Fœderati Belgii. Ordinibus, favente Deo, reciprociâ utrinque inclinatione atque pro-

pensione sopiri, & penitus extingui placuerit, atque Carlovizii ad Confinia Sirmii, ubi Congressus Legatorum Plenipotentiariorum ex Inclytæ Mediationis dispositione institutus fuerat, initis Tractatibus de Pacis Articulis cum Illustrissimo & Excellentissimo Domino Mehmet Effendi, Magno Cancellario Excelli Imperii, & Illustrissimo atque Excellentissimo Domino Alexandro Mauro Cordato, de Nobili Stirpe Scarlatti, ab Intimis Secretis ejusdem Excelli Imperii, ad tractandam Pacem Legatis Plenipotentariis, post aliquas Sessiones, tandem annuente Divinâ Clementiâ, Negotium hoc almæ desideratæque Pacis feliciter in mutuas Leges coaluerit, & integrè iterum Amicitia, & Pax inter Serenissimum, & Potentissimum Mussalmanorum Imperatorem Sultanum, Filium Sultani Mehmeti, Sultanum Mustapha: & Serenissimum ac Potentissimum Regem, Augustum Secundum, Dominum meum Clementissimum & Rempubicam Poloniarum, super undecim, mutuo consensu compositis

hifce

1699. hifce Articulis, perpetuò religioſe inter utrumque Dominium obſervanda, perfectà & conclufa, reſtituta & renovata eſt, qui articuli ſubinde ſingulatim deſcribuntur.

I.

CUM Excelfo perpetuitati ſubnixo Imperio, multo abhinc tempore intercedente ope, & favore Dei Altiffimi ſublata hoſtilitate, conciliationi & bonæ vicinitali congruâ cum Sinceritate, antiquâ amicitia iterum coaleſcente, ut hoſtilitates utriusque amoveantur, & Subditi priſtinâ ſecuritate, quiete, ac tranquillitate fruantur, ante ultima duo bella conſtituti veteres Limites reſtituantur ac ſtabiliantur, & Confinia Provinciarum ſubditarum Poloniae, à Confiniis Imperialibus tum Moldaviae, tum aliorum Diſtrictuum, ſubjectorum Excelfo Imperio, antiquis Limitibus ſeparentur ac diſtinguantur, nevé utriusque aut prætenſio, aut extenſio deinceps fiat, ſed Limites antiqui ſine mutatione aut perturbatione, tanquam ſacri, religioſe obſerventur atque colantur.

II.

Quæcunque ſive Munimenta, ſive Loca vel majora, vel minora intra veteres Moldaviae Limites, ante penultimum bellum exiſtentes, ſita, atque hucusque detenta ſunt à Dominis Polonis, educitis atque extractis inde Polonicis Militiis, evacuentur, & Moldavia Provincia maneat ex integro libera, ante poſtremum bellum, in quo erat pacifico Statu.

III.

Intra veteres quoque ante poſtremâ duo bella, verſus Poloniam, Limites ſic ut Camenici Fortalitium, educitis inde Muſulmannicis Militiis, evacuetur, & integrum relinquatur, & Podoliae atque Ukrainae Provinciarum nulla deinceps ab Excelfo Imperio fiat prætenſio, & Ukrainae Koſacorum Hartmani nomine Subditi, qui modo in Moldavia reſident, Harmanus amoveatur. Cumque Limites antiqui Poloniae & Moldaviae manifeſti ſint, ſi commodum fuerit tempus, ab initio Martii inchoetur evacuatio, & quam citius fieri poterit, quamprimum Polonica Militia à Moldavia educatur, & Munimenta à Loca illius evacuentur, & Moldavia maneat libera. Simulque ab initio Martii Cameniceſis Fortalitii evacuatio inchoetur, atque evacuationis negotium ubi prius perſecti poterit, ſine hæſitatione, & ſine tarditate ac negligentia in executionem deducatur, & Cameniceſis Fortalitii eva-

tuatio ad ſummum uſque in decimum quintum menſis Maii ad finem perducatur; & quod cum facilitate & celeritate dicti Fortalitii fiat evacuatio, ad onera imponenda, & tranſvehenda, quoad fieri poteſt, curribus & Jumentis transportationem coadjuvent Poloni, & ubique evacuationis negotium cum ſecuritate & ſalva re peragatur: in quibus evacuationibus Fortalitiorum, & aliorum Locorum, quoquo Pacto muſitorum è Subditis, quicunque voluntarie exire velint, cum propriis rebus & Suppellectile exeat tuto & ſecurè, & quicunque remanere velint, item tuto remaneant, & utriusque nullatenus impediatur. Et cum evacuatio Fortalitiorum & Locorum à principio Martii menſis utriusque inchoari debeat, inſtantiam de Tormentorum Camenici reſolutione, ſcilicet ex propriis atque ibi repertis, Aſſegatus Polonus quamprimum ad Fulgidam Portam expediendus, aſſerat ad Solium Imperatoris.

IV.

Nemo Subditorum Excelfi Imperii cujuſcunque conditionis, præſertim verò Tartari, cujuſcunque Geniſ, ſub cujuſvis prætenſionis, & controverſiæ prætextu, in Subditos Regis & Reipub. Poloniarum, & in Limites eorum hoſtilitates exercere, excuſationes agere, Captivos rapere, Pecora abigere, aut quicquid damni inferre, nevé eos offendere poſſit, expreſſis Regis Edictis committatur, & demandetur Veſtris, Beglerbegis, & feliciffimo Crimenſi Hano, Carrelgaio, & Nuradino, & reliquis Soltanis, ac Voievodæ Moldaviae, ut adhibita maxima ſedulitate obſervent & conſervent Conſiniorum pacificam tranquillitatem, & conciliationem atque quietem, nevé aut in captivitatibus, aut Pecorum abactionibus, aut quacunque alia ratione damnis & moleſtiis aſſiciant Poloniæ Subditos, & ſeveriffimè inquirent in perturbatores & tranſgreſſores conditionum Pacis, atque habitâ noſſit ad exemplum aliorum in illos animadvertant, & rapta adinventâ propriis Dominio reſtituantur; & ſi qui hac de re negligentem ac oſcitantem agant, ſive amiſſionem officiorum, ſive privationem vite, prout ex divinis Legibus conveniret, juſte puniantur. Pariter Poloni hæ conditiones Pacis omnino ſedulo obſervent atque colant, & nemo in oppoſitum quicquid audeat.

Cum Regnum Poloniæ ab antiquo ſit li-
beriffimum; ab Excelfo Imperio aut ſub-
jectis eidem Gentibus, qualiſcunque præ-
tenſionis, aut expoſtulationis prætextu,
nulla penitus hoſtilitate perturbetur, &

con-

1699. concluſæ iſtius almæ Pacis Pactorum vi,
ad tales prætenſiones nequaquam adſtrin-
gantur.

VI.

Tempore huius belli Budziacentes, & alii Tartari è propriis Locis exeuntes, atque in Terras Moldavorum ingreſſi, hoſtilitates ac offenſiones hac occasione in Moldavia & Moldaviam exercent: quod cum fit contrarium ſacris Capitulationibus ante hac conceſſis Regibus Poloniae, ac proinde ceſſare ac ſuſtollī debeat, à quibuſque Locis & poſſeſſionibus, & prædiis, & hycemalibus in Moldavia aut occupatis, aut de novo extructis Tartari amoveantur, & nati-
vis propriis Locis habitent, atque pacifice vivant, & impoſterum nullas offenſiones faciant.

VII.

Religioſi Chriſtiani Romano-Catholici juxta conceſſa ab Excelfo Imperio dicta, ubique Eccleſias ſuas habent, conſectas ſuas functions ſine impedimento exercent, & pacifice vivunt: & ulterius ſibi commiſſas Inſtantias de Regione extraordinarias ad Fulgidam Portam Magnus Legatus ad Imperatorium Solium exponat.

VIII.

Cum Res Mercatoria è fructibus Pacis exiſtat, atque Provincias in meliorem conditionem reducat, utriusque Domini Mercatores impoſterum non per occulta Loca meantes, ſed per loca tranſitui opportuna ultro citroque euntes & redeuntes, poſtquam ſolverint juxta conſuetum ab antiquo Telonium rerum portatarum & exportatarum, novis exactionibus, & expoſtulationibus nequaquam moleſtentur, nevé ex numerata pecunia Telonium exigatur: & quicunque nati Subditi Poloniarum, & Lithuaniae, & aliarum ſubjectarum iſdem Nationum ad Mercimoniam agendam venientes, & nullum damnum inferentes, prædictâ ratione mercaturæ & coemptionem, & venditionem, ſicuti in antecedentibus ſacris Capitulationibus etiam declaratur, exactione tributi dicti Haracz, & aliis inordinatis exactionibus ne moleſtentur. Verum enimverò, ſi qui relictis ſuis Regionibus in Imperii regniſ ſedem figant, & ſi qui alii Exteriores ſeſe Polonis immiſceant, tales ne poſſint eſſe detrimento Reipublicæ, Mercatores Polonorum redeuntes ex armis, & equis, & jumentis, & captivis, qui liberationis ſuæ instrumentum legitimum habentes in Patriam redire voluerint, nihil exigatur, & ne quiſquam im-

pedimento ſit taliter abeuntibus captivis. 1699.
Verum ſi iſto prætextu ſine facultate ne-
mini liceat veſſita abducere. Præterea op-
tibus & rebus Mercatorum utriusque Domi-
ni, quibus in aliis Regionibus mori con-
tingat, publici Conſcriptores & Partitores
ne ab utralibet parte ſeſe immiſceant, ſed
inter Mercatores, cui fides adhibetur, tra-
dantur, ut juxta catalogum depoſitionis
haredibus tradat; ſi quis autem caſus ac-
ciderit inter Mercatores, inter ipſos præ-
poſiti deciſione definiatur, ipſe verò, quibus
debet, rationem reddat. Ad debitum ſive
Scripto, ſive Inſtrumento Judiciario, non
affirmatum ſolvendum contra Divinas Leges
nemo compellatur, nevé Teſtimoniis ſolis
conductitiis licet debitorum & ſponſionum
dicantur, aut audiantur, Inſtrumentis ſci-
licet legitimis & Scriptis ante extraditis,
ſacris Mandatis perſectis atque conſideratis,
juſte ac debite cauſæ decidantur, atque
in ſimilibus cauſis contexta & ſtatuta
in ſacris Capitulationibus, ut aliis conſe-
deratis Nationibus conceſſa, in Polonos
etiam Mercatores extendantur, & ulterius
ſpecialim Polonis antehac conceſſorum, &
in manibus eorundem ſervatorum ſacrorum
Edictorum ſenſus quoque colatur & obſer-
vetur.

IX.

Captivi tempore belli abacti, pretiis il-
lorum juxta Leges comprobatis aut datis
Juramentis in manuſcriptis productis atque
ſolutis juxta antecedentium Capitulationum
hac de re declarationem ciberentur. Si
verò tales Captivi multo tempore ſcrip-
ſerint, ex diſcretionem pretia emptorum cum
imminui debeant, ſi honeſto & mediocri
pretio cum Domino Captivi conventi non
poterit, Judices Locorum legitime proce-
dentes, tales differentias componant. Si
aliquâ occasione poſt conſecutionem Pacis
ex Regionibus Polonicis Captivi rapiantur;
ſine pretio dimittantur: & in Regniſ Excelfi
Imperii, & inter Tartaros etiam ad
ciberandos Polonos captivos circumveniant
Homines, quandocunque res ſuas pacifice
agant, prætextu operæ liberationis Cap-
tivorum navate, aut alia ratione neutrū,
quam offendantur, quinimò offendentes &
detrimentum inferentes puniantur, Captivi
in publicis Carceribus detenti permutati-
one utriusque in libertatem aſſerantur. Ma-
gnus verò Poloniarum Legatus de Captivis
ſuas Inſtantias ad Solium Imperiale aſſere
poterit.

X.

Quandocunque Sereniſſimus Rex Poloniae
in ſtabilita cum Excelfo Imperio Pace, fir-
miter

1699. miter permanebit, sicuti in antecedentibus Capitulationibus declaratur, Moldaviae Woiewodam ea ratione, quā ab antiquo eum Regibus Poloniarum sincerē sese praestitit, rursus consuetā ratione sincerē tractet: ceterum instar aliorum Subditorum Excellsi Imperii, uti prius, pacati sint, & e Moldaviae atque Wallachiae Provinciis, si qui transfugerint, ne recipiantur: si qui aliā methodo in Poloniae Dominium irrepserint, ac postea Provinciam suam perturbare, & corrumpere deprehensi fuerint, similes Homines, quando perquirentur, reddantur, & conditio ista, cum in antecedentibus Capitulationibus clarē, & manifestē posita sit, observetur. Pariter & Subditis Polonis, siue Poloni illi sint, siue Kofaci, cuiuscunque Nationis extiterint, quando perturbationem afferent, hinc etiam neque recipiantur, neque protegantur, sed retrō reddantur. Et universi, quicunque turbare voluerint Pacem atque Amicitiam, hacine ratione conclusam, ex merito puniantur.

X I.

Quaecunque conditiones, & Clausulae in antecedentibus Capitulationibus descriptae atque contentae, nullatenus adversantur de recentis conclusis Pactis, neque oppositae sunt liberis, & perpetuis Juribus utriusque Domini, deinceps etiam colantur, & observentur, quae verō contrariae sunt, cassentur, & annihilentur, favente & annuente Deo Altissimo. Quae utrinque declaratis, & exaratis Articulis perfectiori, & exactiori ratione conclusa Pax, & Conciliatio inter Majestates Serenissimi & Potentissimi altē memorati Poloniarum Regis, Domini mei Clementissimi, & Successorum ejus, & Rempubliam Polonam, & ex altera parte Serenissimi, & Potentissimi Musulmanorum Imperatoris, ejusdemque Haereditum, ex voluntate & Clementia Dei perpetua, stabili, firma, & inconcussa permaneat, & conservata, atque custodita sit ab

1699. omni turbatione, & mutatione, & confusione, & violatione, & uno eodemque tenore firmissimē perseveret, & constantissimē continet; & ut omnes omnino hostilitates amoveantur atque sustollantur, quā citissimē notitia praebetur in Confiniis, Praefectis & Gubernatoribus, ut sibi caveant, ne imposterum transgressiones fiant, nevē altera pars alteri damna inferat. Verum enimverō omnes utrinque sincerē & amicē sese praestent juxta istam aliam Pacem. Ut autem omnibus cognita, & comperta sit istius aliae Pacis Conclusio, triginta dies pro termino ponantur: post quem nullus praetextus, nullaque excusatio acceptabitur, sed in eos, qui adversabuntur, editis Edictis exactam obedientiam merentibus severissimē animadvertatur. Post Subscriptionem autem Instrumentorum utriusque Partis Ablegatus prius à Polonia missus, & ad Fulgidam Portam veniens, juxta antiquam consuetudinem afferat Regias publicas Literas, Ratificationem Pactorum Instrumentis declaratorum continentibus, atque Literas Imperatorias ratificationis item accipiat & deducat; Postea verō ad solennem confirmationem Pactorum Pacis, & perfectionem reciprocae sinceritatis, & absolutam terminationem mutuae Amicitiae, & dispositionem, ac digestionem reliquarum rerum, juxta laudatum veterem morem, adventurus Magnus Legatus, quamprimum commodē fieri poterit, moveat, ac proinde undecim numero Pactis conclusa juxta istas conclusiones alma Pax ab utraque Parte acceptetur atque colatur. Cum verō altē memorati Illustissimi, & Excellentissimi Domini Excellsi Imperii Plenipotentiarii & Commissarii existentes Legati, vi suae Facultatis, & auctoritatis Turcico Sermone exatatum legitimum & validum instrumentum tradiderint, ego quoque vi Facultatis, & Deputationis meae propria manu subscriptas, & Sigillo sigillatas à me praesentes Pactorum Literas tanquam legitimum, & validum Instrumentum tradidi.

T H E

1699. THE
T R E A T Y
O F
P E A C E

B E T W E E N

The Most Serene and Most Potent King,

A N D

Republick of *POLAND*,

A N D

The Sublime *OTTOMAN* Empire,Made at *Carlovitz* in *Sirmium*, in a General Congress of the
Confederate Plenipotentiaries.

In the Name of the most Holy and Individual Trinity.

TO the perpetual Memory of the Thing; Be it known to all and every one, whom it may Concern: Whereas there has been a long War between the Kingdom of *Poland*, and the Sublime Empire, to stop the Effusion of humane Blood, and with Desires of Restoring a mutual Quier, the most Serene and most Potent *William III.* King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and the *States General of the United Provinces*, in order to set on foot this Treaty of a happy Peace, have interpos'd their Mediation, all the Duties and Conditions of which Mediation have with great Study and Industry been perform'd by their Excellencies the Plenipotentiary Ambassadors to the *Fulgid Port*, on the behalf of his *Britannick Majesty*, by *William Lord Pagett*, *Baron de Beaufort* in the County of *Stafford*, Lord Lieutenant of the said County; and on the part of the *States General*, by *Lord Jacob Colyer*; which War, through GOD's Blessing, by Reciprocal Inclinations on both sides, has been Compos'd and wholly Extinguish'd, at *Carlovitz* on the Confines of *Sirmium*, where, according to the Designation of the Illustrious Mediation, a Congress of the Plenipotentiary Ambassadors was appointed, and Treaties of Articles of Peace begun with the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord, *Mehmet Effendi*, Great Chancellor of the Sublime Empire, and the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord, *Alexander Mauro Cordato*, of the Noble Family of *Scarlatti*, and Privy-Counsellor of the Sublime Empire, Ambassadors Extraordinary for the Treaty of Peace; and after some Sessions, at length, by the Divine Goodness, this

Business

1699. Buſineſs of a happy and deſir'd Peace was Diggeſted into Terms agreed on both ſides, and a moſt entire Friendſhip and Peace was Perſected and Concluded, Reſtor'd, and Renew'd, between the moſt Serene and moſt Potent Emperor Sultan of the Muſulman, Sultan Muſtapha, Son of Sultan Mehmet, and the moſt Serene and moſt Potent King Auguſtus II. my moſt Noble Lord, and the Republick of Poland, which Peace is to be Religioſly obſerv'd betwixt both Dominions, and is Diggeſted into Eleven Articles, which follow one by one.

I.

BT the Help and Bleſſing of God, Hoſt-
lity with the High Empire founded on
Eternity, having for ſome time ceaſ'd, and
now the Ancient Friendſhip Agreeable to the
Nature of Reconciliation and good Neighbour-
hood reviving, that all Ails of Hoſtility may
be prevented, and the Subjects enjoy their
Ancient Security, Quiet and Tranquillity, the
Ancient Limits ſhall be Eſtabliſh'd and re-
ſtor'd to what they were before the two laſt
Wars, and the Confinies of the Provinces ſub-
ject to Poland, ſhall by theſe Ancient Boun-
daries be ſeparated and diſtinguiſh'd, as well
from the Imperial Confinies of Moldavia, as
of thoſe of all other Countries ſubject to the
Sublime Empire, nor ſhall there on either
ſide be any Pretention or Extenſion made but
the Ancient Limits, without Change or Di-
ſturbance, ſhall as Things Sacred, be Reli-
gioſly obſerv'd and maintain'd.

II.

Whatſoever Fortifications or Places, great
or leſs, which before the War, before this laſt
within the Limits of Moldavia, and have
hitherto been in the Poſſeſſion of Poſiſh Ma-
ſters, the Poſiſh Garrifons ſhall be withdrawn,
and they ſhall be Evacuated, and the Province
of Moldavia ſhall remain as free as ever, and
in the ſame peaceable State it was before
the laſt War.

III.

The Fortreſſes likewiſe of Caminiec being
before the two laſt Wars ſituated within the
Ancient Limits towards Poland, ſhall be Eva-
cuated, and the Muſulman Garrifon with-
drawn, and ſhall be entirely left; Nor ſhall
the Sublime Empire hereafter make any Pre-
tenſions upon the Provinces of Podolia and
the Ukraïn; and the Deputy of the Ukraïn
Coſſacks, who goes by the Title of Hatmannus,
now reſiding in Moldavia, ſhall be remov'd.
And conſidering the Ancient Limits of Po-
land and Moldavia are very plain, if the

Season permits, the Evacuations on this ſide
ſhall be begun by the beginning of the enſuing
March, and the Poſiſh Troops ſhall be with-
drawn out of Moldavia as ſoon as poſſible,
and the Fortifications and Places ſhall be
Evacuated, and Moldavia left free; And at
the ſame time from the beginning of March,
the Evacuation of Caminiec ſhall Commence,
and the Buſineſs of the Evacuation ſhall with-
out Heſitation, Neglect, or Delay, be put in
Execution, as ſoon as it can be perform'd;
and the ſaid Evacuation of this Fortreſſes of
Caminiec, ſhall at fartheſt be compleated by
the 25th of May, and that the Evacuation
of the ſaid Fortreſſes may be perform'd with
Speed and Eaſe; The Poles, ſhall, as much
as poſſible, in order to the Lading and Carry-
ing away of Goods, aſſiſt the Transportation
with Carriages and Cattle; and on all hands
the Evacuation ſhall be carry'd on with Se-
curity and Safety: In all which Evacuations
of Fortreſſes, and other Places, in whatſoever
manner they are fortify'd, whoſoever of the
Subjects ſhall voluntarily deſire to depart,
may do it ſecurely, and ſafely, with all their
Effects and Goods; and whoſoever of 'em
have a mind to continue where they are, may
in like manner ſafely do it; and there ſhall
by no means be any Lett or Impediment on
either ſide; and conſidering the Evacuation
of all Fortreſſes and Places is to be commenc'd
in the beginning of March: As to the Affair
of leaving behind the Artillery at Caminiec,
viz. thoſe that were belonging to it, and
were found there; the Poſiſh Envoy that is
to be ſent to the Fulgid Port, ſhall lay that
Demand before the Throne of the Emperor.

IV.

None of the Subjects of the Sublime Em-
pire, of whatſoever Condition, eſpecially the
Tartars, let 'em be of what Nation ſoever,
ſhall under the colour of any Pretention or Con-
troverſie preſume to commit any Hoſtilities
upon the Subjects of the King and Republick
of Poland, or upon their Borders; and ſhall
not preſume to make Excursions, to take Cap-
tives, to drive away Cattle, or to do any
ſort of Damage, or give any ſort of Diſtur-
bance, which ſhall be particularly expreſs'd
in Royal Edicts, and commanded to be put in
Execution by Fiſhers, Beglerbegs, and the
moſt Happy Crimean Cham, Carcagaus and
Nuradinus, and the other Sultans, and the
Weywode of Moldavia, that they, with ut-
moſt Diligence, ſecure the Peace, Quiet, and
Tranquillity of the Borders; that neither by
the Captures of Men, or driving away of
Cattle, or by any other Means, the Poſiſh
Subjects ſuffer any Loſſes or Diſturbance,
and that they make ſtrict and ſevere Enquiries
after the Diſturbers and Tranſgreſſors of theſe
Conditions of Peace, and whom they come to
the

1699. the knowledge of 'em, they ſuſtill Punishments
upon 'em for Example to Others; and if in
theſe matters any one acts careleſſly or negli-
gently, he ſhall be duly puniſh'd as is Agree-
able to the Divine Laws. In like manner,
the Poles on their part ſhall carefully obſerve
and preſecute theſe Conditions of Peace, and
let no Man dare to do any thing contrary to
'em.

V.

Conſidering the Kingdom of Poland was
from Ancient Times entirely Independent, it
ſhall not, by the Sublime Empire, and by any
Nations ſubject to it, under the colour of any
Pretention or Demand whatſoever, be diſturb'd
with any Hoſtility, nor upon the force of any
Compacts of that happy Peace, ſhall they ſtand
oblig'd to any ſuch Pretentions.

VI.

In this War, the Budziac and other Tar-
tars, leaving their proper Seats, and entering
upon the Lands of the Moldavians, do upon
that pretence Exerciſe Hoſtilities upon, and
Create Diſturbances to Moldavia, and its
Inhabitants, which being contrary to the Sa-
cred Capitulations formerly granted to the
Kings of Poland, for that Reaſon ought to
Ceale and be prevented; therefore ſhall the
Tartars be remov'd from all Places and Poſ-
ſeſſions, and Lands and Winter-Quarters,
whether theſe were taken from others, or
newly rais'd by them, and ſhall inhabit their
Native Places, and live peaceably, and for
the time to come Create no Diſturbances.

VII.

The Regulars of the Church of Rome, ac-
cording to the Edicts granted by the Sublime
Empire, whereſoever they have Churches,
may without hindrance Exerciſe their uſual
Functions, and live peaceably; and beſides,
the Extraordinary Envoy to the Fulgid Port
may lay before the Imperial Throne any new
Demands upon this Head.

VIII.

Conſidering Merchandize is one of the Fruits
of Peace, and brings the Provinces into a more
thriving Condition; therefore the Merchants
of each Party, not praſtituting by any obſcure
Ways, but going and coming through conve-
nient and open Roads, after they have pay'd
the uſual and ancient Duty for things Ex-
ported and Imported, ſhall by no means be
burden'd with new Exactions and Demands;
nor ſhall a Duty in ready Money be Exacted;
and whatſoever Native Subjects of the Two

1699. Poland and Lithuania, and of other Na-
tions ſubject to them, after this manner
coming to exerciſe their Merchandize, their
Buying and Selling, as is declared in former
Sacred Capitulations, ſhall not be troubleſome
with the Exaction of the Tribute call'd Ha-
tacz, or any other unuſual Exactions: But
ſtill with this Proviſo, that any reſolving to
leave their Native Country, and ſet up their
Reſt in the Dominions of the Empire, or any
Foreigners mixing themſelves with Poles,
ſuch ſhall to the Detriment of the Govern-
ment enjoy this Exemption. Poſiſh Mer-
chants leaving the War, and returning Home
with their Horſes and Carriages, and Cap-
tives, having an Authentick Certificate of
their Diſmiſſion, and being deſirous to return
to their own Country, ſhall not be ſubject to any
Exaction, nor ſhall any Lett or Obſturbation
be made to Captives thus going away. But ſtill
under this pretence, none without leave ob-
tain'd, ſhall preſume to carry away things
prohibited. Beſides, the publick Officers of
Juſtice ſhall not pretend to intermeddle in
the Conſecration or Diſtribution of the Goods
or Effects of Merchants ſubjects to the one,
dying in the others Dominions, but they ſhall
be deliver'd into the hands of Merchants of
Credit, that according to the Inventory they
may be diſpos'd of to the Right Heirs: But
if any Difference happens betwixt the Mer-
chants themſelves, this ſhall be Decided by
the Conſul or Chief, and let him be accom-
table to thoſe whom he is ſubject to: Now,
contrary to the Divine Laws, ſhall be Com-
pell'd to pay any Debt, not verifi'd in Wri-
ting, or by ſome Judiciary Inſtrument; nor
ſhall the Cauſes of Debts or Contracts be
Try'd or Decided by hireling Evidences, be-
cauſe upon the reading and conſidering the
Divine Precepts, ſuch ſort of Suits are to
be Decided only by Authentick Inſtruments
and Writings of an Antecedent Date; And
ſo in all Controverſies of the like Nature,
whatſoever Privileges are intermix'd, and
eſtabliſh'd in the Sacred Capitulations, ſhall,
as in the Grants to the other Confederate Na-
tions, be Interpret'd and Extended to the Po-
liſh Merchants; and beſides the true meaning
of all Grants by Sacred Edicts, (which are ſtill
preſerv'd in their hands) particularly indulg'd
to the Poles, ſhall be maintain'd and obſerv'd.

IX.

Captives carry'd away in time of War, ſhall
be Releas'd purſuant to the Declaration about
this matter in former Capitulations, upon
Proofs made according to the Laws, of their
Value, or by Oaths that make that manifeſt,
the due Prizes being pay'd. But if the Cap-
tives have ſerv'd a long time, the Prizes of
their Redemption ought to be proportionally
G g g 2 Alar'd;

1699. Abated; but if the Master of the Captive cannot be brought to a fair and moderate Price, the Judges of the Places proceeding in a legal Courfe, shall compose fuch Differences: If after the Conclusion of the Peace, Captives fhall be taken out of the Polish Territories, they fhall be Difmiff'd without Ransom; Besides, Men going about for the Redeeming Polish Captives, whether in the Kingdoms of the Sublime Empire, or amongst the Tartars, as long as these Men fhall behave themselves peaceably, they are by no means to be disturb'd, either upon this very pretence, that they make it their Business to deliver Captives, or upon any other Account whatsoever; nay, those that do Disturb'em, or do'em any Injury, shall be punish'd: Captives detain'd in publick Prisons, shall on both sides be Releas'd by Exchange: Farther, the Great Embassy of Poland may present his Demands concerning Captives to the Imperial Throne.

X.

As long as the most Serene King of Poland shall continue in this establish'd Peace with the Sublime Empire, as is express'd in former Capitulations, the Waywode of Moldavia shall continue to behave himself towards the Kings of Poland in the manner as was anciently us'd: Let the Moldavians remain in Peace like the rest of the Subjects of the Sublime Empire; and if any fly out of the Provinces of Moldavia, or Walachia, and take Refuge in Poland, they shan't be receiv'd; If any by more Subtle means slide themselves into the Polish Dominions, and shall be afterwards found out to Disturb or Corrupt their own Country, such sort of Men, when demanded, shall be surrendered up, and this Agreement as it remains, clearly and manifestly express'd in former Capitulations, shall be observ'd. The like Measures shall be us'd towards Polish Subjects, whether they be Poles or Coljacks, or of whatsoever Nation, when they shall create any Disturbance, they shall not be receiv'd nor protect'd on this part, but shall be surrendered up. And in general, whoever go about to Disturb this Peace and Friendship thus concluded, shall be punish'd according to their Demerits.

XI.

All Conditions and Clauses describ'd and contain'd in former Capitulations, so far as they are not opposite to the present Compacts, nor contrary to the Independent and perpetual Rights of either Sovereignty, shall hereafter be observ'd and maintain'd; but those that are contrary, shall by the Blessing of the most High God be utterly Abolis'd and Annihilated.

1699. Which Peace and Agreement betwixt the Majesties of the most Serene and most Potent highly above-mention'd King of Poland, (my most Gracious Lord) and his Successors, and the Repablick of Poland; and on the other part, of the most Serene and most Potent Emperor of the Mussulmen, and of his Heirs, as it stands concluded in these describ'd Articles, in a more perfect and exact manner; so by the Will and Goodness of God let it remain perpetual, stable, firm, and unshaken, and may it be preserv'd and kept from all Disturbance, Change, Confusion and Violation, and so without any Interruption, may it most firmly Persevere, and most constantly Continue, and that all Hostilities may be remov'd and taken away, notice shall as soon as possible be given in the Confines, to all Commanders and Governours, that they take care to themselves, that no Transgressions be committed, and that neither side doct Injury to the other; but that in great Sincerity and Friendship, all on each side Comport themselves as this happy Peace direct's: That the Conclusion of this happy Peace may become known and certain to all, a term of Thirty days are appointed, after which no Pretence nor Excuse shall be receiv'd, but Edicts being issued, requiring an exact Obedience, whoever shall do any thing contrary shall be most severely punish'd. After the Subscription of the Instruments of Peace on both sides, an Envoy sent from Poland, and coming to the Fulgid Fort, according to Ancient Custom, shall bring the Royal Publick Letters, containing a Ratification of the Paſſes declar'd in these Instruments, and likewise shall receive and carry back with him the Imperial Letters of Ratification: But after this, in Order to a more solemn Confirmation of these Agreements, and an absolute Completion of a mutual Friendship, and for a more perfect Disposition and Digestion of all other Matters, the great Embassy, that according to Ancient Custom is to be sent, shall, as soon as possible, set forward; and therefore this happy Peace, compris'd in Eleven Articles, shall on each side be receiv'd and maintain'd. Now in Consideration that the highly mention'd most Illustrious and most Excellent Lords, Plenipotentiaries and Ambassadors Commissionated of the Sublime Empire, have by Virtue of their full Powers and Authority, deliver'd in due Form an Authentick Instrument of this Peace, written in the Turkish Language, I likewise by Virtue of full Powers, and my Deputation, have deliver'd the present Writing of the said Peace, subscrib'd with my proper Hand, and Seal'd with my Seal, as a Valid and Authentick Instrument.

T R A T-

1699.

T R A T T A T O

D I

P A C E

T R A

L'Eccello Imperio Ottomanno,

E L A

Serenissima Republica di Venezia.

II.

T Rattato di Pace tra l'Eccello Imperio Ottomanno, e la Serenissima Republica di Venezia, concluso nel Congresso di Carlowitz nel Sirio sotto le Tende alli 26 di Genaro 1699; essendovi Ambasciatori Plenipotenziarj dell'Eccello Imperio gl'Illustissimi & Eccellentissimi Signori Mehemet Effendi Gran Cancelliere, & Alessandro Mauro Cordato; e per la Serenissima Republica l'Illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo Sig. Carlo Ruzini Cavaliere; Mediatori gl'Illustissimi & Eccellentissimi Signori Guglielmo Paghet Ambasciatore di Sua Maestà Britannica, e Giacomo Colyer Ambasciatore degli Alti e Potenti Stati Generali delle Provincie Unite: oltre gl'Illustissimi, & Eccellentissimi Signori Ambasciatori Plenipotenziarj di Sua Maestà Cesare, e di Polonia, &c.

I.

L A Morea colle sue Città, Fortezze, Castelli, Terre, Ville, Monti, Fiumi, Laghi, Bolchi, Porti, & ogni altra cosa, che si ritrova dentro la Circonferenza della medesima, ora posseduta dalla Republica di Venezia, resti pacificamente nel possesso, e Dominio dell'istessa Republica, tra i suoi limiti del Mare, e dell'Esamiglio, ove fuori li Vestigi dell'antica muraglia, così che né dal canto di Morea si faccia veruna estensione nella Terra Ferma, né dal canto della Terra Ferma si faccia alcuna estensione oltre i Limiti della Morea.

La Terra ferma essendo nel possesso dell'Eccello Imperio, resta totalmente nel possesso, e Dominio dell'istesso Imperio, per appunto nello Stato, che si trovava nel principio di questa ultima Guerra. La Fortezza di Lepanto restarà evacuata dalla Republica di Venezia. Il Castello detto di Rumelia nella parte di Lepanto si demolirà, e si demolirà parimente la Fortezza di Preveſa, e si lascerà in quella parte la Terra ferma nel suo primiero, e intiero Stato.

III.

L'Isola di Santa Maura colla sua Fortezza, e Capo di Ponte, detto Peracia, senza veruna estensione maggiore in Terra ferma, e l'Isola di Leucade attaccata a Santa Maura, restaranno nel possesso, e Dominio della Republica di Venezia.

IV.

L'Evacuazione di Lepanto, e la Demolizione del Castello di Rumelia, e di Preveſa, si eseguiranno subito dopo la distinzione de' Limiti in Dalmazia; & in questo mentre per levare tutte le ostilità, & anco le occasioni di queste, li Presidj de' detti tre Luoghi si conteneranno dentro, né faranno alcuna escursione nella Terra ferma, né veruna pretenzione per qualsivoglia pretesto, e gli Abitanti dell'istessi Luoghi possano restare, e partire, secondo che vorranno, senza usarsi alcuna violenza.

V. L.

1699.

Li Golfi, che si trovano frà la Terra ferma, e la Morea restano all' uso comune, obbligandosi l'una, e l'altra parte di conservarli immuni, e franchi da qualsivoglia cattiva Gente.

V I.

Le Isole dell' Arcipelago, e di quei Mari restaranno in quello Stato, che erano avanti il principio di questa ultima Guerra, nel possesso dell' Eccello Imperio, nè si pretenderanno dalla Repubblica caraggi, o siano contribuzioni, od altra introdotto nel tempo della presente Guerra.

V I I.

Per l'avvenire l'Eccello Imperio non pretenderà dalla Repubblica di Venezia per l'Iola di Zante, nè dalli suoi Abitanti alcuna Pensione passata, o futura. L'Iola di Egina colla sua Fortezza come adiacente alla Morea, e posseduta dalla Repubblica di Venezia, rimarrà col suo presente Stato nel possesso, e Dominio dell'istessa Repubblica.

V I I I.

Nella Dalmazia le Fortezze di Cnin, Sing, e Ciolut, e Gabella, essendo al presente nel possesso, e Dominio della Repubblica di Venezia, restaranno nel pacifico possesso, e Dominio della medesima; ma poiché si devono porre li Limiti in tale forma, che li possibili restino chiari, e li Sudditi di ambe le parti in quiete, e tranquillità, nè si possa venir à qualsivoglia immaginabile differenza, che possa in alcuna maniera disturbare la tranquillità delli Confini: si è accordato, che dalla Fortezza di Cnin alla Fortezza di Verhika, e da quella alla Fortezza di Duare detta Zadvaria, e da quella alla Fortezza di Vergoratz, e parimente da questa alla Fortezza di Ciolut, e Gabella, si tirino Linee rette, e si separino li Confini, sicché dentro le dette Linee verso il Dominio Veneto, & il Mare tutte le Terre, e li Distretti colli Castelli, Forti, Torri, e Luoghi chiusi, restino nel solo possesso, e Dominio della prememorata Repubblica: e le Terre, e Distretti, che saranno fuori della detta Linea, restino nel possesso, e Dominio dell' Eccello Imperio, colli Castelli, Forti, Torri, e Luoghi chiusi, esistenti in quelli, e non si permetterà per l'avvenire alcuna estensione, e dilatazione, o restrizione nè dall'una, nè dall' altra parte. E

le dette Linee secondo l'abilità de' Luoghi si faranno chiare, e manifeste colli termini di Colli, e Boschi, di di Fiumi, & acque correnti, & ove il luogo non darà l'evidenza, si poneranno segni di Pali, o Colonne, come frà li Commissarii d'ambe le parti destinati à questa designazione di comune concerto si trovarà a proposito; e perche dette Fortezze nel possesso della Repubblica habbiano anche in fronte spazio convenient di Territorio, alle Fortezze di Cnin, Verhika, e Sing, Duare, e Vergoratz, e Ciolut, si assignarà dalli Commissarii lo spazio di un'ora di Pace, con rettitudine o linea semicircolare, conforme lo permetterà, o lo richiederà la convenienza del Terreno; la Fortezza di Cnin haverà il suo fianco verso le parti della Croazia, fin'al Confine del Cesareo Dominio, senza verun pregiudizio delli tre Dominii, che haveranno in quella parte li termini delli loro Confini, ma si haverà sempre da osservarsi il Jus accordato à cadaun di quelli tre Dominii per questa universale Pace.

La suddetta linea si osserverà dall'una, e dall' altra parte; ma se vicino, o dentro in quella, venisse à restare qualche Fortezza dell' Eccello Imperio, restandò nelle spalle di quella il suo Territorio intero, nella fronte semi-circularmente haverà da godere il Terreno posto dentro la circonferenza parimente dello spazio d'una ora, e per la Fortezza di Ciolut parimente nella fronte si darà il territorio nello spazio di un'ora, e nel fianco fuori della linea lo spazio di due ore di Terra, tirandosi una linea retta fin'al Mare.

Et in questa forma, e regola essendo distinto li Confini, e posti li termini, e separate le Terre da possederli, si osservaranno inviolabilmente, e senza veruna mutazione; e se alcuno mai haverà l'ardire di violare qualche segno, o di trasgredire qualche termine, e gli Uffiziali ancora, che mancaranno, nella dovuta cura col meritato castigo delli delinquenti, tanto dall'una; quanto dall' altra parte, saranno severamente puniti.

E se à caso li Commissarii havessero l'incontro di qualche difficoltà, che non potessero accordarsi: informaranno li loro Padroni sinceramente, e realmente, affinché cogli Uffizii delli Rappresentanti della Maestà Cesarea; e Britannica, e degli altri Potenti Stati Generali delle Provincie Unite presenti alla fulgida Porta si definisca amichevolmente: E per simile od altra qualsivoglia differenza di Confine non si venirà ad alcuna ostilità, nè s'intorbiderà la quiete delli Sudditi, nè s'intenderà alterare la Pace conchiusa coll' Eccello Imperio.

IX. II

1699.

I X.

Il Territorio, e li Distretti della Signoria di Ragusa faranno continuati colli Territorii, e Distretti dell' Eccello Imperio, levandosi ogni ostacolo, che impedisse la continuazione, e la comunicazione delle Terre della detta Signoria colle Terre del medesimo Imperio.

X.

Nella vicinanza di Cattaro, Castelnuovo, e Rifano, essendo attualmente nel possesso, e Dominio della Repubblica di Venezia, restino nel pacifico possesso, e Dominio della medesima Repubblica, colle loro Terre; e l'istesso s'intenda per qualunque altra Fortezza in quella parte esistente attualmente nel possesso della medesima. E li Commissarii, che faranno destinati dall'una, e l'altra parte, sino d'esperimentata proibita, affinché senza alcuna propria passione, giudicando realmente questo importante affare, anco in quella parte separino li Territorii, e li distinguano con evidenti segni, sicché si levi l'occasione d'ogni torbidità, mà da quella parte ancora si avvertisca, che non s'interrumpa la continuazione intiera delle Terre di Ragusa, con quelle dell' Imperio.

X I.

Dovendosi cominciare la designazione del Confine di ambe le parti in Dalmazia; e nella parte di Cattaro al primo tempo che sarà comodo, li Commissarii Deputati à questa opera corrispondendo con previi avvisi faranno la loro congiunzione in luogo conveniente, con comitiva di Gente militare bensì, mà pacifica, e quieta, d'ugual numero, e coll' ajuto d'Idio cominciaranno la loro funzione dal giorno dell' Equinozio de' 22 Marzo dell' anno corrente, & adopreranno ogni diligenza nella distinzione dell' uno, e dell' altro Confine delle suddette parti, affinché con prestezza finiscano nel termine di due Mesi, e più presto, se si può fare.

X I I.

Quanto più è desiderata la fermezza dell' amicizia, e la quiete delli Sudditi di ambe le parti, tanto più devono essere ugualmente abominati quelli, che portati dal reprobò loro ò genio, ò costume, anco nel tempo di Pace con ladroncelli, & altri ostili esercizi intorbidano la tranquillità del Confine, perciò nè dall' una parte nè dall' altra si darà ricetto, ò fomento à tali forusciti di qualsivoglia sorte; mà faranno perseguitati, presi, e consegnati, acciò che ad esempio di altri sino col meritato castigo puniti, e sarà per l'avvenire proibito l'appoggio, & il mantenimento di questi mali Muomini.

X I I I.

A cadauna delle parti sia lecito di rifare, riparare, e fortificare le possedute Fortezze, mà non già di fabbricarne di nuovo altre Fortezze, appresso il Confine, ò le Fortezze demolite dalla Repubblica di Venezia nelle Sponde della Terra ferma; Per la commodità però de' Sudditi sia lecito di porre Borghi, e Villaggi per tutto, osservandosi tra di loro pacificamente ogni buona corrispondenza, e vicinanza; e contenendosi nelli proprii termini; e se à caso succedesse fra loro alcuna differenza, subito convenendo li Prefetti del Confine d'ambe le parti amichevolmente, e con ogni giustizia levino l'occasione di qualsivoglia contrasto.

X I V.

Tanto per la Religione, e per la libertà, e permuta degli Schiavi, quanto per il Traffico, si osserverà lo Stile, e tenore delle antecedenti Capitolarioni, e sarà lecito all' Ambasciatore della Repubblica di portarne le sue ulteriori istanze al Soglio Imperiale: Intanto circa il Traffico siano confermati anco per questa Pace li fatti comandamenti concessi peravanti alla Repubblica, & il Traffico haverà da godere la sua forma; che haveva avanti questa ultima Guerra, e li Mercanti della Nazione Veneta tutti li Privileggi, che le sono stati concessi.

X V.

Sin' al giorno delle immediate Sottofrazioni frà li Plenipotenziarii dell' Eccello Imperio, e della Repubblica di Venezia, dal giorno della Sottofrazione delli Plenipotenziarii di Sua Maestà Cesarea, e di Polonia dell' accordato per la Repubblica, deve cessar ogni ostilità d'ambe le parti tanto per Terra, quanto per Mare; & osservarsi ogni buona corrispondenza, & affinché li Rettori di ogni Confine habbiano la notizia di questo Amistizio, si pone per le parti di Bosnia, Albania, e Dalmazia il termine di trenta giorni, e per le parti dell' Iola di Candia, e di Morea, è gli altri Confini di quelle parti, si pone il termine di giorni quaranta, doppo è dentro quali termini al possibile dal canto dell' Eccello Imperio, e dal canto della Repubblica di Venezia non si contravenirà ad alcuno di questi Articoli, che si potranno osservare.

Si concede inoltre alli Sudditi una vera, & universale amnistia, e qualsivoglia loro fatto, ò delitto commesso in tempo di Guerra, passando in totale obliovione, niuno di essi, come delinquente, sarà per l'avvenire castigato, e molestato.

T H E

THE
TREATY of PEACE
BETWEEN
The Sublime OTTOMAN Empire,
AND
Most Serene Republick of VENICE.

THE Treaty of Peace between the Sublime Ottoman Empire, and the most Serene Republick of Venice, concluded in the Congress of Carlowitz in Sirmium, under Tents, the 26th Jan. 1699. The Ambassadors there present on the part of the Sublime Empire, were the most Illustrious and most Excellent Signiore's, *Mehmet Effendi*, Great Chancellor, and *Alexander Mauro Cordato*, and on the part of the most Serene Republick the most Illustrious and most Excellent Signior *Charles Ruzini*, Kt. The Mediators, the most Illustrious and most Excellent Signiore's *William Pagetti*, Ambassador of his Britannick Majesty, and *James Coyer* Ambassador of the High and Mighty States General of the United Provinces; besides, the most Illustrious and most Excellent Signiore's, Ambassadors Plenipotentiaries of his Cæsarean Majesty, and of Poland, &c.

I. THE Morca, with all its Cities, Fortresses, Castles, Lands, Villages, Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Woods, Ports, and every thing else, that is found within the Circumference of it, now in the Possession of the Republick of Venice, shall remain peaceably in the Possession and the Dominion of the said Republick, as it stands Bounded by Sea and by Land, by that Line where remain the footsteps of the Ancient Wall, so that from within the Morca, that Land shall not be Extended any further towards the Terra Firma, nor on the side of the Terra Firma shall they exceed these Limits of the Morca.

II.

The Terra Firma that is in the Possession of the Sublime Empire, shall remain entirely in the Possession and Dominion of the said Empire, exactly in the State it was in; in the

beginning of the last War. The Fortresses of Lepanto shall be Evacuated by the Republick of Venice, the Castle of Rumelia on the side of Lepanto, shall be Demolish'd, and likewise the Fortresses of Preveza shall be Demolish'd, and the Terra Firma on that side shall be left in its first intire State.

III.

The Isle of St. Maura, with its Fortresses, and that Entrance upon the Bridge call'd Peracia, without any farther Extension of it towards the Terra Firma, and the Island of Leucade adjoining to St. Maura, shall remain in the Possession and Dominion of the Republick of Venice.

IV.

The Evacuation of Lepanto, and the Demolishment of the Castle of Rumelia, and of Preveza, shall be perform'd immediately after the Separation made of the Limits of Dalmatia; and in the mean time to prevent all Hostilities and all Occasions of Complaint, the Garrisons of the Three said Places shall keep themselves at Home, and shall not make any Excursion into the Terra Firma, nor any Demand upon what pretence soever, and the Inhabitants of the said Places may either stay behind, or go away, without any Violence to be us'd towards 'em.

V.

The Gulphs that are betwixt the Terra Firma and the Morca, shall remain in Common, and each Party does oblige it self to Clear and Preserve 'em free from Robbers.

VI.

The Islands of the Archipelago, and of those Seas shall remain in the State they were before the beginning of this last War, in the possession of the Sublime Empire, and the Republick shall not pretend from 'em any Duties

1699. or Contributions, or any thing else introduc'd in the time of the present War.

VII.

For the time to come, the Sublime Empire shall not pretend from the Republick of Venice, or from the Inhabitants, any Pension paid or future upon account of the Island of Zante. The Island of Egina, with its Fortresses being adjacent to the Morca, and in possession of the Republick of Venice, shall in its present State remain in the Possession and Dominion of that Republick.

VIII.

In Dalmatia, the Fortresses of Cinin, Sing, Ciclut, and Gabella, being at present in the Possession and Dominion of the Republick of Venice, shall remain in the quiet Possession and Dominion of the same; but because the Limits ought to be put into such a Form, that Possessions may be distinguish'd, and the Subjects of both Parties rest in Quiet and Tranquillity; and that they may not come to any sort of imaginable Difference, which might Disturb the Peace of the Confines, it is agreed, that a straight Line be drawn from the Fortresses of Cinin to the Fortresses of Vertika, and from that to the Fortresses of Sing, and from that to the Fortresses of Duare call'd Zadveria, and from that to the Fortresses of Vergoratz, and likewise from that to the Fortresses of Ciclut and Gabella a straight Line shall be drawn, and thus the Confines shall be separated, so that within the Lines towards the Venetian Dominion, and the Sea, all the Lands and Districts, with the Castles, Forts, Towers, and inclos'd Places, shall remain in the sole Possession and Dominion of the said Republick, and the Lands and Districts, which shall be without the said Line, shall remain in the Possession and Dominion of the Sublime Empire, with all the Castles, Forts, Towers, and inclos'd Places that are there, and for the time to come no sort of Encroachment, Extension, or Restriction on one side or other shall be permitted. And the said Lines, according to the nature of the Place, shall be made plain and manifest by the Boundaries either of Hills or Woods, or Rivers or Currents, and where the place won't afford the evidence of such Marks, there shall these Distinctions be made by Ditches, or Pales, or Pillars, as shall be agreed by the Commissaries of both Parties by common consent design'd for this purpose, and that these Fortresses might have in the Front of 'em, a convenient space of Territory; The Commissaries shall assign a quantity of Land of about one Hour (about three miles) to the Fortresses of Cinin, Vertika, and Sing, Duare, and Vergoratz, and Ciclut, to be measur'd either in a right or semicircular Line, according as the Con-

venience and Circumstances of the Land will permit; the Fortresses of Cinin shall have its Flank towards the Parts of Croatia, even to the Confines of the Cæsarcan Dominion, without any prejudice to those Three Potentates, the Boundaries of whose Dominions terminate thereabouts; but the Rights according to each of these Three Governments by this Universal Peace shall always be observ'd.

The foresaid Line shall be observ'd by each Party, but if in the Neighbourhood of it, or within it, there happens to be any Fortresses belonging to the Sublime Empire, which just behind it has an entire Territory belonging to it, then shall it enjoy from the Front the quantity of Land of an Hour, Circumscrib'd within Semicircular Circumference; and as to the Fortresses of Ciclut, that shall likewise have from the Front a Territory of one Hour, and in the Flank, besides that Line, the space of two Hours of Land, to be measur'd by a right Line to the Sea.

And in this Form, and by this Regulation, the Confines distinguish'd, and the Limits settled, and the Land of each Possession separated, shall be inviolably observ'd, and without any alteration; and if any one shall have the Boldness to violate these Marks for Boundaries, or commit Trespasses on these Limits; and even Officers that shall be wanting of a due Care in punishing Delinquents, shall be severely punish'd, as well on one side as on the other.

And in Case the Commissaries shall meet with any Difficulty which they can't Agree, they shall truly and sincerely inform their Patrons, to the end that by the good Offices of the Representatives to the Fulgid Port of their Cæsarcan and Britannick Majesties, and of the High and Mighty States General of the United Provinces, the matter may be amicably determin'd, and from any such like Difference about the Confines, no Hostilities shall ensue, nor shall the peace of the Subjects be disturb'd, nor shall it be interpreted to break the Peace concluded with the Sublime Empire.

IX.

The Territory and Districts of the Signory of Ragusa, shall continue joynted to the Territories and Districts of the Sublime Empire, and all Obstacles shall be remov'd that may hinder the Continuation and Communication of the Lands of the said Signory with the Lands of the foresaid Empire.

X.

All in the Neighbourhood of Cattaro, Castelnuovo and Risano, that is actually in the possession and Dominion of the Republick of Venice, shall remain in the peaceable Possession and Dominion of the said Republick, with

H h h h

1699. all the Lands appertaining; and this same is to be understood of any other Fortrefs on that side being now actually in the possession of the said Republick; And the Commissaries that shall be appointed on one side, and the other, shall be Men of an Experienc'd Probity, that they may without partiality and prejudice, equally decide this important Affair; And here two Separations shall be made by evident Signs, that all occasions of Disturbance may be remov'd, but good notice is to be taken, that the said entire Continuation of the Lands of Ragusa be not interrupted.

XI.

The Distinction of the Limits on both sides in Dalmatia and about Cattaro, being to be set on foot as soon as ever the Season will permit, the Commissaries design'd for this work giving previous Advice, they shall indeed have a Military Attendance, but a peaceable and quiet one, of equal number on each side, and by the help of God they shall enter upon this Office on the day of the Equinox of this instant Year, viz. 22 March, and shall in the foresaid Places use all their Diligence in distinguishing and separating one Confiner from the other, that they may with Expedition finish the matter in two Months and sooner if it be possible.

XII.

As the Continuance of the Friendship and Quiet of the Subjects on both sides is earnestly desir'd, so ought those to be equally abominated, who carry'd on by their own ill Disposition or Custom do in the time of Peace, with Robberies, and other hostile Acts, disturb the Tranquillity of the Confiners; therefore no Reception nor Encouragement shall be given to these Banditti of what sort soever by either Party, but they shall be pursu'd, taken, and deliver'd up, that for an Example to others, they may undergo their deserv'd Punishment, and for the time to come all Assistance and Maintenance shall be forbid to be given to such evil Men.

XIII.

It shall be lawful for each Party to amend, repair, or fortifie the Fortresses in their Possession, but not to build Fortresses a-new near the Confiners, or to rebuild the demolish'd Fortresses of the Republick of Venice, on the sides of the Terra Firma; But for the Con-

venience of the Subjects, it shall be lawful 1699. for them any where to erect open Towns or Villages, maintaining peaceably amongst themselves good Correspondence and Neighbourhood, and containing themselves in their proper Bounds; and if by chance any Difference happens amongst them, the Governours of the Confiners for both Parties meeting peaceably amongst themselves, shall with all Justice take away the occasion of any manner of Dispute.

XIV.

The Ancient Method and the Tenor of the Antecedent Capitulations shall be observ'd as well in the matter of Religion, and Liberty, and Exchange of Slaves, as in Traffick; and it shall be lawful for the Venetian Ambassador to lay his farther Demands on these Subjects, before the Imperial Throne: In the mean time the Sacred Edicts granted heretofore to the Republick, stand also confirm'd by this present Peace and Traffick, shall enjoy the same Form it had before the last War, and the Merchants of the Venetian Nation all the Privileges that have been granted to 'em.

XV.

All Hostilities shall cease, as well by Land as by Sea, and a good Correspondence be maintain'd, as well from the day of the immediate Subscriptions of the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Empire, and of the Republick of Venice, as from the day of the Subscription of the Plenipotentiaries of his Cæsarean Majesty of Poland to this Agreement by the Republick; and that the Governours of the Confiners may have notice of this Truce, for the Countries of Bosnia, Albania, and Dalmatia, Thirty days are appointed, and Forty days for the Parts about the Island of Candia and the Morcia, and all the other Confiners on that side; and after and within those Terms, as far as possible, neither on the part of the Sublime Empire, nor on the part of the Republick of Venice, shall any Contravention be made to these Articles, which can any ways be observ'd.

Moreover, by these Presents, a true and universal Amnesty is granted to all Subjects upon the account of any Fact or Crime committed during the War, all those things shall be pass'd over in Oblivion, nor shall any one for the time to come upon that account be punish'd or molested as a Delinquent.

Extra

1699.

Extract of a Letter from Constantinople, of the 12th of February, 1700.

1699.

On the 25th of January, O.S. Count Otting, the Emperor's Ambassador, made his publick Entry here: First, march'd the Basha of Nicopoli, with his Retinue, who conducted the Ambassador from Russek hither; after him an Oda of Janisaries, with their Aga and Officers; then came the Dutch Ambassadors Gentleman of the Horle, his led Horles, my Lord Paget's Secretary, with three Gentlemen, and 12 Men in Liveries, all the English Nation; and then followed the Chiouffes, Visier Agas, the German Ambassadors Officers, five led Horles, the Gentlemen Hautboys, Trumpeters, Noblemen, and he himself on Horseback, having 20 Trabants on both sides, his Drugoman, and the rest of his Retinue: He came in by Adrianople Gate, through part of the City, and out again by Fenar-Gate on the Water-side, so to Uyy, Kethahana, and finally to Pera, where he is lodged in Hattum-Husseini Aga's House, not far from my Lord Paget's.

The 27th Instant he had his Audience of the Vizier, where he was clothed with a Sable Vest, and his Gentlemen to the number of 100 with Castans.

The 28th his Excellency went in Pomp to the Sultan: The reason why he had his Audiences so soon, is, because the Turks *Ramazan* or Lent begins on Friday the 27th, and therefore they could not then receive him with the usual Ceremonies.

There being here at present more Ambassadors than has been seen these 18 years, there passes a great many Visits between them; my Lord Paget has been the 19th of January to Visit the French Ambassador, and he my Lord the 1st Instant; on the 5th my Lord went to the Venetian Ambassador, and the 7th to the Emperors: The 8th, The French Ambassador sent a Gentleman to Count Otting, to Compliment him upon his Audience of the Sultan, adding, that he hoped to have the Honour to Salute him, and doubted not, but that his Excellency (according to the Custom of this place) would see him before any other Ambassador; upon which Count Otting sent a Gentleman to the French Ambassador to assure him of his Intention to keep Friendship and good Correspondence with him; but as for the Visits, he could not but observe the Custom practis'd in all the Courts of *Christendoms*, to pay the Visits

in the order as they were given him; and as the English Ambassador had first sent him to felicitate his Arrival, and had visited him in Perlon, he could not but repay him the first Visit; whereupon the French Ambassador told the Gentlemen, *Je suis sache que de la maniere que les choses sont, je ne puis pas me donner l'honneur de saluer son Excellence*; time will shew if he persists in this Resolution. The Venetians are also much Incensed against the Hollander, for having Visited the Imperial Ambassador the first, and thereby Utter'd, as they say, their Right of Precedency.

I will trouble you further with the Description of my Lord's Cavalcade when he delivered the King's Letters.

His Excellency with his Retinue went on Horseback from his Palace to the Water-side, where 40 Boats, each with 7 Oars on a side, were prepared for the Transportation of himself and his Retinue: He Embarked, and in his passage was Saluted by the *K. William* and *Dalaware*, two English Ships then in Port, which had placed themselves in the middle of the River for that purpose: Being landed on the other side, we found our Horles in a readines, and every thing dispos'd to begin a regular March: First went six Janisaries, then the Gentlemen of the Nation all mighty well mounted, and their Horles richly accoutred; then 50 of his Excellencies Liveries, two and two, his 16 Interpreters, his Gentlemen of the Horles at the Head of 7 led Horles; after that, the Honourable *Thomas Paget*, encompassed with Footmen, two of which held the Reins of his Bridle, he himself carrying the King's Letters at Arms length: After him went his Excellency, preceded by 6 Pages, and surrounded with Heydukes and Selsik Cohadars, his Excellencies Gentlemen and Officers to the number of 30, all well mounted. In this manner we rode through the Principal Streets of *Constantinople* to the Grand Visier's Palace, where his Excellency was received with all the Demonstrations of Civility and Respect, he himself being first Vested by the Visier *Assem*, then such of his Retinue as were thought by his Excellency deserv'g that Honour. The Ceremony being over, his Excellency returned in the same manner to his Palace, where was prepared a sumptuous Entertainment for all that accompanied him.

On the 16th of February, N. S. the Turkish Ambassador had Audience of the Emperor, and was conducted to the Palace. The Emperor received him in the Council-Chamber, seated on his Throne under a rich Canopy, and attended by his Principal Ministers of State, and other Persons of the first Quality: The Ambassador when he entered the Room, made a low Reverence, another in the middle of the Chamber, and the third near the Throne. He went up the Steps of the Throne, presented his Credentials, and laid them on the Table that was before the Emperor, and then returned to the Place, where he made his Speech in his own Language, containing an Assurance of the Sultan his Master's Friendship, and sincere Intentions, strictly to observe the Treaty between the two Empires lately conclu-

ded, which being interpreted by the Sieur Della Torre, the Emperor commanded Count Camitz, Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, to return an Answer, which he accordingly did in High Dutch, and the same was interpreted to the Ambassador by the Sieur Della Torre. Then the Ambassador ordered his Steward to bring in the Grand Signior's Presents; a List of which he laid upon the Table, with a Letter from the Grand Vizier, and going once more up the Steps to the Throne, kissed the Border of the Emperor's Robe, his Attendants at the same time making a very low Reverence. After which the Ambassador withdrew, walking backwards while he was in the Emperor's Presence, and making three Reverences in like manner as when he came into the Room, and was reconducted to his House, and nobly entertained.

A LIST of the Presents presented to the Emperor by the Turkish Ambassador.

A Large Tent or Pavillon, very richly adorned with Tassels of Gold Embroidery, the Staves finely gilt and painted. A Plume of Red and White Feathers, set with 52 Diamonds great and small. A Bridle covered with Gold, and enamelled with Red and White, set with 531 Diamonds, and 338 Rubies; the Bit, Curb, and other things belonging thereto, all of fine Gold. A pair of Stirrups of Gold, set with 128 Diamonds, and 204 Rubies. A Houffe wrought with Flowers in Gold, richly set with Rubies, Pearls, and Emeralds. A great Silver Mace inlaid with Gold, and set with 16 Rubies and 25 Emeralds, with Straps to hang it up by, made of Red Brocade Silk embroidered with Pearl, Emeralds. A red Velvet Saddle embroidered with Pearl, Emeralds and Gold. A Velvet Saddle-Cloth, embroidered with 3 Gold Roses. A Sumpture-Cafe of Scarlet Cloth, embroidered with Gold. A Bridle covered with Gold, enamelled with dark Blue, the Bit and other Appurtenances of Gold; the whole set with 112 Emeralds, 381 Rubies, and 49 Diamonds. A pair of Silver-gilt Stirrups. A Houffe, embroi-

dered with 26 Roses of Pearl and Coral. A Velvet-Saddle, wrought with Gold and Silver. A Velvet Saddle-Cloth, embroidered with three golden Roses. A Sumpture-Cafe of Scarlet Cloth, embroidered with Flowers of Gold. A Piece of Amber, weighing 89 Ounces. Fifteen Bezoar Stones. Ten Lumps of Musk. Two Pieces of Cloth of Gold. Two Pieces of Red Satin, wrought with Gold. Six Pieces of very rich Gold Brocade. Four Pieces of Silk Brocade, wrought with Gold. Ten Pieces of fine Callico, called *Duezarhi*. Thirty five Pieces of fine Callico, commonly called *Imperial*. Twenty Pieces of fine Callico, wrought with Gold. Four Persian Carpets, wrought with Gold. Four other Carpets of Turkey-work. A Dun-coloured Horse of *Turcomania*. A Bay Horse of *Turcomania*. A Light-dun Horse of the Country called *Beideleugh*. A Bay Horse of *Arabia*. Two Silver Chains to fasten Horses to the Stall. A Silver Trough for the Horses to drink in. Two Leopards covered with Clothes of *Persia* Brocade, and tied with Silver Chains.

Particulars

Particulars of the Presents which the Emperor by his Ambassador gave to the Grand Seignior.

Thirty-six Seeker Cups with Covers and Sotto Coppe. Twelve Ewers and Basins, six of which were gilt. Ten hanging Clocks, in Silver embossed Frames. Eight great Clocks, in form, like the Pedestal of a Pillar, and the Clock-work in the middle. A curious inlaid Cabinet. Abundance of very rich Brocades. A great oval Looking-Glass, in a square inlaid Frame. A great Silver Fire-Pan (*alla Turca*) 1 1/2 foot high from the ground, curiously wrought and very substantial. A Silver Screen six foot high, very solid, and the top made like a Schollop Shell. A Fire Hearth (*alla Franca*) the Bars of which were of polished Steel, the fore part of it of Silver; at each end it had a pyramid of Silver, and in the middle a great Ball. A pair of Tongs, Fire-Shovel and Proger

of polished Steel; with Silver Heads. Twenty-four Silver Sconces, with Looking-Glasses in the middle of them. Two great Silver Tables (*alla Turca*) at least an Ell in Diameter. Twelve gilded Tumblers. Two great Silver embossed Dishes, at least 7 foot in Diameter. Two great gilded Ewers and Dishes of the same bigness. Six great Silver Flower-Pots. Six standing Lamps, emitting Branches like those in our Churches. A Silver Fountain, 8 foot high, in Foliage-work. Two Frank Tables, and two pair of Stands very prettily inlaid. Two standing Clocks, the Cases of which were of the same Work. A great Looking-Glass set about with Stones of divers colours, having a Dial-Plate in the middle of it, and the Figures ingeniously cut.

The

The Last Account of

Count TEKELY.

TEKELY was a Count of the Kingdom of Hungary, and one of the most Ancient Families thereof, and one of the most Zealous Professors, and Assertors of the Protestant Religion, which caused him to join with the Turks, through the whole Course of the last Wars, of which we have given an ample Account in the due places of this History, whereby appear the great Services which this Noble Person did them, and how ill and barbarously they sometimes used him.

I have particularly instanced how this present Sultan being at *Belgrade*, where having occasion for this Tekely's Services, he sent a Capugi-bashee or two, to fetch him thither from *Constantinople*, where he had Lodged himself for Recovery of his Health, being informed by the Physicians at *Constantinople*, that the Air of that City was much better than that of *Adrianople*. The Officers who are sent from the Grand Seigneur to execute any of his Commands, do commonly perform them without any Consideration, or Ceremony, or Respect to the Person to whom they are sent, and so they did to Tekely, whom finding in his Bed, labouring under a grievous Fit of the Gout, they rudely forced him to arise, and without any Remorse, threw him into a Waggon, and hurried him away to *Belgrade*, to receive such Commands as the Grand Seigneur had to employ him in; and on all Occasions as the hopes of a Peace appeared, the Neglects put upon him did daily increase.

It is commonly the Humour of the Turks, after they have done with the Ser-

vice of any Person, never more to treat them kindly; nor if they can to suffer them to Live: Of which we have a fresh Instance by Letters of the 15th of July last from *Constantinople*, which tell us, That the Chimacem of that place had received an Express Command, or Decree, from the Sultan, to Exile or Banish Tekely, into some Island of the Archipelago.

At the first coming of this News Tekely was strangely Surprised, and was half Dead with the Apprehensions thereof; the Remembrance of his Journey to *Belgrade*, and Terrors thereof, were scarce out of his Mind, before another Scene of Banishment was presented to him, into an Island where was no Sustainance fit for his Weak Indisposed Body, nor no Consolation, or Comfort to be expected from Society, or Conversation of Mankind; nor yet from his Wife neither, who, poor Lady, by this hard Usage, was struck with an Astonishment, and both joyned together in their loud Exclamations against the Ingratitude, and Tyranny of Princes, who have no Tenderness of Compassion for any but themselves; for if they had had, they would never have exposed two such Noble Families unto Ruine and Destruction.

After all which Hardship, it is believed, that the Turks will scarce suffer them to arrive unto the Place of their Banishment, but by the way take their Lives, as hath been the Practice commonly amongst the Turks on the like Occasions. And this sad Account shall suffice to put an end to the many Tragedies of this History.

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